

A
Complete History
O F
ENGLAND:
WITH THE
L I V E S
O F A L L T H E
KINGS and QUEENS
T H E R E O F;

From the Earliest Account of Time, to the
Death of His late Majesty King *WILLIAM III.*

CONTAINING
A Faithful RELATION of all AFFAIRS of STATE
ECCLESIASTICAL and CIVIL.

The Whole Illustrated with Large and Useful NOTES, taken from divers Manuscripts, and other good Authors: And the EFFIGIES of the KINGS and QUEENS from the Originals, Engraven by the best Masters.

In Three VOLUMES, with *Alphabetical Indexes* to each.

V O L. I.

- I. Beginning with the HISTORY of *BRITAIN* to *WILLIAM* the Conqueror.
By Mr. *John Milton*.
II. From the Conquest to the End of King *EDWARD III.* By *Samuel Daniel*, Esq;
III. The Reigns of King *RICHARD II.* King *HENRY IV, V, and VI.* All
new Writ in Mr. *Daniel's* Method.
IV. The Reign of King *EDWARD IV.* By *John Habington*, Esq;
V. The Lives of King *EDWARD V.* and *RICHARD III.* By Sir *Thomas Moore*.
Translated from the *Latin* Original.
VI. The Life of King *RICHARD III.* By *George Buck*, Esq;
VII. The Life of King *HENRY VII.* By *Francis Lord Bacon*.

L O N D O N :

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TH^O History wants not the most Solid Arguments that can be to recommend it to the Esteem of all, who wou'd attain a competent Knowledge of Mankind and the Affairs of the World, yet the Pleasure it affords is the general Inducement of its Readers, who for the most part are well enough content if they are but agreeably amus'd. That busie Humour which makes People curious to know what others have done, or are doing, which furnishes common Conversation, and puts every Body upon Enquiries after News, invites Men of Leisure and Taste to search the Records of their own and former Ages. But whatever be the Motive, 'tis hardly possible but the Time thus employ'd will be rewarded with some real Improvement, and he that reads will have no Cause to complain, if in the Event he find his Judgment encreas'd, tho' perhaps he only intended that his Fancy shou'd be entertain'd.

This is a considerable Advantage which History has in laying hold of Mens Natural Curiosity, and employing usefully a Passion which is not only exercis'd for the most part frivolously, and to no good, but often to very ill Purposes. The Rise and Fall of Empires, the gradual Changes in their Laws, Manners, Arts and Government, the surprizing Events and Revolutions in their Story, and the Conduct and Fortunes of particular Men, have all that can be to entertain a curious Mind; and there are few of so little Penetration, but are capable of drawing from such a Variety of Matter many proper Reflections, which may be serviceable in a private as well as publick Life. Besides which, 'tis no vain Supposition, that Mens Morals may be sometimes improv'd, together with their Understandings, and that the distinguish'd Characters of Vertue, which they find upon Record, may have somewhat of an assimilating Influence: For what we admire we are easily dispos'd to imitate, and let every one consult his own Breast, whether he does not feel it touch'd with a generous Sentiment of those Men who are represented to have accomplish'd great and worthy Designs, to have been the Authors of wise and good Counsels, or to have expos'd their Lives, and sacrific'd their Fortunes for the publick Good and Security.

Whatever may be said to the Advantage of History in general, is yet with better Reason to be affirm'd of the *English* History. 'Tis natural to all People, to have a Veneration for their Ancestors, and a more particular Desire to be inform'd of what pass'd on the same Scene, where themselves are now acting; and as *England* has been a Scene of as various and as memorable Transactions as most Parts of the World besides, an Account of these cannot but be equally agreeable to an *English* Reader. As for the useful Part, 'tis a Question easily resolv'd, Whether 'tis not most for any Man's Advantage, to be chiefly familiar with those Affairs to which he is nearest related? The Original of our Laws and Customs is a part of Knowledge so requisite to Men of Learning or of publick Employment, so necessary to the Understanding of our Constitution, Rights, and Liberties, and to the clearing of Controversies which daily happen in private Conversation as well as in Courts of Judicature; and Matters of Fact have such a Force in Precedents to all those that have any Share in the Legislature or Administration, or wou'd judge of either, that 'tis needless to prove what every Body owns. However it may not be improper to take Notice, that it has sometimes been reproach'd us by Foreigners, that the Humour of the *English* too often leads 'em abroad to learn the Curiosities of other Countries, before they have taken any Care to be tolerably inform'd of their own.

The mean and imperfect Performances of our most common Historians, is certainly the Reason why Many are more negligent of reading our Story than they would perhaps have been, if they had met with it better related. For tho' the Matter of History is the first thing to recommend it, the Form, which depends wholly on the Writer, is almost of equal Consequence; Now the Laws and Rules which the Criticks have prescrib'd for it, are so endless and refin'd, that it may reasonably be question'd, Whether the Character of a *perfect Hero*, or that of a *perfect Historian*, be the greater Chimæra, and 'twill be easily allow'd by those who well consider the Comparifon, that to record great Actions in the finest manner is a Task no less difficult than to perform 'em.

'Tis necessary, That all Readers of History shou'd be appris'd of this, that they may judge fairly as well as freely of the Authors they meet with, and not be so unreasonable

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in their Expectations, nor so prepossess'd by any great Names, as to look for what a Judge of Writing has stil'd on another Occasion,

A Faultless Monster that the World ne'er saw.

And whether a perfect Historian is not to be thought such, let it appear by this short Description. He is requir'd to be a Man born with all the Felicities of a lively penetrating Wit, and unbounded Genius: Form'd by great Study, Experience, and Practice in the World; one that is both a Scholar and a Man of Business; a good Geographer, Chronologist, Antiquary, Linguist; conversant in Courts, Councils, Treaties, in Affairs Military as well as Civil, and in short in every thing that is the Subject of History; furnish'd with all proper Materials and Records, and a perfect Master of all the Graces of the Language he writes in. This is a great deal, but not enough; for what is yet more extraordinary, he must have no Passions or Prejudices, but be a kind of Deity that from a Superior Orb looks unmov'd on Parties, Changes of State, and grand Revolutions. And you are to suppose him bless'd with Health, Leisure, an easie Fortune, and a stedfast Application to his Subject. After which, the Perfections requisite in his Performance are almost innumerable; a judicious Proportion of all the Parts of his Story; a beautiful Simplicity of Narration; a noble, yet unaffected Stile; few and significant Epithets; Descriptions lively, but not Poetical; Reflections short and proper; and lastly, besides a Multitude of Particulars, which cannot be mention'd here, a good Conduct thro' the whole, and an animating Spirit that may engage the Reader in every Action as if personally concern'd, and give him the firm Assurance that he sees things in their own Light and Colours, and not in those which the Art or Mistake of the Writer has brought upon 'em.

* *Lucian.*
Le Moyne.
Rapin.
Le Clerc's
Parrha-
siana.

'Twou'd be easie to enlarge this Discourse; the Laws of History are all but the Dictates of good Sense, drawn out and methodis'd in Rules; of which a long detail may be found in * Books written purposely on this Subject. But what is here only touch'd, may suffice to represent the extream Difficulty of writing History. And the Difficulty much encreases, when the Subject is of so large a Scope as the general History of any Nation, which is esteem'd of all the several Kinds the greatest, as an Epick Poem is in Poetry. And as some will scarce allow, that there have been more than two Epick Poets, *Homer* and *Virgil*; so the Name and Honour of General Historians have been restrain'd by the Criticks to almost the same Number. *Livy* among the Ancients, and *Mariana* among the Moderns, are plac'd in the highest Rank, tho' others have their Parties and Favourers, and are allow'd many Beauties, which every one magnifies or lessens, according to his particular Relish.

But it has been a long Complaint, that whatever be the Difficulty of compiling a General History, other Nations have master'd it better than our own, which yet all the World knows has not been unfruitful of very great Men, in all Capacities, both of acting and Writing. Some Attempts have indeed been made, but with what Success is too well known; for 'tis not a tedious Chronicle fill'd with a World of frivolous Matter and minute Circumstances, tho' ever so true and faithful, nor a laborious Plunder of Libraries, Manuscripts, publick Rolls and Records, tho' put together by many Years Application in a cold and barren Stile, that will be valu'd as a History. No body, that is acquainted with our Performances in other Parts of Learning and Wit, in all which we are allow'd to equal most of our Neighbours, and in some to excel 'em, or that considers the Solidity and Vigor of Genius, which is the known Character of the *English*, can doubt but that we have had many among us of Qualifications for such a Work equal at least with any other Nation. But whether a modest Distrust of themselves, or want of Leisure and Encouragement, or whatever else has been the Impediment, it must be own'd we have not yet seen it done with Approbation; and if we may ever hope for it, 'tis perhaps a Happiness in Reserve, till the many Wonders of Her Majesty's most Wise, Just, and Fortunate Reign, shall have made the Glory of the *English* Annals compleat.

|| *Preface*
to Nichol-
son's Eng-
lish Histo-
rical Li-
brary.

However, 'tis thought a Design of such Consequence cannot be well executed by one Man; and therefore || some have wish'd to see it carry'd on by a Society or Club of Men of Parts and Learning, some whereof are Masters of our ancient Languages, and others of the Modern; some vers'd in the Writings of the old Britains, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and others thoroughly acquainted with the Historians since the Conquest, some that know the Geography, and others the Law of the Realm, some that have been bred at Court, and others in the Camp; and that it shou'd be an Engagement generously enter'd into by Men of Leisure and Fortune. This indeed is a rational Project, and might probably succeed, if the Gentlemen cou'd be found, who are both willing and fit to engage in it. But few are drawn to laborious Tasks, or have Constancy enough to struggle with great Difficulties, when they are not animated by some other Motive than raising a Reputation to themselves, and doing a Service to the Publick.

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In the mean time, the present Collection is the nearest such a Design of any thing that has appear'd; for we are not so entirely at a Loss for a History of *England*, but that we have already many Parts of it by several Hands, in just Esteem; and these are the standing Authorities and Guides to which all Attempters in this Way must ever have Recourse. Many of 'em answer the Characters mention'd in that imaginary Society, and some had the additional Advantage of living in or near the times they describe, so that theirs may be reckon'd Pictures by the Life, which have usually the most of Spirit as well as the truest Likeness; whereas succeeding Hands, tho' they copy ever so skilfully, can scarce avoid losing much of the Force, and Justness, and Grace of the Original.

Their Reputation, as was hinted before, is not now to be made in the World, which is generally slow and sparing, and disagreed in distributing its Applause to Books even of the highest Merit, if their Authors are living. The procuring 'em severally was formerly found troublesome and expensive; some of 'em were scarce, and others had suffer'd by the multiplying of Editions and wanted a careful Correction; the Design of Printing 'em in this Method, so as to compose a compleat History of our Affairs has been for several Years recommended, and the Undertakers encourag'd to it by Letters from Eminent Hands in many Parts of the Kingdom; and to give it all proper Advantages, Care has been taken to procure many Manuscripts and Papers of Value, by means of which, and other Helps, such Additions have been made as were thought necessary for a Supplement or Illustration of the History. The Stiles of the *English* Authors, tho' some of 'em a little antiquated, are preserv'd according to their Originals, but the *Latin* Lives, Papers, Verses, &c. are translated for the Benefit of common Readers. If any one imagines the Difference of Stiles an Objection, others are of a contrary Opinion, and think that this Variety may divert and relieve the Mind, which is often tir'd by Voluminous Works by one Hand, tho' written ever so elegantly.

For the Times before *William* the First, tho' the Views of 'em have been less distinct than the rest, and in some Places look like Scenes of Fairy-Land, yet so much as could be trac'd and put into order, has been admirably done by Mr. *John Milton*, with whose Book this Collection begins. His great natural and acquir'd Parts, and his excelling in so many different kinds of Learning, besides his daring and uncommon Genius in Poetry, have made him generally look'd upon as one of the most extraordinary Persons that the last Age produc'd: And even the greatest Admirers of Antiquity have a particular Reason to rank him with most of the Ancients, whom he so nearly resembles. For this seems to be his distinguishing Character, and is agreeable to what Monsieur * *Fontenelle* observes, That "The Wit of one Climate more easily suffers transplanting into another, than its Trees and Fruit; and that tho' 'tis said there's more Diversity among Wits than Faces, yet one Face by stedfastly regarding another cannot take a new Resemblance, but Wit may. And 'tis thus, that People do not always retain the Turn of Thought which they derive from their Native Climate, but by reading Greek Books, become as it were ally'd to the *Greeks*."

* Digression
sur les An-
ciens, &c.
dans le dis-
cours sur la
Nature
d'Eglogue

Mr. *Milton's* History, as well as his Poetical Works, proves this; where, in his Thoughts and Language, he appears with the Majestick Air of old *Greece* or *Rome*. This makes him indeed look particular, and perhaps to some uncouth, like the *Roman* Architecture heretofore, when the *Gothick* was in Fashion. But whether his or the more Modern Diction be the best, let the Controversers of old and new Books decide as they please. 'Tis sufficient if his History, as was said, be the best Draught of those rude Times he chose to describe. His Abilities and Diligence to perform that part were unquestionable, and his Impartiality too, which would not have been, if he had written the History of later Times. Sir *William Temple*, tho' he has very ingeniously treated the same Subject, is not particular enough, and seems so much in haste to come to his Favourite Character of *William* the *Norman*, that the rest of his Book is indeed but an Introduction.

Mr. *Daniel's* History follows next, containing the Reigns of *William* I. and II. *Henry* I. *King Stephen*, *Henry* II. *Richard* I. *King John*, *Henry* III. *Edward* I, II, and III. The Author had a Place at Court in the Reign of *King James* I. being Groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, and seems to have taken all the Refinement a Court could give him. 'Tis said he had a good Vein in Poetry, and 'tis certain he has shewn great Judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his Prose, and destroying that Simplicity which is a principal Beauty in the Style of an Historian. His Narration is smooth and clear, and carries every where an Air of good Sense and just Eloquence, and his *English* is much more Modern than *Milton's*, tho' he liv'd before him: But Mr. *Milton* chose to write (if the Expression may be allow'd) a hundred Years backward, whereas 'tis particularly to be admir'd how Mr. *Daniel* cou'd, so long ago, express himself with the same Purity and Grace as our most sensible Writers do now, tho' we flatter our selves that we have considerably improv'd the Language.

The Continuation of his History thro' the Reigns of *Richard* II. *Henry* IV, V, and VI. was so meanly perform'd by Mr. *Trussel*, and the Style so wretched, that there was a Necessity

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cessity to have those Reigns new writ, which have therefore been done much larger and more exact, and after Mr. *Daniel's* Method. In this, and the former Work, and so throughout the first Volume, is added at the end of every Reign an Account of Eminent Men, and Remarkable Occurrences, from *Hollingshead* and others. That the like Method is omitted in the succeeding Volumes, is because 'twas thought unnecessary; for the Historians are larger, and have not omitted any worth mentioning, and the Index supplies it once for all.

The next Author is Mr. *Habington*, whose History is the best extant of *Edward IV.* No Reign afforded a Prospect of more surprizing Turns and Reverses of Fortune than this, all which he has largely and eloquently describ'd; yet to speak impartially, he seems to Moralize too much, and if he had been more sparing of his General Remarks and Sentences, the Thread of his Story wou'd have run off even: But this by the way, and with the utmost Deference to his excellent Performance, in which he has highly merited by painting in such lively Colours those Times of most remarkable Confusion.

Sir *Thomas Moor*, that learned Lord Chancellour of *England*, writ his History of the Short and Unhappy Reign of King *Edward V.* and of the Beginning of King *Richard III.* in *Latin*: His Masterly Command of the Delicacies of that Language, considerably help'd to spread his Fame all over *Europe*; but to render the Work more uniform, and of more general Use, there was a Necessity to have this carefully translated. Nothing can be said to add to the Author's great Reputation; his high Employments were conferr'd on him as well in Reward of his Learning as of his other Merit, by a King, who was known chiefly to value himself upon being a Scholar and a Judge of Books. In this Reign the Intrigues of the Protector and his Creatures against the young Princes are related with wonderful Clearness and Judgment in Affairs of State; the Speeches are sensible, and the Descriptions proper; that of King *Richard's* guilty Terrors after the Murther of his Nephews, is admirable; which is mention'd here, because 'tis certain, Description in History as well as in Poetry is a dangerous Part to manage, and the soonest betrays an affected and injudicious Writer.

Sir *Thomas Moor* left the Reign of *Richard III.* unfinish'd; the Supplement to it is therefore extracted out of *Hall* and *Hollingshead*; after which follows *George Buck's* Life of the same King, which makes this part of the History compleat. His Relation is particular, and very remarkable for the Pains he takes to wipe off the bloody Stains upon King *Richard's* Character, and to vindicate from common Imputation one of the blackest Reigns in all our Story. Whether he has done it with Reason or not, let the Reader judge; for there are various Opinions about it, and 'tis upon this Account that the Book-sellers were advis'd to print it. His Book indeed, tho' it were all Truth, is much too loosely writ for a History; 'tis pedantick and full of Harangue, and may more properly be call'd a *Defence of King Richard* than any thing else; yet as he is the only Advocate of Note that has appear'd in so odd a Cause, 'tis well worth the while to give him a Place here, tho' among so many of his Betters. In some things 'tis highly probable he has done that King but Justice; yet 'tis strange that he'll neither allow him to have had any Deformity in Mind or Body, for he is angry to find him describ'd by others crook-back'd, and of an ill Visage, and seems to be for reversing his Character throughout. 'Twas not fit to let this Work pass without some Animadversions; and, to set all things as much in the Light as possible: Mr. *Stripe*, an industrious Antiquary, has added large Notes and Remarks, from an Authentick Manuscript which he had by him, and from other Authors.

We come now to one of the most applauded Pieces of History that has ever been writ in our own or any other Language, either Ancient or Modern, the incomparable Lord *Bacon's* Life and Reign of King *Henry VII.* which, with the Reverence due to so great a Man, is printed here in his own Style without the Alteration of a Word. 'Tis impossible to exceed in his Praise: One may observe in him all the Depth of a Statesman and Philosopher, all the Ornament of a discreet Orator, and the Conduct of a just Historian. From him alone might sufficiently be learn'd the Idea of that true Sublime which enobles History; which consists rather in a Greatness of Thinking than in a Pomp of Expression, and is therefore reconcileable with that Simplicity requir'd too, tho' these are Beauties rarely seen united. He traces things with extraordinary Judgment, relates 'em with Clearness of Sense and good Connexion, and has the Secret of making every part of the Story instructive, without sprinkling it over with perpetual Adages and Observations, which retard it, and are the false Jewels for which Coquet Writers affect to be admir'd. Another masterly Excellence in him is, that he does not content himself with a superficial Narration, but enters deeper into his Subject, and discovers the Motives of Affairs, which every where seem true Representations, and not fanciful Conjectures; this is the more worthy of notice, because *Tacitus*, who is much admir'd for it by many, is by others thought to have over-acted the * Politician, and by too nice a Subtlety to have expounded

* *Sa maniere de critiquer est fine par elle-meme: Mais elle devient grossiere, par l'envie qu'il a de critiquer tout. Dupin. Reflex. C'est plus la Politique que la Verité qui le fait parler. Ibid.*

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the simplest Actions in the World into Design and Artifice. But as nothing is more improving than this way of writing when well manag'd, so it seems to be the Talent of a wise rather than of a cunning Head.

'Tis remarkable that three of our Historians of greatest Fame (of whom two have their Works in this Collection) have been Lords High Chancellours of *England*, and 'tis certain the Qualifications which properly recommend Men to that Trust and Honour are such as make 'em likewise better capable than most others of writing a good *English* History.

The Notes which are added to the Lord Bacon's Book are chiefly extracted from that which was written by Sir *James Ware*, in Relation to the Affairs of *Ireland*, which was publish'd first in *Latin* at the End of the *Antiquitates Hibernicae*, in 8^o and afterwards turn'd into *English*, and printed lately with his other Works in Folio at *Dublin*. And this concludes the Account of the Historians in the first Volume.

The Second begins with the Ingenious Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury's* Life of King *Henry VIII.* which for its great Reputation may well be compar'd with the Lord *Bacon's*. These two Historians seem by their Sense as well as Quality, of a Rank superiour to most others; for few besides have the Art of being particular in their Narration without growing flat and tiresome, and of making Remarks which are always worth the Reader's attending to, and no where offend by an unnatural or ambitious Air. The Lord *Herbert*, to qualifie him for this Undertaking, had an Education Military as well as Learned, the Improvement of Travel, and the Advantage of great Employments. He was of the Council to King *James I.* who, after he had employ'd him five Years in an Embassy to *Louis XIII.* of *France*, made him Baron of *Castle-Island* in *Ireland*. He afterwards serv'd King *Charles I.* both in the Field and in Council, and was by him created an *English* Peer. In order to write King *Henry VIII's* Life, he made a vast Collection of Manuscripts and other Materials; of which the *Athenae Oxonienses* mentions four thick Folio Volumes Vol. II. which that Author says he had seen. The Original Copy of his History, written by his own hand, is in the Possession of the University of *Oxford*, to which he presented it. 'Tis large and copious, as the multiply'd Affairs of a busie Reign requir'd; and as all *Europe* was concern'd in the Intrigues of those Times, the Politicks then were so intricate and variable, and of such an unusual Turn, that 'twas not possible for a common Hand to trace 'em; nor can we imagine that any one beside himself cou'd so happily have conquer'd the Difficulty he complains of, viz. *To write that Prince's History of whom no one thing might constantly be affirm'd, and to draw his Picture well, who had several Countenances.*

In this Edition the Pope's Bulls, the Letters, and other Pieces, which were in *Latin* before, are printed both in *Latin* and *English*.

The Life and Reign of King *Edward VI.* was written by Sir *John Hayward*, Doctor of Laws, and Historiographer to King *James I.* The same Hand had written the Reign of King *Henry IV.* but this of King *Edward* was publish'd after the Author's Death. 'Tis here printed with large Notes from a valuable Collection of Papers relating to the Reformation. 'Tis no wonder that in those Party-Times the Characters of many Persons and Circumstances of Affairs were left so variously and doubtfully represented as might mislead even a diligent Writer; wherefore an impartial Censure of this Author is prefix'd to his Book by Mr. *Stripe*, to which the Reader is referr'd.

The next is the Annals of Queen *Mary*, written originally by *Francis Godwin* Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, who together with this wrote likewise the Reigns of King *Henry VIII.* and King *Edward VI.* in *Latin*, for the Use of Foreigners. His Stile is grave and succinct, and he appears to have been a good Master of that Language, and a faithful and sensible Historian. His Son *Morgan Godwin*, Doctor of Laws, publish'd this Book afterwards in our own Tongue, with some Enlargements by the Author's Consent. That which is here printed is new translated in more modern *English*; and Mr. *Stripe*, who has a large Manuscript of this Queen's Reign, has likewise perform'd his Part by adding Notes, and has insert'd some few Passages in the Margin, which he has observ'd to be in the former *English* Edition.

The long and happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is describ'd at large with the utmost Exactness by the Learned Mr. *Cambden*, call'd frequently the Prince of Modern Antiquaries. This elaborate Work was begun at the Instigation of his great Patron the Lord Treasurer *Burghley* in 1597. the same Year that Mr. *Cambden* was made *Clarenceux* King at Arms; but that Nobleman had only the Satisfaction and Honour of laying the first Stone of the Building, without living to see it in any Forwardness, for he dy'd the next Year. This Loss much afflicted Mr. *Cambden*, and interrupted his Design; and the Queen her self dying about five Years after, it remain'd for some time at a stand; but, in the Year 1608. he fell to it again with great Application, and never perhaps had any Man more universal Qualifications or greater Advantages. He had premeditated it many Years, his chief Study had long before been the Antiquities of his Native Country, and the Transactions

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he was now to record were such as pass'd in his own Time; he began it slow, and after his Studies were ripe, and his Judgment in full Maturity; for his *Britannia* was first compleated, which left him wholly at Liberty, and better instructed for this Undertaking. He wanted no Helps from Men of the greatest Learning in *England*, who were proud of supplying him with Papers and Books; all Libraries were open to him, and if he had not been Master of an admirable Judgment for separating, chusing and digesting his Materials, the Variety must have put him in Confusion. The Queen's Collection of Writings, Letters, and Memorials, had been imparted to him by the Lord *Burghley*, who likewise furnish'd him with his own, and he afterwards receiv'd great Assistance from his Friend Sir *Robert Cotton*, all which he mentions in his Preface; but nothing could equal his own Industry and indefatigable Study, which was indeed wonderful.

For the Moral Qualifications of an Historian, such as Fidelity, Disinterest, and a sincere Affection to Truth, he has given all the Proofs of 'em that can be desir'd; For besides the Air of Probity, which is seen in his Annals, 'tis remarkable that he at first design'd they should not be publish'd in his Life time, but had bequeath'd 'em by Will to the Famous *Thuanus*, with whom he had a particular Friendship. However, he was prevail'd on to alter this Resolution, and in the Year 1615. came out the first Volume reaching to the Year 1589. It had the natural Effect of a well-writ Piece of Modern History, for it gain'd him much Applause, and many Enemies; which last, tho' a good Proof of his Merit, was a severe one, and discourag'd him from venturing abroad his Second Volume till the Year 1625. and then it was in a manner extorted from him by Importunity, after it had lain finish'd for a considerable time.

The Affairs of *Spain*, *France*, and *Scotland*, were much interwoven with those of *England* in that Queen's Reign, and consequently Mr. *Cambden* has given 'em their proper Place in his Composition. 'Twas his Character to leave nothing imperfect that his Art or Labour could compleat. In his manner of relating he rather chose to be Exact than Ornamental, and dispos'd his Matter into the plain Form of *Annals*, by that to excuse himself from all superfluous Finery. His Preface gives a very good Idea of his Book; and for the Particulars of his Life, the Reader may find 'em in *Latin* by Dr. *Smith*, printed with the Collection of *Cambden's* Letters, &c. and in *English* by Mr. *Gibson*, prefix'd to the last Edition of his *Britannia*. Several Translations have been made of these Annals from the Original *Latin*; but 'twas thought necessary to have 'em new translated, examin'd and corrected; in a just Regard to the Author's Reputation. His Sketch of the Annals of King *James*, tho' consisting only of short Heads, is likewise added in *English*, that nothing from so great a Hand might be omitted.

The last Historian, in the Second Volume, is Mr. *Wilson*, who wrote the Life of King *James I.* The Learned Dr. *Welwood* has been prevail'd with to add some Notes and Observations of his own upon it, and has furnish'd some few Original Papers relating to that Reign, which hitherto never saw the Light; all which Notes and Observations are printed at the bottom of the Pages. At the Beginning the Author has given us in course Rhime what he calls his own Picture, but in the Note there added the Reader will find it drawn with a truer Likeness than that which he drew himself, and with better Skill than can be done in this Preface.

For what remains to be said concerning the Third Volume, the Judicious and Accomplish'd Writer of it, has thought fit in his own Words to address the Publick as follows.

To the READER.

THIS Third and Last Volume of our English History requires but a short and easie Introduction to it. For here is no Collection of Writers, that need a Character and Account of them, as in the two former Volumes. This Continuation is a New Work done by a particular Hand, with a strict Regard to Truth and Justice.

Since the Period of the Second Volume, the Death of King *James I.* no one Reign hath been so exactly written; or at least brought into so just a Compass, as to deserve to be here intirely inserted. And therefore it was thought more fair and reasonable to draw up all the following Reigns into a New Prospect, just and proportionable, and not deceiving the Eye. The Person who draws it is not so delighted with it, as to value himself on the Performance: He did it for his own Diversion, rather than for the Satisfaction of the World. For he knows, that of all things History is least understood by the Generality of Mankind: And what is very strange, People are for the most part least able to judge of the History of their own Times: They have imperfect Remembrances, they have confused Notions, they have a Partiality to one side, and a Prejudice to another, they have their Presumptions, and their Conjectures, and like some distemper'd Heads have a Sight so uncertain, that it deceives them more than Blindness it self could do. For this Reason, no prudent Writer would set a Name to the History

P R E F A C E.

story of his own Times; for it is impossible to please, or to be thought impartial, till Posterity find out his plain and honest Dealing.

Therefore the Hand chiefly concern'd in those Papers withdraws it self from the Notice of the World, and does rest satisfied with its own Intention; which was to hold an Even Balance, and to let nothing turn it but Truth and Justice. A great Regard has been had to the excellent History written by my Lord Clarendon, which is far from serving any one side only; and the Characters which are the best Part of it are most of them here transcrib'd. The following Reigns are done with some few Discoveries of what had not been before publish'd in the general and common Affairs; the Story is told according to the best Writers, and very often in their very Words.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

SINCE this Book was near finish'd, it has been thought proper to add an Appendix to Mr. Camden's Life of Queen Elizabeth, in order to give farther Light into some weighty Matters. And there being nothing of it mention'd in the Index, a Catalogue of the Papers contain'd is here printed for the Reader's Satisfaction.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the
Norman Conquest.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON.
BOOK I.

THE Beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom Sacred Books have spoken, is to this day unknown. Nor only the Beginning, but the Deeds also of many succeeding Ages, yea, periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obscur'd and blemish'd with Fables. Whether it were that the use of Letters came in long after, or were it the Violence of barbarous Inundations, or they themselves, at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; whereby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have been some destroy'd, some lost. Perhaps dis-esteem and contempt of the Publick Affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise Men, and of best Ability, have forbore to write the Acts of their own Days, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all History the Persons and their Actions were; who either by Fortune, or some rude Election, had attain'd as a fore Judgment, and Ignominy upon the Land, to have chief Sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law, or Superstition of our old Philosophers the *Druids*, forbade the *Britains* to write their memorable Deeds, I know not why

any out of *Cæsar* should alledge: He indeed *Cæsar* 1. 6. saith, that their Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most Matters else, both private and publick, among which well may History be reckon'd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the *British Druids*, who taught those in *Gaul*, would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by their Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into the highest, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely. Whatever might be the reason, this we find, that of *British Affairs*, from the first Peopling of the Island, to the coming of *Julius Cæsar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, History, or Ancient Fame, hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldest seeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries been long rejected for a Modern Fable.

Nevertheless, there being others besides the first suppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquity, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and seeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted fabulous, have been after found to contain in them many footsteps, and relicks of something true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little believ'd, till undoubted Witnesses taught us that all was not

* There are some Objections, and those not inconsiderable, against this Assertion. *Græci literis utuntur*, saith *Cæsar*: Which does not necessarily imply that they us'd the Greek Tongue, but only their Letters: For if he had meant the Language, he would have rather said, *Græco sermone*, or *Græcâ linguâ*. But this does not take off the difficulty neither: For if they made use of the Greek Letters, it had been but a poor contrivance of *Cæsar's*, to write to *Cicero* (in *Gaul*) in the Greek Character, for fear the Letter should be intercepted, and their Designs discovered. *Hanc Græci conscriptam literis mittit, ne interceptâ epistolâ, nostrâ ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur*, saith *Cæsar*, lib. 5. Now if the *Druids* (the great Ministers of State) us'd the Greek Character in their common business, why should *Cæsar* think, that this Character would conceal his Designs? The learned *Selden* believes *Græci* to have been foisted into that place of *Cæsar*, where he speaks of the *Druids*, (lib. 6.) and will have him mean no more, than that Religious Matters were never writ down, but in all Secular Affairs they made use of Writing: A Conjecture natural enough, and very probably true.

feign'd; I have therefore determin'd to bestow the telling over of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by their Art will know how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce Examples, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livy* and others of the *Latines*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controversies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the smooth course of History; much less to argue and debate long who were the first Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath been upheld, but shall endeavour that which hitherto hath been needed most, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read. Which imploring Divine Assistance, that it may redound to his Glory, and the good of the *British* Nation, I now begin.

That the whole Earth was inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmost point of habitable Ground, from those effectual words of God in the Creation, may be more than conjectur'd. Hence that this Island also had her Dwellers, her Affairs, and perhaps her Stories, even in that old World those many hundred Years, with much reason we may infer. After the Flood, and the dispersing of Nations, as they journey'd leisurely from the East, *Gomer*, the eldest Son of *Japhet*, and his Off-spring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinity of divers Names is generally believ'd, were the first that peopl'd all these West and Northern Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had done nothing, unless with all circumstance they tell us when, and who first set foot upon this Island, presume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit Authors a certain *Samothbes* or *Dis*, a fourth or sixth Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about two hundred years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies, first the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaul*, and next this Island: Thence to have nam'd it *Samothbea*, to have reign'd here, and after him lineally four Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the forg'd *Berosus*, whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either he, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into *Britain*, or send their People hither. So that this out-landish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room here so much as of a *British* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though seeming less impertinent, is, That these *Samothbeans*, under the Reign of *Bardus*, were subdu'd by *Albion* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*: who call'd the Island after his own name, and rul'd it forty four years. Till at length passing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Lestrygon*, against whom *Hercules* was hastening out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there slain in fight, and *Berigon* also his Brother.

Sure enough we are that *Britain* hath been anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes men-

tion of a stony Shoar in *Languedoc*, where by report such a Battel was fought. The rest 'as his giving name to the Isle, or ever landing here depends altogether upon late furrifises. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross is that fond invention that wast'd hither the fifty Daughters of a strange *Dioclesian* King of *Syria*; brought in doubtless by some illiterate pretender to something mistaken in the common poetical Story of *Danaus* King of *Argos*, while his Vanity, not pleas'd with the obscure beginning which truest Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These Daughters, by appointment of *Danaus* on the Marriage-night, having murder'd all their Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wife's Loyalty sav'd, were by him, at the suit of his Wife their Sister, not put to death, but turn'd out to Sea in a Ship unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate; and as the Tale goes, were driven on this Island. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as some write, or as others, a lawless crew left here by *Albion* without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had issue by them a second breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd the Isle till *Brutus* came.

The eldest of those Dames in their Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which cause the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the same *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may seem, so sluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have lived above a thousand years ago. This I find not in him, but that *Hiftion* sprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons, *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Al-* *Holinshed.*
mannus, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britains*; as true, I believe, as that those other Nations whose Names are resembled, came of the other three; if these Dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the Book it self, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have given A. M.
us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon 2855.
over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Caesar*, we cannot so easily be discharg'd; Descents of Ancestry, long-continu'd Laws and Exploits, not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression: defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yielded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from some noble Ancestor, were content at first with *Brutus* the Consul; till better invention, although not willing to forego the name, taught them to remove it higher, into a more fabulous Age, and by the same remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales, in affectation to make the *Britain* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn Names of successive Kings, never any to have been real persons, or done in their lives, at least some part of what so long hath been remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

^b Concerning the first Peopling of *Britain*, Mr. *Cambden* has given us as distinct an account, as can be drawn from probable conjectures, and as the great distance of Time and want of Records will allow. See his *Britannia*, the English Edition, p. 10.

^c 'Tis possible enough he might give name to the Isle, though he never landed here. *Pliny* tells us it was call'd *Albion*, to distinguish it from the Islands round *Britain*, which went under the general name of *Britannica*: and this likely enough was done by the *Greeks*, who delighted so much in fabulous Names.

^d That Romantick Story of *Brutus* and his Posterity, is fairly confuted by Mr. *Cambden*, English Edit. p. 6.

^e *Leland* has published a Vindication of the Story: and the *Welsh* are generally very unwilling to give it up for fabulous.

^f If the *Britains* are so fond of a *Trojan* Original, Mr. *Cambden* has pointed out a much better claim to it, than the Story of *Brutus* can give them: For the *Romans* (descended from the *Trojans*) by their long continuance in this Island, could not but have many inter-marriages with the *Britains*; whereby a great many *Britains* at this day must be of *Roman*, and by consequence, of *Trojan* Extraction.

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For these, and those Causes above-mention'd, that which hath receiv'd Approbation from so many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the Credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient Writers from Books more ancient, I refuse not, as the due and proper Subject of Story. The principal Author is well known to be *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him have deliver'd the same Matter, and such like general Discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselves. All of them agree in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*, he of *Ascanius*, whose Father was *Aeneas* a Trojan Prince, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Ascanius*, and a collected Number that escap'd, after long wandering on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*. Where at length, by the Assistance of *Latinus* King of *Latium*, who had given him his Daughter *Lavinia*, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Ascanius*, whose Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Histories deny *Silvius* to be the Son of *Ascanius*) had married secretly a Niece of *Lavinia*.

Henry of
Huntingdon.
Matthew of
Westminster.

She being with Child, the Matter became known to *Ascanius*. Who commanding his *Magicians* to enquire by Art, what Sex the Maid had conceiv'd; had answer, That it was one who should be the Death of both his Parents; and banish'd for the Fact, should after all in a far Country attain to highest Honour. The Prediction fail'd not, for in Travail the Mother dy'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was so call'd) at fifteen Years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Banish'd therefore by his Kindred, he retires into *Greece*. Where meeting with the Race of *Helenus*, King *Priam's* Son, held there in servile Condition by *Pandrasus*, then King; with them he abides: For *Pyrrhus* in Revenge of his Father slain at *Troy*, had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others, into Servitude. There *Brutus*, among his own Stock so thrives in Virtue, and in Arms, as renders him belov'd by Kings, and great Captains, above all the Youth of that Land. Whereby the *Trojans* not only begin to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to Liberty. They alledge their Numbers, and the promis'd Help of *Assaracus*, a Noble *Greekish* Youth, by the Mother's Side a *Trojan*; whom for that Cause his Brother went about to dispossess of certain Castles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* considering both the Forces offer'd him, and the Strength of those Holds, not unwillingly consents.

First therefore, having fortify'd those Castles, he, with *Assaracus*, and the whole Multitude, betake them to the Woods and Hills, as the safest Place from whence to expostulate; and in the Name of all sends to *Pandrasus* this Message; That the *Trojans* holding it unworthy their Ancestors to serve in a Foreign Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; chusing rather a savage Life, than a slavish: If that displeas'd him, that then with his Leave they might depart to some other Soil.

As this may pass with good Allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in these Parts; for *Helenus* was by *Pyrrhus* made King of the *Chalcians*, and the Sons of *Pyrrhus* by *Andromache*, *Hector's* Wife, could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*; so much the more it may be doubted

how these *Trojans* could be thus in Bondage, 2855. where they had Friends and Country-men so potent. But to examine these things with Diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britain* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other Countries, as this Island, is equally under Question. Be't how it will, *Pandrasus* not expecting so bold a Message from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army: And marching toward the Woods, *Brutus*, who had notice of his Approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatium*, (I know not what Town, but certainly of no *Greek* Name) over Night planting himself there with good part of his Men, suddenly sets upon him, and with Slaughter of the *Greeks*, pursues him to the Passage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*: Where at the Ford he overlays them afresh. This Victory obtain'd, and a sufficient Strength left in *Sparatium*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the King's Brother, and his Friend *Anacletus*, whom he had taken in the Fight, returns to the residue of his Friends in the thick Woods. While *Pandrasus* with all speed recollecting, besieges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his Men besieg'd, who earnestly call'd him, distrusting the Sufficiency of his Force, bethinks himself of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatening instant Death else both to him and his *Antigonus*, enjoins him, that he should go at the second Hour of Night to the *Greekish* League, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by stealth out of Prison to a certain Woody Vale; unable through the Weight of his Fetters to move further; entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus*, to save both himself and his Friend *Antigonus*, swears this; and at a fit Hour sets out alone toward the Camp: Is met, examin'd, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great Profession of Fidelity first made, he frames his Tale, as had been taught him: And they now fully assur'd, with a credulous Rashness leaving their Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his Men into three parts, leads on in Silence to the Camp; commanding first each part at a several Place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron possess'd of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The Sound whereof no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the besieged also now sallying forth, on the other side, assail. *Brutus* the while had special Care to seize and secure the King's Person; whose Life still within his Custody, he knew was the surest Pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there distributes the King's Treasure, and leaving the Place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Prisoner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave Men he summons to Counsel, what they should now demand of the King.

After long Debate, *Mempricius*, one of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from Thought of longer stay in *Greece*, unless they meant to be deluded with a subtle Peace, and the awaited Revenge of those whose Friends they had slain, advises them to demand first the King's Eldest Daughter *Imogen* in Marriage to their Leader *Brutus*, with a rich Dowry, next Shipping, Mo-

* *Nennius*, who liv'd in the 7th Century, makes the Island to be first inhabited by *Bruto*, Son to *Ascanius* and Grandson to *Aeneas*; who, as he supposes, reign'd in *Britain* at the Time when *Eli* judg'd *Israel*, about the Year of the World, 2830. *Sigebertus Gemblasensis*, a French Monk, who liv'd 20 Years before *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, writes, that *Brute* pass'd from *Gaul* into *Britain*; and *Henry Huntington*, Contemporary with *Geoffrey*, is of Opinion that *Britain* was Peopled by *Brute*.

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This Resolution pleasing best, the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is briefly told, that on these Conditions granted, he might be free; not granted, he must prepare to die.

Press'd with Fear of Death, the King readily yields, especially to bestow his Daughter on whom he confess'd so Noble and so Valiant: Offers them also the Third part of his Kingdom, if they like to stay; if not, to be their Hostage himself, till he had made good his Word.

The Marriage therefore solemniz'd, and Shipping from all Parts got together, the Trojans in a Fleet, no less written than three Hundred four and Twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a prosperous Course two Days and a Night bring them on a certain Island, long before dispos'd and left wast by Sea-Rovers; the Name whereof was then *Leogecia*, now unknown. They who were sent out to discover, came at length to a ruin'd City, where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: But not meeting first or last save wild Beasts, they return with this notice to their Ships: Wishing their General would enquire of that Oracle what Voyage to pursue.

Consultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Germanus* his Diviner, and twelve of the ancientest, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward Shrine of the Goddess, in Verse, as it seems the manner was, utters his Request, *Divia potens nemo-rum, &c.*

*Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs, who at will
Walk'ſt on the rolling Sphere, and thro' the deep,
On thy third Reign the Earth look now and tell
What Land, what Seat of Reſt thou bid'ſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin Quires.*

To whom ſleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Viſion that Night thus answer'd, *Brute, ſub
occafum Solis, &c.*

*Brutus, far to the Weſt, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, a Land there lies:
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People; thither bend
Thy Courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting Seat,
There to thy Sons another Troy ſhall riſe,
And Kings be born of thee, whoſe dreaded Might
Shall awe the World, and conquer Nations bold.*

These Verses originally Greek, were put in *Latin*, ſaith *Virumius*, by *Gildas* a *British* Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquity of this Fable; and indeed the *Latin* Verses are much better, than for the Age of *Geoffrey* ap *Arbur*, unless perhaps *Joſeph* of *Exeter*, the only smooth Poet of those Times, befriended him. In this *Diana* over-shot her Oracle thus ending, *Iſſis totius terra ſubditus orbis erit*, That to the Race of *Brute*, Kings of this Island, the whole Earth shall be subject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by Divine Conduct, speeds him towards the West; and after some Encounters on the *Aſic* Side, arrives at a Place on the *Tyrrhene* Sea, where he happens to find the Race of those *Trojans*, who with *Antenor*, came into *Italy*; and *Corineus*, a Man much fam'd, was their Chief: Though by ſever Authors it be reported, that those *Trojans*

with *Antenor*, were ſeated on the other ſide of 2855.

Italy on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhene* Shoar. But these joyning Company, and paſt the *Herculean Pillars*, at the Mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* caſt Anchor. Where after ſome Diſcovery made of the Place, *Corineus* hunting nigh the Shoar with his Men, is by Meſſengers of the King *Goffarius Picus* met, and queſtion'd about his Errand there. Who not anſwering to their Mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, ſlays him: And the *Picarian* himſelf hereupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus* and *Corineus*; who with the Battle Ax, which he was wont to manage againſt the *Tyrrhene Giants*, is ſaid to have done Marvels. But *Goffarius* having drawn to his Aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by *Twelve Kings*, puts his Fortune to a ſecond Trial, wherein the *Trojans*, over-born by Multitude, are driven back, and beſieg'd in their own Camp, which by good Foreſight was ſtrongly ſituate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly iſſuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whoſe Device it was, aſſaulting them behind from a Wood, where he had convey'd his Men the Night before, the *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the Loſs of *Turon* a valiant Nephew of *Brutus*; whoſe Aſhes left in that Place, gave Name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his Powers much leſſen'd, and this yet not the Place foretold him, leaves *Aquitain*, and with an eaſie Courſe, * arriving at *Totneſs* in *Devonſhire*, quick-ly perceives here to be the promis'd End of his Labours.

The Island, not yet *Britain*, but *Albion*, was in a manner deſart and inhospitable; kept only by a Remnant of *Giants*; whoſe exceſſive Force and Tyranny had conſum'd the reſt. Them *Brutus* deſtroys, and to his People divides the Land, which with ſome Reference to his own Name he thenceforth calls *Britain*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwall*, as we now call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik'd, for that the hugeſt *Giants*, in Rocks and Caves were ſaid to lurk ſtill there; which kind of Monſters to deal with was his old Exerciſe.

And here, with Leave beſpoken, to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our beſt Poets; while *Brutus* on a certain Feſtival Day ſolemnly kept on that Shoar, where he firſt landed, was with the People in great Jollity and Mirth, a Crew of theſe Savages breaking in upon them, began on the ſudden another ſort of Game than at ſuch a Meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goemagog* the hugeſt, in height twelve Cubits, is reſerv'd alive; that with him *Corineus*, who deſir'd nothing more, might try his Strength; whom in a Wreſtle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs: Nevertheleſs *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main Force, and on his Shoulders, bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all ſhatter'd into the Sea, and left his Name on the Cliff, call'd ever ſince *Langoemagog*, which is to ſay, the Giant's Leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a choſen place builds *Troja Nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*, and began to enact Laws; *Heli* being then High Prieſt in *Judea*; and having govern'd the whole Iſle 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Lochrine*, *Albanaſt* and *Camber*, divide the Land by Conſent. *Lochrine* had the middle part *Loegria*;

* The time of his Landing is ſuppos'd to be about 1200 Years after the Flood, A. M. 2830.

† He gives it a *Latin* Name, tho' that Language was not then us'd in *Italy*.

2855. *Camber* possess'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact*, *Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber*, King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in Fight, and his People driven back into *Loegria*. *Lochrine* and his Brother go out against *Humber*; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this Day retains his Name. Among the Spoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Estrildis*, above the rest, palling fair, the Daughter of a King in *Germany*, from whence *Humber*, as he went wafting the Sea-Coast, had led her Captive: Whom *Lochrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, resolves to marry. But being forc'd and threaten'd by *Corineus*, whose Authority and Power he fear'd; *Guendolen* the Daughter he yields to marry, but in secret loves the other; and oft-times retiring as to some private Sacrifice, through Vaults and Passages made under Ground; and seven Years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whose Name was *Sabra*. But when once his Fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not content with secret Enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he made *Estrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in Rage departs into *Cornwall*, where *Madan*, the Son she had by *Lochrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grand-father. And gathering an Army of her Father's Friends and Subjects, gives Battle to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Lochrine* shot with an Arrow ends his Life. But not so ends the Fury of *Guendolen*, for *Estrildis*, and her Daughter *Sabra* she throws into a River; and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the Stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damfel's Name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

15 Years she governs in behalf of her Son, then resigning to him at Age, retires to her Father's Dominion. This, saith my Author, was in the Days of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the Praise to have well and peacefully rul'd the Space of 40 Years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius* and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had first to do with the Ambition of his Brother, aspiring to share with him in the Kingdom; whom therefore at a Meeting to compose Matters, with a Treachery which his Cause needed not, he slew.

Nor was he better in the sole Possession, whereof so ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and those especially next to succeed him; till lastly given over to unnatural Lust, in the twentieth of his Reign, hunting in a Forest, he was devour'd by Wolves.

2969. His Son *Ebranc*, a Man of mighty Strength and Stature, reign'd 40 Years. He first after *Brutus* wasted *Gaul*; and returning rich and prosperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania*, *Alchud*; *Mount Agned*, or the Castle of *Maidens*, now *Edinburgh*. He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he sent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who bestow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan* Line. His Sons under the leading of *Assaracus* their Brother, won them Lands and Signiories in *Germany*, thence call'd, from these Brethren, *Germania*: a Derivation too hastily suppos'd, perhaps before the Word *Germanus* or the *Latin* Tongue was in use. Some who have describ'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Lessabeus*, are cited to affirm that *Ebranc* in his War there was by *Brunchildis* Lord of *Henault* put to the worse.

Brutus therefore surnamed *Greenshield* succeeding to repair his Father's Losses, as the same *Lessabeus* reports, fought a second Battle in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the Mouth of *Scaldis*,

and encamp'd on the River *Hanaa*. Of which 3000. our *Spencer* also thus sings.

*Let Scaldis tell, and let tell Hania,
And let the Marsh of Esthambruges tell
What Colour were their Waters that same Day,
And all the Moor 'twixt Elvertham and Dell,
With Blood of Henelois which therein fell;
How oft that Day did sad Brunchildis see
The Greenshield dy'd in dolorous Vermeil, &c.*

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenchild* seem newer Names than for a Story pretended thus Ancient.

Him succeeded *Leir*, a Maintainer of Peace 3022. and Equity; but slacken'd in his latter End, whence arose some civil Discord. He built in the North *Caerliel*, in the Days of *Solomon*.

Rudbuddibras, or *Hudibras*, appeasing the Com- 3043. motions which his Father could not, founded *Caerkeynt* or *Canterbury*, *Caerguent*, or *Winchester*, and *Mount Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: But this by others is contradicted.

Eladud his Son built *Caerbados* or *Bath*, and 3085. those Medicinal Waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whose Temple there he kept Fire continually burning. He was a Man of great Invention, and taught Necromancy: Till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and so dy'd after Twenty Years Reign.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line 3105. hath run on: But *Leir*, who next reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue: Govern'd laudably, and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leicester* on the Bank of *Sora*. But at last, failing through Age, he determines to bestow his Daughters, and so among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying behov'd him) he resolves a simple Resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believe. *Gonoril*, the Eldest, apprehending too well her Father's Weakness, makes answer, invoking Heaven, That she lov'd him above her Soul. Therefore, quoth the old Man over-joy'd, since thou so honour'st my declined Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt chuse, I give the third part of my Realm. So fair a speeding for a few Words soon utter'd, was to *Regan* the second, ample Instruction what to say. She on the same Demand spares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her Thoughts she knew not, but that she lov'd him above all Creatures; and so receives an equal Reward with her Sister. But *Cordeilla* the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present Hire of a little easie soothing, the Danger also, and the Loss likely to betide plain Dealing, yet moves not from the solid Purpose of a sincere and vertuous Answer. Father, saith she, my Love towards you is as my Duty bids; what should a Father seek? What can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter. When the old Man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those Words, persisted asking; with a Loyal Sadness at her Father's Infirmitie, but something on the sudden harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, than speaking her own Mind, Two ways only, saith she, I have to answer what you require me; the former, your Command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much you have, so much is your Value, and so much I love you. Then bear thou, quoth *Leir*, now all in a Passion, what thy Ingratitude

3105. *Ingratitude hath gain'd thee; because thou hast not reverenc'd thy aged Father equal to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine reckon to have none.* And without delay gives in Marriage his other Daughters, *Gonnil* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Hemmus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in present half his Kingdom; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the Wisdom, and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, inso much that *Aganippus* a great King in *Gaul* (however he came by his Greek Name) seeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the Loss of her Dowry, receives her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this, King *Leir*, more and more drooping with Years, became an easie Prey to his Daughters and their Husbands; who now by daily Encroachment had seiz'd the whole Kingdom into their hands, and the old King is put to sojourn with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by three score Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual Guests, are reduc'd to Thirty. Not brooking that Affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter: But there also Disorder soon arising between the Servants of differing Masters in one Family, five only are suffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she his Eldest could not but have more Pity on his gray Hairs: But she now refuses to admit him unless he be content with one only of his Followers. At last the Remembrance of his youngest, *Cordeilla*, comes to his Thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her Words had been, though with little Hope from one he had so injur'd, be it but to pay her the last Recompence she can have from him, his Confession of her wife forewarning, that so perhaps his Misery, the Proof and Experiment of her Wisdom, might something soften her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be seen a Difference between the silent and downright spoken Affection of some Children to their Parents, and the talkative Obsequiousness of others; while the Hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the Tongues end enlarges their Duty. *Cordeilla* out of mere Love, without the Suspicion of expected Reward, at the Message only of her Father in Distress, pours forth true filial Tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye should see him in such forlorn Condition as his Messenger declar'd, discreetly appoints one of her most trusty Servants, first to convey him privately toward some good Sea Town, there to array him, bath him, cherish him, furnish him with such Attendants and State, as becom'd his Dignity. That then, as from his first Landing, he might send word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which done with all mature and requisite Contrivance, *Cordeilla* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then first had News of his passing the Sea, go out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful Entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wife's Father, and his Royal Guest, surrenders him, during his abode there, the Power and Disposol of his whole Dominion: Permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and set her Father upon his Throne. Wherein her Piety so prosper'd, as that she vanquish'd her impious Sisters with those Dukes, and *Leir* again, as saith the Story,

three Years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all Regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leicester*. And then as right Heir succeeding, and her Husband dead, rul'd the Land five Years in Peace; until *Marganus* and *Cunedagius*, her two Sisters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom should be govern'd by a Woman, in the unseasonablest time to raise that Quarrel against a Woman so worthy, make War against her, depose her, and imprison her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to suffer, she there, as is related, kill'd her self. The Victors between them part the Land: But *Marganus* the Eldest Sister's Son who held by Agreement from the North-side of *Humber* to *Catbness*, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own Right, wars on *Cunedagius*, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his Life, and ever since his Name to the Place.

Cunedagius was now sole King, and govern'd with much Praise many Years, about the time when *Rome* was built.* Him succeeded *Rivallo* his Son, wife also and fortunate; save what they tell us of three Days raining Blood, and Swarms of stinging Flies, whereof Men dy'd. In order then *Gurgustius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nephew; *Sifilius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex* and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of their Father falling to contend who should succeed, *Porrex* attempting by Treachery his Brother's Life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and slays him. But by his Mother *Videna* who less lov'd him, is himself, with the Assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus*; whereupon, the whole Land with civil Broils was rent into Five Kingdoms, long time waging War on each other; and some say 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius*, the Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwall*, one of the foresaid five, excelling in Valour, and Goodliness of Person, after his Father's Decease found means to reduce again the whole Island into a Monarchy: Subduing the rest at Opportunities. First *Immer* King of *Loegria* whom he slew; then *Rudaucus* of *Cambria*, *Staterius* of *Albania*, confederate together. In which Fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtful, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 stout Men, bids them put on the Armour of their slain Enemies, and so unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where those two Kings had plac'd themselves in Fight, from that part which they thought securest, assaults and dispatches them. Then displaying his own Ensigns, which before he had conceal'd, and sending notice to the other part of his Army what was done, adds to them new Courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo* was the first in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by some reputed the first King. He established the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the *English* to this Day; written long after in *Latin* by *Gildas*, and in *Saxon* by King *Alfred*; so saith *Geoffrey*; but *Gildas* denies to have known ought of the *Britains* before *Cesar*, much less knew *Alfred*. These Laws, whoever made them, bestow'd on Temples the Privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities also, and the ways thither leading, yea to Plows

* *Romulus* built *Rome* A. M. 3198. *Tall. Tab.*

^b *Sifilius* reign'd before *Lago*, who according to Mr. *Tallent's* Chronological Tables succeeded him A. M. 3336, and was succeeded by *Kimmachus* or *Kinmarcus*, A. M. 3364.

^c The Line of *Brutus* reign'd in this Island, according to *Geoffrey of Monmouth's* Account, 650 Years.

3565. granted a kind of like Refuge: And made such Riddance of Thieves and Robbers, that all Passages were safe. Forty Years he govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to *the Temple of Concord*; which he, to the Memory of Peace restor'd, had built in *Trinovant*.

His two Sons, *Belinus* and *Brennus*, contending about the Crown, by Decision of Friends came at length to an accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sovereignty of all. But the younger not long so contented, that he, as they whisper'd to him, whose Valour had so oft repell'd the Invasions of *Ceulphus* the *Morine* Duke, should now be subject to his Brother, upon new Design sails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinity with *Elfing* that King; which *Belinus* perceiving, in his Absence dispossesses him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*; but encounter'd by *Guthlac* the *Danish* King, who laying claim to his Bride, pursu'd him on the Sea, his haste was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: Who from the Fight by sudden Tempest, was by the *Danish* King driven on *Northumberland*, and brought to *Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheless recollecting his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battle to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but losing the Day, escapes with one single Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane* upon his own Offer to become tributary, sent home with his new Prize, *Belinus* returns his Thoughts to the administering of Justice, and the perfecting of his Father's Laws; and to explain what High-ways might enjoy the foresaid Privileges, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roads to the utmost Length and Breadth of the Island, and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the *Romans*. *Brennus* on the other side soliciting to his Aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happens at last on *Seginus* Duke of the *Allobroges*, where his Worth and Comeliness of Person won him the Duke's Daughter and Heir. In whose Right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd Leave passing with a great Host through the length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britain*. Nor was *Belinus* unprepared, and now the Battle ready to joyn, *Conuenna* the Mother of them both, all in a Fright, throws her self between, and calling earnestly to *Brennus* her Son, whose absence had so long depriv'd her of his Sight, after Embracements and Tears, assails him with such a Motherly Power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his Enmity against *Belinus*.

Then are hands joyn'd, Reconciliation made firm, and Counsel held to turn their united Preparations on foreign Parts. Thence that by these two all *Gallia* was over-run, the Story tells; and what they did in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if these be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the *Roman* Authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which here against the Stream of History, carries up and down these Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, pursuing *Gabius* and *Porfena* two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally believ'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomist *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britains*; the Name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King, and of the other a great *Britain*. However, *Belinus* after a while returning home, the rest of his Days rul'd in Peace, Wealth and Honour above all his Predecessors; building

some Cities, of which one was *Caerose* upon *Osia*, 3563. since *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Haven, and a Tower on the *Billing-Thames*, retaining yet his Name; on the Top Gate, whereof his Ashes are said to have been laid up in a Golden Urn.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild 3596. and just, but yet inheriting his Father's Courage, he subdu'd the *Dacian*, or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute covenanted to *Belinus* for his Enlargement. In his return finding about the *Orkneys* thirty Ships of *Spain*, or *Biscay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whose Captain also *Bartholimus* wrongfully banish'd, as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his Territory might be assign'd them to dwell in, he sent with them certain of his own Men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Island to hold of him as in Homage. He was bury'd in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

Guthelme his Son, is also remember'd, as a just 3615. and good Prince, and his Wife *Murtia* to have excell'd so much in Wisdom, as to venture upon a new Institution of Laws. Which King *Alfred* translating, call'd *Marchen-League*, but more truly thereby is meant the *Mercian Law*; not translated by *Alfred*, but digested or incorporated with the *West-Saxon*. In the Minority of her Son 3656. she had the Rule, and then, as may be suppos'd, brought forth these Laws, not her self, for Laws are Masculine Births, but by the Advice of her sagest Counsellors; and therein she might do virtuously, since it befel her to supply the Nonage of her Son: Else nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, than that a Woman should give Laws to Men.

Her Son *Sifillius* coming to Years, receiv'd the *Sifillius* Rule; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or the 2d. *Elaninus* his Brother. Then *Morinus*, his Son by 3666. *Tanguestela*, a Concubine, who is recorded a Man of excellent Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aspect, but immanely Cruel; not sparing in his Anger, Enemy or Friend, if any Weapon were in his Hand. A certain King of the *Morines*, or *Picards* invaded *Northumberland*; whose Army this King, though not wanting sufficient Numbers, chiefly by his own Prowess overcame; but dishonour'd his Victory by the cruel Usage of his Prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his Presence put all to several Deaths: Well fitted to such a Beastial Cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge Monster that from the *Irish* Sea infested the Coast, and in the Pride of his Strength, foolishly attempting to set Manly Valour against a brute Vastness, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible Mouth he was catch'd up and devour'd.

Gorbonian the Eldest of his five Sons, than whom 3676. a juster Man liv'd not in his Age, was a great Builder of Temples, and gave to all what was their due; to his Gods devout Worship, to Men of Desert, Honour, and Preferment; to the Commons Encouragement in their Labours, and Trades, Defence and Protection, from Injuries and Oppressions, so that the Land flourish'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong seldom was heard of: His Death was a general Loss; he was buried in *Trinovant*. *Archigallo* the second Brother follow'd not his Example; but depress'd the ancient Nobility, and by peeling the wealthier sort, stuff'd his Treasury, and took the right way to be depos'd. *Elidure* the next Brother, firnam'd the Pious, was set up in his Place; a Mind 3686. 3687.

* Said to be built on the Ground where *Blackwell-Hall* now stands. Selden mentions *Kinmarcus* in his *Janus Anglorum*.

† He is said to have built *Lancaster*, and *Warwick*. And *Cambridge*, as is pretended, was now built by *Cantabar* a Spaniard.

3687. so noble and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have ever been found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Forest of Calster, he chanc'd to meet his deposed Brother wandering in mean condition; who had been long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning foreign Aids to his Restoremēt; and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten Followers, privately return'd to find subsistence among his secret Friends. At the unexpected sight of him, *Elidure* himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms; and after many dear and sincere Welcome, conveys him to the City *Alclud*, there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards feigning himself sick, summons all his Peers, as about greatest Affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom, after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to *Tork*, and from his own Head, places the Crown on the Head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold with the admiration of a Deed so Heroick, became a true converted Man, rul'd worthily ten Years, dy'd and was bury'd in *Caerleir*. Thus was a Brother sav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown, the thing that so often dazles and vitiates mortal Men, for which thousands of nearest Blood have destroy'd each other, was, in respect of Brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing.

3690. *Elidure* now, in his own behalf, re-assumes the Government, and did as was worthy such a Man to do. When Providence, that so great Virtue might want no sort of tryal to make it more illustrious, stirs up *Vigenius* and *Peredure* his youngest Brethren, against him who had deserv'd so nobly of that relation, as least of all by a Brother to be injur'd: Yet him they defeat, him they imprison in the Tower of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whose Death *Peredure* obtaining all, so much the better us'd his power, by how much the worse he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly miss'd. But yet in all right, owing to his Elder the due place whereof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he should die first.

3715. And *Elidure*, after many Years Imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the Throne; which at last he enjoy'd long in Peace; finishing the interrupted course of his mild and just Reign, as full of vertuous Deeds as Days, to the end. After these five Sons of *Morindus*, succeeded also their Sons in Order: * *Regin* of *Gorbonian*, *Marganus* of *Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other courses, was after six Years depos'd. Then *Idwallo*, taught by a near Example, govern'd soberly. Then *Runno*, then *Gerunnius*, he of *Peredure*, this last the Son of *Elidure*. From whose Loins (for that likely is the durable and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu'd a long descent of Kings, whose Names only for many Successions, without other memory, stand thus register'd, *Catellus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Cberin*, and his three Sons; *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurguntius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*,

Oemus, *Sifillius*, twenty Kings in a continu'd row, 3720. that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermision in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himself weary, as seems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this silence, *Blegabre-* 3800. *chus* next succeeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Musick; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his twenty Predecessors doings. Yet after him nine more succeeded in Name; his Brother *Archimailus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederchius*, *Samulius*, *Penissel*, *Pir*, *Capvius*, * but *Clignellius*, with the addition of Modest, Wife and Just. His Son *Heli* reign'd 3818. forty Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Cassibelan* and *Nennius*. This *Heli* seems to be the same whom *Ninnius* in his Fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Cassibelan*. *Lud* was he that enlarg'd and wall'd about *Trinovant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own name *Caer-Lud*, or *Lud's Town*, now *London*. Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great Dissention betwixt him and his Brother *Nennius*; who took 3878. it hainously that the name of *Troy*, their ancient Country, should be abolished for any new one. *Lud* was hardy and bold in War, in Peace a jolly Feaster. He conquer'd many Islands in the Sea, saith *Huntingdon*, and was bury'd by the Gate 3880. which from thence we call *Ludgate*. His two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Tenuantius*, were left to the tuition of *Cassibelan*; whose bounty and high demeanor so wrought with the common People, as got him easily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nephews, confers freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*; upon *Tenuantius*, *Cornwall*: Reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself; till the *Romans* for a while circumscrib'd his Power. Thus far, though leaning only on the Credit of *Geoffrey Monmouth*, and his Assertors, I yet for the specify'd causes have thought it not beneath my purpose to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the belief of other Person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others, computing or collating Years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the Time and Circumstances of things whereof the Substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by Night, and travell'd thro' a Rigion of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrives on the Confines, where Day-light and Truth meets us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true Colours and Shapes. For albeit *Cesar*, whose Authority we are now first to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of mis-reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil Wars against *Pompey*, much more may we think in the *British Affairs*, of whose little skill in writing he did not easily hope to be contradicted, yet now in such variety of good Authors, we hardly can miss from one hand or other to be sufficiently inform'd, as of things past so long ago. But this will better be referr'd to a second Discourse.

* *Clignellus* or *Dinellius*, the Son of *Capoivre*, about eighty Years after the Death of *Elidure*, in which time there had reign'd thirty Kings, came to the Crown, and is the first of so many Princes that *Geoffrey* could or would say any thing of.

* 'Tis said, this *Nennius* wrote the History of *Britain*, which was turn'd into Latin by another *Nennius*.

T H E
History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book II.

3897.

I Am now to write of what befel the *Britains* from fifty and three Years before the Birth of our Saviour, when first the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a Story of much Truth, and for the first Hundred Years and somewhat more, collected without much Labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the Civilest, and Wifest of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that puissant City. For Worthy Deeds are not often destitute of Worthy Relators: As by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same Ages. 'Tis true, that in obscurest Times, by shallow and unskilful Writers, the indistinct Noise of many Battles, and Devastations of many Kingdoms over-run and lost, hath come to our Ears. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the Love of Rapine hath stirr'd up greedy and violent Men to bold Attempts in wasting and ruining Wars, which to Posterity have left the Work of wild Beasts and Destroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerors? But he whose just and true Valour uses the necessity of War and Dominion, not to destroy but to prevent Destruction, to bring in Liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer *Time* or *Detraction*, wisely conscious of this his Wants as well as of his Worth not to be forgotten or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the Aid of Eloquence, his friendliest and best Supply; by whose immortal Record his noble Deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the Force of Years and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over *Envy*, *Death*, and *Time*, also victorious. Therefore when the Esteem of Science, and liberal Study waxes low in the Commonwealth, we may presume that also there all civil Vertue, and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: And then Eloquence, as it were consoled in the same Destiny, with the Decrease and Fall of Virtue corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her Office of relating, to illiterate and frivolous Historians; such as the Persons themselves both deserve, and are best pleas'd with; whilst they want either the Understanding to chuse better, or the Innocence to dare invite the examining and searching Stile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the Survey of their unsound Exploits, better befriended by Obscurity than Fame. As for these, the only Authors we have of *British* Matters, while the Power of *Rome* reach'd hither (for *Gildas* affirms, that of the *Roman* Times no

British Writer was in his Days extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or transported with such as fled the *Pictish* and *Saxon* Invasions) these therefore only *Roman* Authors there be, who in the English Tongue have laid together, as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a History of *Britain*. So that were it not for leaving an unsightly Gap so near to the beginning, I should have judg'd this Labour, wherein so little seems to be requir'd above Transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding since I must through it, if ought by Diligence may be added, or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explain'd, or more express'd, I shall assay.

Julius Caesar (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more than what appertains, is not here to be discours'd) having subdu'd most part of *Gallia*, which by a potent Faction, he had obtain'd of the Senate as his Province for many Years, stirr'd up with a Desire of adding still more Glory to his Name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his Ambition, some say, with a far meaner and ignobler, the Desire of *British* Pearls, whose Bigness he delighted to balance in his hand, determines, and that upon no unjust pretended Occasion, to try his Force in the Conquest also of *Britain*. For he understood that the *Britains* in most of his *Gallian* Wars, had sent Supplies against him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellocaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the Year before conspir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therefore *Caesar*, though now the Summer well nigh ending, and the Season unagreeable to transport a War, yet judg'd it would be great Advantage, only to get entrance into the *Isle*, Knowledge of the Men, the Places, the Ports, the Accesses, which then, it seems, were even to the *Gauls* their Neighbours almost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, saith he, that any use to travel thither; and to those that do, besides the Sea-Coast, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing else is known. But here I must require, as *Pollio* did, the Diligence, at least the Memory of *Caesar*. For if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiacus*, not long before, a puissant King of the *Soissons*, had *Britain* also under his Command, besides the *Belgian Colonies* which he affirms to have nam'd and peop'd many Provinces there, if also the *Britains* had so frequently given them aid in all their Wars; if lastly the *Druid* Learning, honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of *Britain*, and they who soonest would attain that Discipline, sent hither to learn, it appears not how *Britain* at that time should be so utterly unknown in *Gallia*.

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3897. *lia*, or only known to Merchants, yea to them so little, that being call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cæsar* of what bigness the Isle, what Nations, how great, what use of War they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. Of all which things, as it were then first to make Discovery, he sends *Caius Volusenus*, in a long Galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. He in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the *Morine** Coast, whence the shortest passage was into *Britain*. Hither his Navy, which he us'd against the *Armoricans*, and what else of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britain*, Ambassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages, and Obedience to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience given, *Cæsar* as largely promising, and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them *Comius of Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a *Roman Party* among the *Britains*, in as many Cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was speeding thither. *Volusenus*, with what discovery of the Island he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five Days returns to *Cæsar*. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of *Romans* and their Allies, to about 25000 Foot, and 4500 Horse, the Foot in 80 Ships of Burthen, the Horse in 18, besides what Gallies were appointed for his chief Commanders, sets off about the third Watch of the Night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a sufficient strength. But the Horse, whose appointed Shipping lay Wind-bound eight Mile upward in another Haven, had much trouble to imbarke. *Cæsar* now within sight of *Britain*, beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed Men, ready to forbid his Landing; and

Cicero writes to his Friend *Atticus*, that the Accesses of the Island were wondrously fortify'd with strong Works or Moles. Here from the fourth to the ninth hour of Day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet: Mean while with his Legates and Tribunes consulting, and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in such a various and floating Water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, close environ'd with Hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open Shoar eight Mile distant, commonly suppos'd about *Deal* in *Kent*. Which when the *Britains* perceiv'd, their Horse and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, scowring before, their main Power speeding after, some thick upon the shoar, others not tarrying to be assail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter and assault the *Romans*, even under their Ships, with such a bold and free hardihood, that *Cæsar* himself, between confessing and excusing that his Soldiers were to come down from their Ships, to stand in Water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the Terror of such new and resolute Opposition made them forget their wonted Valour. To succour which he commands his Gallies, a fight unusual to the *Britains*, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Vessels, to row against the open side of the Enemy, and thence

with Slings, Engines and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the strangeness of those new Sea Castles, bearing up so near and so swiftly, as almost to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oars, the battering of fierce Engines against their Bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britains* give much ground, or the *Romans* gain, till he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion, yet in the Gallies, first beseeching his Gods, said thus aloud: *Leap down, Soldiers, unless ye mean to betray your Ensign; I, for my part, will perform what I owe to the Common-wealth and my General.* This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle fiercely advanc'd, runs upon the Enemy, the rest heartning one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh losing their chief Standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours, who well knew their own advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the Shallows, now on the Sand, still as the *Romans* went trooping to their Ensigns, receiv'd them, dispatch'd them, and with the help of their Horse, put them every where to great disorder. But *Cæsar* causing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Soldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with Relief where they saw need; whereby at length all the Foot now disembark'd, and got together in some order on firm Ground, with a more steady Charge put the *Britains* to flight: But wanting all their Horse, whom the Winds yet withheld from failing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused Fight, *Scæva*, a *Roman* Soldier, having press'd too far among the *Britains*, and beset round, after incredible Valour shewn single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his Praises, earnestly besought Pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline: Which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a Deed wherein Valour and Ingenuity so much out-weigh'd Transgression, easily made amends, and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Cæsar* also is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that Person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: But this were to make *Cæsar* less understand what became him than *Scæva*. The *Britains* finding themselves master'd in Fight, forthwith send Ambassadors to treat of Peace; promising to give Hostages, and to be at command. With them *Comius of Arras* also return'd; whom hitherto, since his first coming from *Cæsar*, they had detain'd in Prison as a Spy; the blame whereof they lay on the common People, for whose violence and their own imprudence they crave pardon. *Cæsar* complaining they had first sought Peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages: Whereof part they bring in strait, others far up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few Days. Mean while the People disbanded and sent home, many Princes and chief Men from all parts of the Isle submit themselves and their Cities to the dispose of *Cæsar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Barham Down*. Thus had the *Britains* made their Peace, when suddenly an Accident unlook'd for put new Counsels into their Minds. Four Days after the coming of *Cæsar*, those 18 Ships of Burthen, which from the upper Haven had taken in all

* The *Morini* inhabited the Province of *Picardy*.

^b Concerning the Havens from whence *Cæsar* set sail for *Britain*, see *Mr. Somner's Dissertation, de Portu Ictio*, publish'd at Oxford by *Mr. Gibson*.

^c This *Scæva* afterwards became more famous for his Bravery at the Battel of *Dyrachium*, when he sided with *Cæsar* against *Pompey*.

3897. the *Roman Horse*, born with a soft Wind to the very Coast, in sight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a sudden Tempest scatter'd, and driven back, some to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the West Country; who finding there no Safety either to Land, or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled Sea; and as *Orosius* reports, were most of them cast away. The same Night, it being full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the *Romans* cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beaten with Waves, to the great Perplexity of *Cesar* and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convey them back, nor any Provision made to stay here, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britains* well perceiving, and by the Compass of his Camp, which without Baggage appear'd the smaller, guessing at his Numbers, consult together, and one by one silyly withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the Conclusion of a Peace, resolve to stop all Provisions, and to draw out the Business till Winter. *Cesar* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the Condition wherein he was, and their other Hostages not sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, against what might happen: lays in Corn, and with Materials fetch'd from the Continent, and what was left of those Ships which were past help he repairs the rest. So that now, by the incessant Labour of his Soldiers, all but twelve were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the Legions being sent out to forage, as was accusom'd, and no Suspicion of War, while some of the *Britains* were remaining in the Country about, others also going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in Station at the Camp Gates sent speedy Word to *Cesar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater Dust than usual was seen to rise. *Cesar* guessing the Matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thither, two others to succeed in their stead, the rest all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cesar* discerns his Legion fore over-charg'd: For the *Britains* not doubting but that their Enemies on the Morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreap'd of all their Harvest, had plac'd an Ambush; and while they were dispers'd and busiest at their Labour, set upon them, kill'd some, and routed the rest. The manner of their Fight was from a kind of * Chariots; wherein riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of their Horse, and of their Wheels, they oft-times broke the Rank of their Enemies; then retreating among the Horse, and quitting their Chariots, they fought on foot. The Charioteers, in the mean while somewhat aside from the Battel, set themselves in such order, that their Masters at any time oppress'd with odds, might retire safely thither, having perform'd with one Person both the nimble Service of a Horse-man, and the steadfast Duty of a Foot Soldier. So much they could with their Chariots by Use, and exercise, as riding on the speed down a steep Hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short Rein turn swiftly, now running on the † Beam, now on the * Yoke, then in the Seat. With this sort of new skirmishing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cesar* with opportune aid appears;

for then the *Britains* make a stand: But he considering that now was not fit time to offer Battel, while his Men were scarce recover'd of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Farther Action for many Days following was hinder'd on both sides by foul Weather; in which time the *Britains* dispatching Messengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of Prize and Booty, and now if ever of freeing themselves from the fear of like Invasions hereafter, by making these an example, if they could but now uncamp their Enemies; at this intimation multitudes of Horse and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the *Romans*. *Cesar* foreseeing that the *Britains*, tho' beaten and put to flight, would easily evade his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horse, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his Men to Battel, puts again the *Britains* to flight, pursues with Slaughter; and returning, burns and lays waste all about. Whereupon Ambassadors the same day being sent from the *Britains* to desire Peace: *Cesar*, as his Affairs at present stood, for so great a breach of Faith, only imposes on them double the former Hostages to be sent after him into *Gallia*: And because *September* was nigh half spent, a season not fit to tempt the Sea with his Weather-beaten Fleet, the same Night with a fair Wind he departs towards *Belgia*: Whither two only of the *Britain* Cities sent Hostages, as they promis'd, the rest neglected. But at *Rome*, when the news came of *Cesar's* Acts here, whether it were esteem'd a Conquest, or a fair Escape, Supplication of twenty Days is decreed by the Senate, as either for an Exploit done, or a Discovery made, wherein both *Cesar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little, though it brought no Benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth.

The Winter following, *Cesar*, as his Custom ^{Dish.} was, going into *Italy*, when as he saw that most of the *Britains* regarded not to send their Hostages, appoints his Legates whom he left in *Belgia*, to provide what possible Shipping they ^{Ces. Com.} could either build or repair. Low built they ⁵ were to be, as thereby easier both to freight, and to hale ashore; nor needed to be higher, because the Tide so often changing, was observ'd to make the Billows less in our Sea than those in the *Mediterranean*: Broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other Fraughtage, being intend'd chiefly to that end. These all about 600 in a Readiness, with 28 Ships of Burden, and what with Adventurers, and other Hulks above 200, *Cotta*, one of the Legates wrote them, as *Atkins* affirms, in all 1000, *Cesar* from * Port *Iccius*, a Passage of some 30 Mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the Haven, and for other Supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horse, about Sun set hoisting Sail with a slack South-West, at Midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the Current, had fallen off from the Isle, which now they could descry on their left hand, by the unwearied Labour of his Soldiers, who refus'd not to tug the Oar, and kept course with Ships under sail, he bore up as near as might be, to the same place where he had landed the Year before; where about Noon arriving, no Enemy could be seen. ^{Before the Birth of} For the *Britains*, which in great Numbers, ^{as Christ, 52.} was after known, had been there, at sight of so

* This is the same with *Gessoriacum*, at this Day *Bolton*; as is prov'd at large by Mr. Somner in his Discourse de *Portu Iccio*, publish'd by Dr. Gibson, with a Dissertation of *Du Fresne* on the same Subject.

3898. huge a Fleet durst not abide. *Cæsar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best Advantage, some notice being given him by those he took, where to find the Enemy, with his whole Power, five only ten Cohorts, and 300 Horse, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the Guard of his Ships, about the third Watch of the same Night marches up twelve Mile into the Country^{*}. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, espies embattel'd the *British Forces*. They with their Horses and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppose the *Romans* in their March, and begin the Fight; but repuls'd by the *Roman Cavalry* give back into the Woods, to a Place notably made strong both by Art and Nature; which, it seems, had been a Fort, or Hold of Strength rais'd heretofore in Times of Wars among themselves. For Entrance and Access on all sides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within these *Britains* did their utmost to keep out the Enemy. But the Soldiers of the seventh Legion locking all their Shields together like a Roof close over head, and others raising a Mount, without much Loss of Blood took the Place, and drove them all to forsake the Woods. Pursuit they made not long, as being through Ways unknown; and now Evening came on, which they more wisely spent, in chusing out where to pitch and fortifie their Camp that Night. The next Morning *Cæsar* had but newly sent out his Men in three Bodies to pursue, and the last no further gone than yet in sight, when Horsemen all in post from *Quintus Atrius* bring word to *Cæsar*, that almost all his Ships in a Tempest that Night had suffer'd Wrack, and lay broken upon the Shoar. *Cæsar* at this News recalls his Legions, himself in all hast riding back to the Sea-side, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous Prospect. About forty Vessels were sunk and lost, the residue so torn, and shaken, as not to be new rigg'd without much Labour. Straight he assembles what Number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be summon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* side to build more; and with a dreadful Industry of ten Days, not respiting his Soldiers Day or Night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the Circuit of his Camp. This done, and leaving to their Defence the same Strength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the same Wood, where he had defeated the *Britains*: Who preventing him with greater Powers than before, had now repossess'd themselves of that Place, under *Cassibelan* their chief Leader. Whose Territory from the States bordering on the Sea, was divided by the River *Thames* about 80 Mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual War; but now in the common Danger had all made choice of him to be their General. Here the *British* Horse and Charioteers meeting with the *Roman Cavalry* fought stoutly; and at first, something over-match'd, they retreat to the near Advantage of their Woods and Hills, but still follow'd by the *Romans*, made head again, cut off the forwardest among them, and after some pause, while *Cæsar*, who thought the Day's Work had been done, was busied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give fierce Assault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries; and while the main Cohorts of two Legions that were sent to the Alarm, stood within a small distance of each other, terrify'd at the Newness and Boldness of their Fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without Loss of a Man. Of the *Romans* that Day was slain *Quintus Laberius*

Durus, a Tribune: The *Britains* having fought their fill at the very Entrance of *Cæsar's* Camp, and sustain'd the Resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the Assault. *Cæsar* here acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow their cunning Flight, and durst not by ancient Discipline stir from their Ensign; and the Horse alone disjoyn'd from the Legions, against a Foe that turn'd suddenly upon them, with a mixt Encounter both of Horse and Foot, were in equal Danger both following and retiring. Besides their Fashion was, not in great Bodies, and close Order, but in small Divisions, and open Distances to make their onset, appointing others at certain Spaces, now to relieve and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the Conflict; which argu'd no small Experience, and Use of Arms. Next Day the *Britains* afar off upon the Hills begin to shew themselves here and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the *Roman* Horse. But at Noon *Cæsar* having sent out three Legions, and all his Horse with *Trebonius* the Legate, to seek Fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the Foragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and their Standards. The *Romans* with great Courage beat them back, and in the Chace, being well seconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to stand or to descend from their Chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this Overthrow, the *Britains* that dwelt farther off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a Power against *Cæsar*. Whereof advertis'd, he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Cassibelan*, which on this side were bound by the *Thames*, not passable except in one Place, and that difficult, about *Comay-Stakes* near *Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. Hither coming he descries on the other side great Forces of the Enemy plac'd in good Array; the Bank set all with sharp Stakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with Water; whereof the Marks in *Beda's* time were to be seen as he relates. This having learnt by such as were taken, or had run to him, he first commands his Horse to pass over, then his Foot, who wading up to the Neck went on so resolutely and so fast, that they on the further side not enduring the Violence, retreated and fled. *Cassibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victory, dismissing all but 4000 of those Charioteers, through Woods, and intricate ways attends their Motion; where the *Romans* are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual Sallies upon the Horse, where they least expected, cutting off some and terrifying others, compels them so close together, as gave them no leave to fetch in Prey or Booty without ill Success. Whereupon *Cæsar* strictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houses, which he spoil'd and burnt. Mean while the * *Trinobantes* a State or Kingdom, * They were the Ancient Inhabitants of Essex and Middlesex. and perhaps the greatest then among the *Britains*, less favouring *Cassibelan*, send Ambassadors, and yield to *Cæsar* upon this Reason. *Immanuentius* had been their King: Him *Cassibelan* had slain, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Orosius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda* *Androgius*; but the Youth escaping by Flight into *Gallia*, put himself under the Protection of *Cæsar*. These entreat that *Mandubratius* may be still defended, and sent home to succeed in his Father's Right. *Cæsar* sends him, demands forty Hostages and Provision for his Army,

* Towards
Chilham in
Kent.

Cambden.

3898. Army, which they immediately bring in, and have their Confines protected from the Soldier. By their Example the ^a *Cenimagni*, ^b *Segontiaci*, ^c *Ancalites*, ^d *Bibroci*, ^e *Cassi* (so I write them for the Modern Names are but guess'd) on like Terms make their Peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Cassibelan*, suppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not far distant; fenc'd about with Woods and Marshes, well stuff'd with Men and much Cattle. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Woody Places ditch'd round, and with a Mud Wall encompass'd against the Inroads of Enemies. Thither goes *Cesar* with his Legions, and though a Place of great Strength both by Art and Nature, assaults it in two Places. The *Britains* after some Defence, fled out all at another end of the Town; in the Flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of Cattle found there. *Cassibelan*, for all these Losses, yet deserts not himself; nor was yet his Authority so much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner possess'd by the Enemy, his Messengers and Commands find Obedience enough to raise all the People. By his Direction *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, four ^f *Kings* reigning in those Countries which lie upon the Sea, lead them on to assault that Camp wherein the *Romans* had entrench'd their Shipping: But they whom *Cesar* left there, issuing out slew many, and took Prisoners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without Loss of their own. *Cassibelan* after so many Defeats, mov'd especially by revolt of the Cities from him, their Inconstancy and Falshood one to another, uses Mediation by *Comius* of *Arras* to send Embassadors about Treaty of Yielding. *Cesar*, who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reason that *Gallia* was unsettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hostages, and what Yearly Tribute the Island should pay to *Rome*, forbids him to molest the *Trinobantes*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hostages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twice embark'd his whole Army.

Pliny. At his return to *Rome*, as from a glorious Enterprize, he offers to *Venus* the Patroness of his Family, a Corslet of British Pearls. Howbeit, other ancient Writers have spoken more doubtfully of *Cesar's* Victories here; and that in plain Terms he fled from hence; for which the common Verse in *Lucan*, with divers Passages here and

Oros. lib. 6. there in *Tacitus* is alledg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who

cap. 7. & 9. took what he wrote from a History of *Suetonius* now lost, writes that *Cesar* in his first Journey entertain'd with a sharp Fight, lost no small number of his Foot, and by Tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms that once in the second Expedition all his Foot were routed; *Orosius* that another time all his Horse. The *British* Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial Discourses of *Cesar's* being here, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of *Cassibelan* than what the same Story tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nephew slain by *Evelinus* Nephew to the other; which Business at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies and was buried in *York*, if the *Monmouth Book* fable not. But at *Cesar's* coming hither, such likeliest were the *Britains*, as the Writers of those Times and their own Actions represent them, in Courage and warlike Rea-

diness to take Advantage by Ambush or sudden Onset, not inferior to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Cesar*, in Weapons, Arms, and the Skill of Encamping, Embatteling, Fortifying overmatch'd; their Weapons were a short Spear and light Target, a Sword also by their side, their Fight sometimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, their Bodies most part naked, only painted with Woad in sundry Figures to seem terrible as they thought, but pursu'd by Enemies, not nice of their painting to run into Bogs, worse than wild *Irish*, up to the Neck, and there to stay many Days, holding a certain Morfel in their Mouths no bigger than a Bean, to suffice Hunger; but that Receipt, and the Temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us: Their Towns and strong Holds were Spaces of Ground fenc'd about with a Ditch, and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other, their Buildings within were thatch'd Houses for themselves and their Cattle: In Peace, the upland Inhabitants, besides hunting, tended their Flocks and Herds, but with little Skill of Country Affairs; the making of Cheese they commonly knew not, Wool or Flax they spun not, garden ing and planting many of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what the Skins of Beasts afforded them, and that not always; yet Gallantry they had, painting their own Skins with several Portraiture of Beast, Bird or Flower, *A Vanity which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the Skin to the Skirt, being now with as many colour'd Ribbons and Goggles*: Toward the Sea-side they till'd the Ground, and liv'd much after the manner of the *Gauls* their Neighbours, or first Planters: Their Money was brazen Pieces or Iron Rings, their best Merchandize Tin, the rest Trifles of Glass, Ivory, and such like; yet Gems and Pearls they had, faith *Mela*, in some Rivers: Their Ships of light Timber wickered with Osier between, and cover'd over with Leather, serv'd not therefore to transport them far, and their Commodities were fetch'd away by foreign Merchants: Their dealing, faith *Diodorus*, plain and simple without Fraud; their civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the *Romans*: Their Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek Name of an Oak, which Tree they had in great Reverence, and the *Mistletoe* especially growing thereon; *Pliny* writes them skill'd in Magick no less than those of *Persia*: By their abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, faith *Dion*, and their Opinion of the Soul's passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied *Pythagoras*; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported Men factious and ambitious, contending sometimes about the Arch-priesthood, not without civil War and Slaughter; nor restrain'd they the People under them from a lewd, adulterous and incestuous Life, ten or twelve Men absurdly against Nature, possessing one Woman as their common Wife, though of nearest Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sister; Progenitors not to be glory'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach'd here, abolish'd such Impurities, and of the *Romans*

^a Thought to be the same with the *Iceni*.

^b On the North-side of *Hampshire*, about *Alton* and *Basingstoke*.

^c About *Henly* in *Berks*.

^d About *Bray* in *Berks*. *Bibraete* in *France* is now contracted into *Bray*. *Cambd. Brit. Tit. Berks*.

^e The Hundred of *Caslow* in *Hertfordshire*.

^f Mr. *Cambden* writes that they were Governors of *Kent*.

3918. we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beat us into some Civility; likely else to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and savage manner of Life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the *Roman* Commonwealth, and was slain in the Senate for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Caesar Augustus*, either condemning the Island, as *Strabo* would have us think, whose neither Benefit was worth the having, nor Enmity worth the fearing; or out of a wholesome State-Maxim, as some say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildy, made no attempt against the *Britains*: But the truer Cause was partly civil War among the *Romans*, partly other Affairs more urging. For about twenty Years after, all which time the *Britains* had liv'd at their own dispose, *Augustus* in Imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending, or seeming to intend an Expedition hither, was come into *Gallia*, when the News of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: About seven Years after in the same Resolution, what with the Unsettledness of *Gallia*, and what with Embassadors from *Britain*, which met him there, he proceeded not. The next Year, Difference arising about Covenants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spain*. Nevertheless some of the *British* Potentates omitted not to seek his Friendship by Gifts offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious Addresses; insomuch that the whole Island became even in those Days well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the Knowledge of us were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britains* paid none to *Augustus*, except what easie Customs were levy'd on the slight Commodities where-with they traded into *Gallia*. After *Cassibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Momonth* Story was made King. For *Andræus* the Elder, conceiving himself generally hated, for siding with the *Romans*, forsook his Claim here, and follow'd *Cæsar's* Fortune. This King is recorded *Just* and *Warlike*. His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of *Augustus*, and with him held friendly Correspondencies to the end; was a warlike Prince; his chief Seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon**, as by certain of his Coins yet to be seen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering always to the advice of *Augustus*, and of himself less caring to extend the Bounds of his Empire, fought not the *Britains*; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the Soldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had been cast on the *Britain* Shore. But *Caligula* his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, having past the *Alps* with intent to rob and spoil those Provinces, and stirr'd up by *Adrianus* the Son of *Cunobeline*, who by his Father banish'd, with a small number fled thither to him, made Semblance of marching toward *Britain*; but being come to the Ocean, and there behaving himself madly and ridiculously, went back the same way; yet sent before him boasting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britain* had been yielded to him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adrianus* the Eldest by his Father banish'd from his Country, and by his own Practice against it, from the Crown, though by an old Coin seeming to have also reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Cara-*

Acus the two younger, uncertain whether equal A.D. 40. or subordinate in Power, were advanc'd into his Place. But through civil Discord, *Bericus* (what *Dien.* he was further is not known) with others of his Party flying to *Rome*, perswaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an Invasion. *Claudius* now Consul A.D. 42. the third time, and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the Honour of a Triumph, at the Persuasion of these Fugitives, whom the *Britains* demanding, he had deny'd to render, *Sueton.* and they for that Cause had deny'd further Amity with *Rome*, makes choice of this Island for his Province: And sends before him *Aulus Plautius* the *Prætor*, with this Command, if the Business grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado perswaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they must be put to make War beyond the World's End; for so they counted *Britain*; and what welcome *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoisting sail from three several Ports, left their landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross Winds, they were cast back and dishearten'd: Till in the Night a Meteor shooting Flames from the East, and, as they fanfy'd, directing their Course, they took Heart again to try the Sea, and without Opposition landed. For the *Britains* having heard of their Unwillingness to come, had been negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the Woods and Moors, intended to frustrate, and wear them out with delays, as they had serv'd *Cæsar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with *Caradacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receiving into Conditions part of the *Bodoni*, who then were subject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Garrison, went on toward a River; where the *Britains* not imagining that *Plautius* without a Bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he sending first the *Germans*, whose Custom was, arm'd as they were, to swim with ease the strongest Current, commands them to strike especially at the Horses, whereby the Chariots, wherein consisted their chief Art of Fight, became unserviceable. To second them, he sent *Vespasian*, who in his latter Days obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much Execution. Yet not for this were the *Britains* dismay'd; but re-uniting the next Day fought with such a Courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victory: Till *Caius Silius Geta*, at point to have been taken, recover'd himself so valiantly, as brought the Day on his side; for which at *Rome* he receiv'd high Honours. After this the *Britains* drew back toward the Mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with those Places, cross'd over, where the *Romans* following them through Bogs and dangerous Flats, hazarded the Loss of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a Bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry Alarms and great Slaughter; but in the heat of Pursuit running themselves again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of their own. Upon which ill Success, and seeing the *Britains* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of these Battles had been slain: *Plautius* fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoy'd him,

* See the *British* Coins publish'd in the late Edition of *Mr. Camden*. *Tacit. ann. l. 2.*

Year after the Birth of Christ, 15.

Dion. Suev. l. 1. A.D. 40.

* Coin first stamp'd in *Britain* in this King's Reign, in which Time our Saviour *Jesus Christ* was born; and if we may believe *Baronius*, was preach'd here by *Joseph of Arimathea* three Years after his Crucifixion: Which according to *William of Malmesbury*, in his Antiquities of the Church of *Glastenbury*, was in the 63^d Year after *Christ's* Passion. This Legend is exploded by *Arch-Bishop Usher* in his Antiquities of the *British* Churches, and *Bishop Stillingfleet* in his *Origines Britanica*.

sends

A.D. 43. sends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge Preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the Flower of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King with arm'd Elephants, marches through *Gallia*. So full of peril was this Enterprize esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger Terrors than *Roman* Armies to meet the native and the naked *British* Valour defending their Country. Join'd with *Plautius*, who encamping on the Bank of *Thames*, attended him, he passes the River. The *Britains*, who had the Courage, but not the wise Conduct of old *Cassibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in downright Manhood scrupled not to affront in open Field almost the whole Power of the *Roman* Empire. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by force, others by treaty come in and yield. *Claudius* therefore, who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was often by his Army saluted *Imperator*; a Military Title which usually they gave their General after any notable Exploit; but to others not above once in the same War; as if *Claudius* by these Acts had deserv'd more than the Laws of *Rome* had provided Honour to reward. Having therefore disarm'd the *Britains*, but remitted the Confiscation of their Goods, for which they worshipp'd him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God; leaving *Plautius* to subdue what remain'd, he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had been absent only six Months, and in *Britain* but sixteen Days; sending the News before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the Island. To whom the Senate, as for Achievements of highest Merit, decreed excessive Honours; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, *Annual Solemnities*, and the Sirname of *Britannicus* both to him and his Son. *Suetonius* writes, that *Claudius* found here no Resistance, and that all was done without Stroke: But this seems not probable. The *Monmouth* Writer names these two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius* and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* being slain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceal it put on his Brother's Habillements, and in his Person held up the Battel to a Victory; the rest, as of *Hamo* the *Roman* Captain, *Genuissa* the Emperor's Daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of Triumphant Riding into the *Capitol*, side by side with the Emperor. *Vespasian* also under *Plautius* had thirty Conflicts with the Enemy; in one of which encompass'd, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescu'd by his Son *Titus*: Two powerful Nations he subdu'd here, above twenty Towns and the *Isle of Wight*, for which he received at *Rome* Triumphal Ornaments, and other great Dignities. For that City in reward of Virtue, was ever magnificent; and long after, when true Merit was ceas'd among them, lest any thing resembling Virtue should want Honour, the same Rewards were yet allow'd to the very Shadow and Ostentation of Merit. *Ostorius* in the room of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent Affairs; the *Britains* not ceasing to vex with Inrodes all those Countries that were yielded to the

Romans; and now the more eagerly, supposing A.D. 50. that the new General unacquainted with his Army, and on the edge of Winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he weighing that first Events were most available to breed Fear or Contempt, with such cohorts as were next at hand, sets out against them: Whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every Day molested with the Cavils of a slight Peace, or an embolden'd Enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many Garrisons upon the Rivers of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Icenians*, a stout People, untouch'd yet by these Wars, as having before sought Alliance with the *Romans*, were the first that brook'd not this. By their Example others rise; and in a chosen place, fence'd with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horse, warily Encamp. *Ostorius*, though yet not strengthen'd with his Legions, causes the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops also allighting, to assault the Rampart. They within, tho' pester'd with their own number, stood to it like Men resolv'd, and in a narrow compass did remarkable Deeds. But over-power'd at last, and others by their success quieted, who till then wavered, *Ostorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, wafting all even to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Foe in his way, or them who durst ill handl'd: When the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punish'd, the rest forgiven, soon gave over; but the *Silures*, no way tractable, were not to be repress'd without a set War. To further this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran* Soldiers to be a firm and ready Aid against Revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman* Law and Civility. *Cogidunus* also a *British* King, their fast Friend, had to the same intent certain Cities given him: A haughty Craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings also the servile Agents of enslaving others. But the *Silures*, hardy of themselves, rely'd more on the Valour of *Caradac*; whom many doubtful, many prosperous Successes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britain*. He adding to his Courage Policy; and knowing himself to be of strength inferiour, in other advantages the better; makes the Seat of his War among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherein all the odds were to his own Party, all the difficulties to his Enemy. The Hills and every Access he fortify'd with Heaps of Stones, and Guards of Men; to come at whom a River of unsafe Passage must be first waded. The place, as *Cambden* conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer-Caradoc*, on the West edge of *Shropshire*. He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, that This was the Day, This the Field, either to defend their Liberty, or to die free; calling to mind the Names of his glorious Ancestors, who drove *Cæsar* the Dictator out of *Britain*, whose Valour hitherto had preserv'd them from bondage, their Wives and Children from dishonour. Inflam'd with these words, they all vow their utmost, with such undaunted Resolution as amaz'd the *Romans*.

* Afterwards Emperor.

^b Severn and Avon.

^c The *Iceni* inhabited the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington*.

^d The Annotator on the Preface to the late Edition of *Cambden's Britannia* is of opinion, that *Somersetshire* and *North Wiltshire* were the Country of the *Cangi*. 'Tis not well known who they were, but probably they inhabited *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, bordering on the

^e *Brigantes*, suppos'd to have been the Inhabitants of *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, and the other Northern Counties.

^f They inhabited what we now call *South-Wales*.

^g The *Ordovices* possess'd the Counties, which now make *North-Wales*.

^h *Caradoc* in the *British* Tongue, is suppos'd to be the same with *Caradac* in the *Latin*.

A. D. 50. General; but the Soldier less weighing, because less knowing, clamour'd to be led on against any danger. *Ostorius*, after wary Circumspection, bids them pass the River: The *Britains* no sooner had them within reach of their Arrows, Darts and Stones, but slew and wounded largely of the *Romans*. They on the other side closing their Ranks, and over head closing their Targets, threw down the loose Rampiers of the *Britains*, and pursue them up the Hills, both light arm'd, and Legions; till what with gauling Darts and heavy Strokes, the *Britains* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victory; wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caratacus* were taken, his Brothers also reduc'd to Obedience; himself escaping to *Carismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, against Faith given, was to the Victors deliver'd bound: Having held out against the *Romans* nine Years, saith *Tacitus*; but by truer computation ^b seven. Whereby his Name was up through all the adjoining Provinces, even to *Italy* and *Rome*: Many desiring to see who he was that could withstand so many Years the *Romans* Puissance: And *Cæsar*, to extol his own Victory, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquish'd. Being brought to *Rome*, the People, as to a solemn Spectacle, were call'd together, the Emperor's Guard stood in Arms. In order came first the King's Servants, bearing his Trophies, won in other Wars; next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter; last, himself. The Behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: He only, neither in Countenance, Word or Action submissive, standing at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, briefly spake to this purpose: *If my Mind, Cæsar, had been as moderate in the height of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was eminent, I might have come a Friend rather than a Captive into this City. Nor couldst thou have dislik'd him for a Confederate, so Noble of Descent, and Ruling so many Nations. My present Estate, to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious; I had Riches, Horses, Arms, and Men; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be Subjection. If I sooner had been brought to yield, my Misfortune had been less notorious, your Conquest had been less renown'd, and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgotten. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that Praise which is so near divine, the Clemency of a Conqueror.* *Cæsar* mov'd at such a Spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissively thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperor's Wife, who sat by in State: A new and disdain'd sight to the Manly Eyes of *Romans*, a Woman sitting publick in her Female Pride among Ensigns and Armed Cohorts. To *Ostorius*, Triumph is decreed; and his Acts esteem'd equal to theirs that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famous Kings. But the same prosperity attended not his later Actions here. For the *Silures*, whether to revenge their loss of *Caratacus*, or that they saw *Ostorius*, as if now all were done, less earnest to restrain them, beset the Prefect of his Camp, left there with Legionary Bands to appoint Garrisons: And had not speedy Aid come in from the neighbouring Holds and Castles,

had cut them all off; notwithstanding which, the D. D. 50. Prefect with eight Centurions, and many their stoutest Men were slain: And upon the neck of this, meeting first with *Roman* Foragers, then with other Troops hastening to their relief, utterly foil'd and broke them also. *Ostorius* sending more after, could hardly stay their flight; till the weighty Legions coming on, at first pois'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale; to the *Britains* without much loss, for by that time it grew Night. Then was the War shiver'd as it were into small Frays and Bickerings, not unlike sometimes to so many Robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as Chance or Valour, Advice or Rashness led them on, commanded or without command. That which most exasperated the *Silures*, was a Report of certain Words cast out by the Emperor, *That he would root them out to the very Name.* Therefore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of their Leaders too securely pillaging, they quite intercepted: And bestowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, whereof they took plenty; drew other Countries to join with them. These Losses falling so thick upon the *Romans*, *Ostorius* with the thought and anguish thereof ended his Days: The *Britains* rejoicing, although no Battel, that yet adverse War had worn out so great a Soldier. *Cæsar* in his place ordains *Aulus Didius*: But ere his coming, tho' much hasten'd, that the Province might not want a Governour; the *Silures* had given an overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumour'd on both sides greater than was true; by the *Silures* to amate the new General; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he quell'd them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Mean time, the *Silures* forget not to infest the *Roman* Pale with wide Exursions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after *Caratacus* should lead them; for next to him, in Worth and Skill of War, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Brigantes* meri-^{Tac. An. 12.} ted to be their chief. He at first faithful to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She who had betray'd *Caratacus* and her Country to adorn the Triumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the *Romans*, presuming on the Hire of her Treason, deserted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus*, one of his Squires, confers on him the Kingdom also. This Deed, so odious and full of Infamy, disturb'd the whole State: *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the Example of so foul a Fact, and withal the uncomeliness of their Subjection to the Monarchy of a Woman, a piece of Manhood not every Day to be found among *Britains*, though she had got by subtle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When imploring the *Roman* Aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter, she escap'd the Punishment which was ready to have seiz'd her. *Venutius* thus debarr'd the Authority of ruling his own Household, justly turns his Anger against the *Romans* themselves; whose Magnanimity, not wont to undertake dishonourable Causes, had arrogantly intermeddled in his domestick Affairs, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adultress against her Husband.

^a *Caratacus* King of the *Silures* was routed by the *Romans* near *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*; Mr. *Cambden* says this Battel was fought Anno 53. *Camb. Tit. Shrop.*

^b *Tacitus* in his *Annals*, lib. 12. cap. 36. writes, 'twas in the seventh Year after this War began, that *Caratacus* was taken.

A. D. 54. And the Kingdom he retain'd against their utmost opposition; and of War gave them their fill:

First in a sharp Conflict of uncertain Event, then against the Legion of *Cassius Nasica*. Inasmuch that *Didius* growing old, and managing the War by Deputies, had work enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a

Tacit. Vit. Agric. small Castle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the

55.
Tac. Hist. 3
Sueton.

Isle things continu'd in the same plight to the

Reign of *Vespasian*) was minded but for shame

to have withdrawn the Roman Forces out of *Britain*:

In other parts whereof, about the same time, other things befel. *Verannius*, whom *Nero*

sent hither to succeed *Didius*, dying in his first

Year, save a few Inrodes upon the *Silures*, left

only a great Boast behind him, *That in two Years,*

had he liv'd, he would have Conquer'd all. But

Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither,

esteem'd a Soldier equal to the best in that Age,

for two Years together went on prosperously;

both confirming what was got, and subduing on-

ward. At last, over-confident of his present Acti-

ons, and emulating others, of whose Deeds he

heard from abroad, marches up as far as *Mona,*

the Isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they,

it seems, had both entertain'd Fugitives, and

given good assistance to the rest that withstood

him. He makes him Boats with flat bottoms,

fitted to the Shallows which he expected in that

narrow Frith: His Foot so pass'd over, his Horse

waded or swam. Thick upon shoar stood several

gross Bands of Men well weapon'd, many Wo-

men like Furies running to and fro in dismal

Habit, with Hair loose about their Shoulders,

held Torches in their Hands. The *Druids*, those

were their Priests, of whom more in another

place, with Hands lift up to *Heaven*, uttering

direful Prayers, astonish'd the *Romans*; who, at

so strange a sight, stood in amaze, tho' wounded:

At length awak'd, and encourag'd by their Ge-

neral, not to fear a barbarous and lunatick Rout,

fall on, and beat them down scor'd and routing

in their own Fire. Then were they yoked with

Garrisons, and the Places consecrate to their

Bloody Superstitions destroy'd. For whom they

took in War they held it lawful to Sacrifice; and

by the Entrails of Men us'd Divination. While

thus *Paulinus* had his thought still fix'd before,

to go on winning, his back lay broad open to

occasion of losing more behind. For the *Britains*

urg'd and oppress'd with many unnumberable In-

juries, had all banded themselves to a general

Revolt. The particular Causes are not all writ-

ten by one Author; *Tacitus*, who liv'd next those

times of any to us extant, writes, that *Prasuta-*

gus King of the Iceni, abounding in Wealth,

had left *Cesar* Coheir with his two Daughters;

thereby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong

both his Kingdom and his House; which fell out

far otherwise. For under colour to oversee and

And *Catus Decianus*, the Procurator, endeavour'd A. D. 62.

to bring all their Goods under the compass of a

new Confiscation, by disavowing the Remitment *Dion. l. 62.*

of *Claudius*. Lastly, *Seneca*, in his Books, a Phi-

losopher, having drawn the *Britains* unwillingly

to borrow of him vast Sums upon fair promises

of easie Loan, and for Repayment to take their

own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in

all at once with great extortion. Thus pro-

vok'd by heaviest Sufferings, and thus invited by

opportunities in the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Ice-*

nians, and by their Example the *Trinovantes*, and

as many else as hated Servitude, rise up in Arms.

Of these ensuing Troubles many foregoing Signs

appear'd: The Image of Victory at *Camalodunum*

fell down of it self, with her Face turn'd as it

were to the *Britains*; certain Women, in a kind

of extasie, foretold of Calamities to come; in the

Counsell-house were heard by Night barbarous

Noises; in the Theatre hideous Howlings; in the

Creek horrid Sights, betokening the destruction

of that Colony; hereto the Ocean seeming of a

Bloody Hew, and Humane Shapes, at a low ebb

left imprinted on the Sand, wrought in the *Brit-*

ains new Courage, in the *Romans* unwonted

Fears. *Camalodunum*, where the *Romans* had

seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather

than defensively, was not fortify'd: Against that

therefore the *Britains* make first Assault. The

Soldiers within were not very many. *Decianus*

the Procurator could send them but two hundred,

those ill Arm'd: And through the Treachery of

some among them, who secretly favour'd the In-

surrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench

and to send out such as bore not Arms; such as

did, flying to the Temple, which on the second

Day was forcibly taken, were put all to the Sword,

the Temple made a heap, the rest rifled and burnt.

Petilius Cerealis coming to his succour, is in his

way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut

to pieces; he with his Horse hardly escaping to

the *Roman Camp*. *Decianus*, whose rapine was

the cause of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Sueton-*

ius at these tidings not dismay'd, through the

midst of his Enemy's Country marches to *London*

(though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman*

Inhabitants, and for the frequency of Trade and

other Commodities, a Town even then of prin-

cipal note) with purpose to have made there the

Seat of War. But considering the smallness of

his numbers, and the late rashness of *Petilius*, he

chooses rather with the loss of one Town to save

the rest. Nor was he flexible to any Prayers or

Weeping of them that besought him to tarry

there; but taking with him such as were willing,

gave signal to depart; they, who through weak-

ness of Sex or Age, or love of the place, went

not along, perish'd by the Enemy; so did *Veru-*

lam, a *Roman free Town*. For the *Britains* omit-

ting Forts and Castles, flew thither first where

richest Booty, and the hope of pillaging toald

them on. In this Massacre, about seventy thou-

sand *Romans*, and their Associates, in the places

above-mention'd, of a certain, lost their Lives.

None might be spar'd, none ransom'd, but tasted

all either a present or a lingering Death; no Cru-

elty that either Outrage, or the insolence of

Success put into their Heads, was left unacted.

The *Roman* Wives and Virgins hang'd up all

naked, had their Breasts cut off, and sow'd to

their Mouths; that in the grimness of Death

they might seem to eat their own Flesh; while

the *Britains* fell to feasting and corousing in the

Temple of *Andate* their Goddess of Victory.

Suetonius adding to his Legion * other old Of- * The 14th

ficers and Soldiers thereabout, which gather'd to Legion

him, were near upon ten thousand; and pur-

posing

Lib. 12.

61.

Boadicea
Queen of
the *Brit-*
ains, Wars
with the
Romans.

70000 Ro-
mans maj-
sacred.

Dion. l. 62.

A.D. 63. posing with those not to defer Battel, had chosen a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd on his Rear a Wood; being well inform'd, that his Enemies were all in Front on a Plain unapt for Ambush: The Legionaries stood thick in order, im-pal'd with light armed; the Horse on either Wing. The *Britains* in Companies and Squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time never; no less reckon'd than two hundred and thirty thousand, so fierce and confident of Victory, that their Wives also came in Waggon to sit and behold the sport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans*: A Folly doubtless for the serious *Romans* to smile at, as a sure token of prospering that Day: A Woman also was their Commander in chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions, as a great encouragement, that with the *Britains* it was usual for Women to be their Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her Mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handled, things worthier silence, retirement, and a Vail, than for a Woman to repeat, as done to her own Person, or to hear repeated before an Host of Men. The *Greek Historian* sets her in the Field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-body'd Gown declaiming, a Spear in her Hand, a Hare in her Bosom, which after a long Circumlocution she was to let slip among them for Luck's sake; then praying to *Andate, the British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out their History with the strangeness of our Manners; not caring in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Women were Men, and Men Women. I affect not set Speeches in a History, unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they were written; nor then, unless worth rehearsal: And to invent such, though eloquently, as some Historians have done, is an abuse of Posterity, raising, in them that read, other Conceptions of those Times and Persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy out tedious Orations without *decorum*, though in their Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Cassibelan, Togadammus, Vemius*, and *Charactacus*, hath been full of Magnanimity, Soberness, and Martial Skill: But the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole business, the *Britains* never more plainly manifested themselves to be right *Barbarians*; no Rule, no Forefight, no Forecast, Experience or Estimation, either of themselves, or of their Enemies; such Confusion, such Impotence, as seem'd likest not to a War, but to the wild Hurry of a distracted Woman, with as mad a Crew at her Heels. Therefore *Suetonius* condemning their unruly Noises, and fierce Looks, heartens his Men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless Rabble that stood nearest, the rest would be a Purchase rather than a Toil. And so it fell out; For the Legion, when they saw their time, bursting out like a violent Wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what oppos'd them; all else held only out their Necks to the Slayer, for their own Carts and Waggon were so plac'd by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The *Romans* slew all; Men, Women, and the very drawing Horses lay heap'd along the Field, in a gory mixture of Slaughter. About four-

score thousand *Britains* are said to have been A.D. 64. slain on the place; of the Enemy scarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* 80000 *Britains* kill'd poyson'd her self, or, as others say, sicken'd and dy'd. * She was of Stature big and tall, of Visage grim and stern, harsh of Voice, her Hair of bright colour, flowing down to her Hips; she wore a plaited Garment of divers colours, with a great Golden Chain, button'd over all a thick Robe. *Gildas* calls her the crafty Lioness, and leaves an ill Fame upon her Doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise the Order of this Fight, and that the Field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the *Britains* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boadicea* come between. Howbeit *Suetonius*, to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the Relicks of War, lodg'd with all his Army in the open Field; which was supply'd out of *Germany* with a thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot; thence dispers'd to Winter, and with Incurfions to waste those Countries that stood out. But to the *Britains* Famine was a worse Affliction; having left off during this Uproar, to till the Ground, and made reckoning to serve themselves on the Provisions of their Enemy. Nevertheless those Nations, that were yet untam'd, hearing of some discord risen between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Classicianus*, were brought but slowly to terms of Peace; and the rigour us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yielded, taught them the better course to stand on their defence. For it is certain, that *Suetonius*, though else a worthy Man, over-proud of his Victory, gave too much way to his Anger against the *Britains*. *Classician* therefore sending such word to *Rome*, that these severe proceedings would beget an endless War; *Polycletus*, * no *Roman*, but a Courtier, was sent by *Nero* to examine how things went. He admonishing *Suetonius* to use more mildness, aw'd the Army, and to the *Britains* gave matter of Laughter. Who so much even till then were nurs'd up in their Native Liberty, as to wonder that so great a General with his whole Army should be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after having lost a few Gallies on the Shoar, was bid resign his Command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britains*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of Peace to what indeed was his love of Ease and Sloth. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his steps, usurping the Name of gentle Government to any remissions or neglect of Discipline; which brought in first Licence, next Disobedience into his Camp; incens'd against him, partly for his Covetousness, partly by the Incitement of *Roscius Calius* Legate of a Legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that Civil War began in the Empire, he fell to open discord; charging him with Disorder and Sedition, and him *Calius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of their pay; inso-much that *Trebellius* hated, and deserted of the Soldiers, was content a while to govern by a base entreaty, and forc'd at length to flee the Land. Which notwithstanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Calius*, and the other Legate of a Legion, both faithful to *Vitellius* then Emperor, who sent hither *Vespius Bolanus*; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the *Britains* nothing was done, nor in their own Discipline reform'd. *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Vespasian* succeeding, had to do

* A full Account of this War may be found in *Tacit. An. lib. 14. cap. 31 to 39.* and in his *Vit. Agr. cap. 16.*

* *Nero's* Freed Man.

* One of Consular Dignity.

A.D. 74. with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battels, and some of those, not unbloody. For as we heard before, it was *Venusius* who even to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquish'd. and some part of his Country not so much as reach'd. It appears also by several Passages in the Histories of *Tacitus*, that no small number of *British Forces* were commanded over Sea the Year before to serve in those bloody Wars between *Osbo* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* contending for the Empire. To *Cerealis* succeeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britain*, who by taming the *Silures*, a People warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his Reputation. But *Julius Agricola*,^a whom *Vespasian* in his last Year sent hither, train'd up from his Youth in the *British Wars*, extended with Victories the *Roman Limit* beyond all his Predecessors. His coming was in the midst of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to welcome the new General, had hew'n in pieces a whole Squadron of Horse, which lay upon their Bounds, few escaping. *Agricola*, who perceiv'd that the Noise of this Defeat had also in the Province desirous of Novelty, stir'd up new Expectations, resolves to be before-hand with the Danger: And drawing together the Choice of his Legions with a competent Number of Auxiliars, not being met by the *Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himself in the Head of his Men hunts them up and down through difficult Places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the same current of Success, what *Paulinus* had left unfinished he conquers in the *Isle of Mona*: For the Islanders altogether fearless of his approach, whom they knew to have no Shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the Auxiliars, whose Country Use had taught them to swim over with Horse and Arms, were compell'd to yield. This gain'd *Agricola* much Opinion; who at his very Entrance, a time which others bestow'd of course in hearing Complements and Gratulations, had made such early Progress into laborious and hardest Enterprises. But by far not so famous was *Agricola* in bringing War to a speedy end, as in cutting off the Causes from whence War arises. For he knowing that the end of War was not to make way for Injuries in Peace, began Reformation from his own House; permitted not his Attendants and Followers to sway, or have to do at all in Publick Affairs: Lays on with Equality the Proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes off Exactions and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the Tribute it self. For the Countries had been compell'd before, to sit and wait the opening of publick Granaries, and both to sell and buy their Corn at what rate the *Publicans* thought fit; the *Purveyers* also commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest Places, either by the compounding of such as would be excus'd, or by causing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular Gain. These Grievances and the like, he in the time of Peace removing, brought Peace into some Credit; which before, since the *Romans* coming, had as ill a Name as War. The Summer following, *Titus then Emperor*, he so continually with Inroads disquieted the Enemy over all the Isle, and after Terror so allur'd them with his gentle Demeanour, that many Cities which till that time would not bend, gave Hostages, admitted Garrisons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he spent all in worthy Actions; teaching

and promoting like a publick Father, the *Institutes and Customs of civil Life*. The *Inhabitants* rude and scatter'd, and by that the prone to War, he so perswaded as to build Houses, Temples, and Seats of Justice; and by praising the forward, quickning the slow, assisting all, turn'd the Name of Necessity into an Emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in Liberal Arts; and by preferring the Wits of *Britain*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latin Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman Fashions* imitated, and the Gown; after a while the Incitements also and Materials of Vice, and voluptuous Life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the Elegance of Banqueting; which the foolish sort call'd Civility, but was indeed a secret Art to prepare them for Bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Field, and with a prosperous Expedition waded as far Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not; with such a Terror, as he went, that the *Roman Army*, though much hinder'd by tempestuous Weather, had the leisure to build Forts and Castles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppose them. Besides, *Agricola* had this Excellence in him, so providently to chuse his Places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No Sconce, or Fortrefs of his raising was ever known either to have been forc'd, or yielded up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by Siege, or in that case duely reliev'd, with continual Irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemy, whose manner was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had lost, was now alike in both Seasons kept short, and streiten'd. For these Exploits then *Titus* in whose Reign they were achiev'd, was the fifteenth time saluted *Imperator*; and of him *Agricola* receiv'd Triumphal Honours. The fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruling the Empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the Year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest. And had the Valour of his Soldiers been answerable, he had reach'd that Year, as was thought, the utmost Bounds of *Britain*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburgh*; two opposite Arms of the Sea, divided only by a Neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemy driv'n as it were into another Island. In his fifth Year he pass'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably guess, and other *Scotch Isles*; discovering and subduing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of *Britain* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming also to conquer that Island; where one of the *Irish Kings* driv'n out by Civil Wars, coming to him, he both gladly receiv'd, and retain'd him as against a fit time. The Summer ensuing on, mistrust that the Nations beyond *Bodotria* would generally rise, and forelay the Passages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joining most commonly at Night on the same Shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual Shouts and loud Greetings. At sight whereof the *Britains*, not wont to see their Sea so ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit, the *Caledonians* with great Preparation, and by Rumor, as of things unknown, much greater, taking Arms, and of their own accord beginning War by the Assault of sundry Castles, sent back some of their Fear to the *Romans* themselves: And there were of the Com-

^a Cornelius Tacitus, who wrote the Life of Agricola, marry'd his Daughter.

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^b Tac. *Quæ res Pars Servitutis erat.*

D 2

manders,

A.D. 84. manders, who cloaking their Fear under shew of sage Advice, counsell'd the General to retreat back on this side *Bodotria*. He in the mean while having Intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, divided also his Army into three parts. Which Advantage the *Britains* quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, assail by Night with all their Forces that part of the *Roman* Army, which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp surpriz'd between Sleep and Fear, had begun some Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on to allright them with Clamour, foply'd them without respite, that by approach of Day the *Roman* Ensigns glittering all about, had encompass'd the *Britains*: Who now after a sharp Fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to their wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, pursu'd a while by the *Romans*, that Day else in all Appearance had ended the War. The Legions reincourag'd by this Event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as far as there was *British* Ground. The *Britains* also not acknowledging the Loss of that Day to *Roman* Valour, but to the Policy of their Captain, abated nothing of their Stoutness, but arming their Youth, conveying their Wives and Children to Places of Safety, in frequent Assemblies, and by solemn Covenants bound themselves to mutual Assistance against the Common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of *Germans* having slain their Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a Mutiny, and for fear of Punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: And by Tide or Weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while their Ships held out, and as their Skill serv'd them, with various Fortune, were the first Discoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Island.

85. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before sent his Navy to hover on the Coast, and with fundry and uncertain landings to divert and disunite the *Britains*, himself with a Power best appointed for Expedition, wherein also were many *Britains*, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountain *Grampius*^a, where the *British*, above 20000, were now lodg'd, and still increasing: For neither would their old Men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practis'd in War, and every one adorn'd with some Badge, or Cognifance of his Warlike Deeds long ago. Of whom *Galgacus*^b, both by Birth and Merit the prime Leader, to their Courage, though of it self hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in Detestation of Servitude and the *Roman* Yoke, said to have added much more Eagerness of Fight; testified by their Shouts and barbarous Applauses. As much did on the other side *Agricola* exhort his Soldiers to Victory and Glory; as much the Soldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onset. But first he orders them in this sort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle Ward, on the Wings 3000 Horse, the Legions as a reserve, stood in array before the Camp; either to seize the Victory won without their own Hazard, or to keep up the Battel if it should need. The *British* Powers on the Hill side, as

might best serve for Shew and Terrour, stood in A.D. 85. their Battalions; the first on even Ground, the next rising behind, as the Hill ascended. The Field between rung with the Noise of Horsemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over-wing'd, stretches out his Front, though somewhat with the thinnest, inso-much that many advis'd to bring up the Legions; yet he not altering, alights from his Horse, and stands on foot before the Ensigns. The Fight began aloof, and the *Britains* had a certain Skill with their broad swathing Swords and short Bucklers either to strike aside, or to bear off the Darts of their Enemies; and withal to send back Showers of their own. Until *Agricola* discerning that those little Targets and unweildy Glaves ill pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for close Fight, to draw up, and come to handy Strokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with their long Tucks thrusting at the Face, now their piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and for hast omitting farther Execution, began apace to advance up Hill, seconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horse-men fly, the Charioters mix themselves to fight among the Foot; where many of their Horse also fall'n in disorderly, were now more a Mischief to their own, than before a Terror to their Enemies. The Battel was a confus'd Heap; the Ground unequal; Men, Horses, Chariots crowded pelmel; sometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to Blows, perceiving the Fewness of their Enemies, came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a strong Body of Horse, which he reserv'd for such a purpose, repell'd them back as fast: And others drawn off the Front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Masters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: The *Britains* in whole Troops with Weapons in their hands, one while flying the Pursuer, anon without Weapons desperately running upon the Slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to their Shelter, with fresh Boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turn'd and slew, the rest so hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, with part of his Horse to alight and scowr the Woods, they had receiv'd a foil in the midst of Victory; but following with a close and orderly Pursuit, the *Britains* fled again, and were totally scatter'd; till Night and Weariness ended the Chase. And of them that Day 10000 fell; of the *Romans* 240, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with Heat of Youth and the Fierceness of his Horse too far on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victory, and the Spoil they got, spent the Night; the vanquished wandring about the Field, both Men and Women, some lamenting, some calling their lost Friends, or carrying off their wounded; others forsaking, some burning their own Houses; and it was certain enough, that there were who with a stern Compassion laid violent hands on their Wives and Children to

^a The Grainsbane Hill in the County of Mar and other Counties in Scotland.

^b Known in the Scottish Histories by the Name of Corbred the 2d.

A.D. 85. prevent the more violent hands of hostile Injury. Next Day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of their loss receiv'd; every where Silence, Desolation, Houses burning afar off, not a Man seen, all fled and doubtful whither: Such word the Scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a War, the Roman General leads his Army among the *Horestians*; by whom Hostages being given, he commands his Admiral with a sufficient Navy to sail round the Coast of *Britain*: Himself with slow marches, that his delay in pailing might serve to awe those new-conquer'd Nations, bestows his Army in their Winter-Quarters. The Fleet also having fetch'd a prosperous and speedy compass about the Isle, put in at the Haven *Trutulensis*, now *Richborough* near *Sandwich*, from whence it first set out: And now likeliest, if not two Years before, as was mention'd, the Romans might discover and subdue the Isles of *Orkney*; which others with less reason following *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, attribute to the Deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual Exploits abroad won him wide Fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great Virtue was as punishable as open Crime, won him Hatred. For he maligning the Renown of these his Acts, in shew decreed him Honours, in secret devis'd his Ruine. *Agricola* therefore commanded home for doing too much of what he was sent to do, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure^b. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Salustius Lucullus*, or before him some other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legate of *Britain* under *Domitian*; but farther of him, or ought else done here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Histories, that what *Agricola* won here, was soon after by *Domitian* either through want of Valour lost, or through Envy neglected. And *Juvenal*^c the Poet speaks of *Arviragus*^d in these Days, and not before, King of *Britain*: Who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then also *Claudia Rufina*, the Daughter of a *Britain*, and Wife of *Pudence* a Roman Senator, liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verse of *Martial* for Beauty, Wit and Learning. The next we hear of *Britain*, is that when *Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was subdu'd. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, saith *Dion*, govern'd the Island, a prime Soldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to suppress the *Jews* then in tumult, left things at such pass, as caus'd the Emperor in Person to take a Journey hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as *Augustus* and *Tiberius* counsell'd, to gird the Empire within moderate bounds, he rais'd a Wall with

great Stakes driven in deep, and fasten'd together, in manner of a strong Mound, eighty Mile in length, to divide what was Roman from *Barbarian*: No ancient Author names the place, but old Inscriptions, and Ruine it self yet testifies where it went along between *Solway Frith*, by *Carlisle*, and the Mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quieted the Island, took it for honour to be tir'd on his Coin, the Restorer of *Britain*. In his time also *Priscus Licinius*, as appears by an old Inscription, was Lieutenant here. *Antoninus Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever least patient of foreign Servitude, breaking in upon *Genouia* (which *Cambden* guesses to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*) part of the Roman Province, were with the loss of much territory driven back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves, in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Cambden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edenborough*, to hedge out Incursions from the North. And *Seius Saturninus*, as is collected from the Digests, had charge here of the Roman Navy. With like success did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperor, by his Legate *Calpurnius Agricola*, finish here a new War: *Commodus* after him obtaining the Empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, *Lucius* a suppos'd King in some part of *Britain*, the first of any King in *Europe*, that we read of, receiv'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the first by publick Authority profess'd it: A high and singular Grace from above, if sincerity and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true Sentence, *the first shall be last*. And indeed the Praise of this Action is more proper to King *Lucius*, than common to the Nation; whose first professing by publick Authority was no real commendation of their true Faith; which had appear'd more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profess'd without publick Authority, or against it, might else have been but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Story is made the second by descent from *Marius*. *Marius*, the Son of *Arviragus*, is there said to have overthrown the *Picts*, then first coming out of *Scythia*, slain *Rodoric* their King; and in sign of Victory to have set up a Monument of Stone in the Country, since call'd *Westmaria*; but these things have no foundation. *Coilus*, the Son of *Marius*, all his Reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living near five hundred Years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to *Eleutherius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, an improbable Letter, as some of the Contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his People might receive Christianity. From whom

^a These People have been plac'd about *Eskdale*, but the Name does better answer the Mountaneers, or Highlanders; and *Tacitus's* Relation of the matters of Fact, agrees best to those People.

^b The Tyrant *Domitian* was so jealous of *Agricola's* Glory, that he order'd him to make his Entry into *Rome* at his Return by Night, that he might not receive those Honours the Citizens were ready to pay him.

^c *Salustius Lucullus* was kill'd by *Domitian*, for calling his Spears *Lucullians*.

^d *Regem aliquem capies aut de Temone Britanno Excidet Arviragus*

See the Mighty Ocean, see
He cries of some illustrious Victory:
Some Captive King Thee his new Lord shall own,
Or from his British Chariot headlong thrown,
The proud *Arviragus* come humbling down.

The Poet supposes this Speech made by *Frabicius Veien* to flatter the Emperor *Domit*.

^e *Arviragus* dy'd, says *Geoffrey*, about the end of *Domitian's* Reign, and was succeeded by his Son *Marius* or *Meurig*, as the British Historians call him. He is mention'd also by *William* of *Malsbury* long before *Geoffrey* wrote.

^f All the Circumstances of that Story are fully discuss'd by the learned Bishop of *Worcester*, in his *Origines Britannicae*, p. 67, &c. See also Bishop *Usher's* *Primordia*, p. 19, 20, &c.

A. D. 181. two Religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: Thence *Lucius* to have had the Surname of *Levermaur*, that is to say, *Great Light*. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith here known, but even from the latter Days of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as some say by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *J. Joseph of Arimathea*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and their prime Disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believ'd, Ecclesiastick Historians can best determine: As the best of them do, with little credit given to the particulars of such uncertain relations. ^b As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long Reign he was buried at *Glocester*; but dying without Issue, left the Kingdom in great Commotion. *Dion. l. 72.* By truer testimony we find that the greatest War, which in those days busy'd *Commodus*, was in this Island. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, wasted wide; and both the Army, and the Leader that came against them, wholly routed and destroy'd; which put the Emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, *Ulpus Marcellus*. He, a Man endu'd with all Nobleness of Mind, frugal, temperate, mild and magnanimous, in War bold and watchful, invincible against *Lucre*, and the assault of Bribes, what with his Valour, and these his other Virtues, quickly ended this War that look'd so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the Peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whose departure the *Roman* Legions fell to Sedition among themselves; 1500 of them went to *Rome* in name of the rest, and were so terrible to *Commodus* himself, as that to please them he put to Death *Perennius* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which compliance they endeavour'd here to set up another Emperor against him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who succeeded Governour, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and was fain at length to seek a dismission from his Charge. After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Soldiers made an Oration against Monarchy, by the appointment of *Commodus* was bid resign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in those troublesome times ensuing under the short Reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to keep in his hands the Government of *Britain*; although *Septimius Severus*, who next held the Empire, sent hither *Heracitus* to displace him; but in vain, for *Albinus*, with all the *British* Powers, and those of *Gallia*, met *Severus* about *Lyons* in *France*, and fought a bloody Battel with him for the Empire, though at last vanquish'd and slain^d. The Government of *Britain*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies; till then one Le-

gate was thought sufficient; the North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meata* rising in Arms, and the *Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, so hard beset, he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few of Prisoners with great Sums of Money. But hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an end his other Wars, he writes him plainly the state of things here, that the *Britains* of the North made War upon him, broke into the Province, and harra's'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed suddenly either more aid, or himself in person. *Severus*, though now much weaken'd with Age and the Gout, yet desirous to leave some Memorial of his Warlike Achievements here, as he had done in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two Sons^e from the pleasures of *Rome*, and his Soldiers from idleness, with a Mighty Power, far sooner than could be expected, arrives in *Britain*. The Northern People much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Ambassadors to treat of Peace, and to excuse their former doings. The Emperor now loth to return home without some memorable thing, whereby he might assume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his answer, and quickens his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismiss'd without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Moars, that his Soldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems, through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watry places half naked. He also being past *Adrian's* Wall, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, fasten'd and fill'd up unbound and plashy Fens. Notwithstanding all this industry us'd, the Enemy kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were most in straights and difficulties, sometimes training them on with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambush, cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midst of Sloughs and Quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift away, than leave them there a prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus lost *Severus*, and by Sicknefs in those noisome places, no less than 50000 Men: And yet desisted not, though for weakness carry'd in a Litter, till he had march'd through with his Army to the utmost Northern verge of the Isle; and the *Britains* offering Peace were compell'd to lose much of their Country, not before subject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a Wall cross the Island from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the most magnificent of all his other Deeds; and that he thence receiv'd the Stile of *Britannicus*; in length^f 132

^a Bishop *Stillingfleet* has made it very probable, that a Church was planted here in the Apostles times, by *St. Paul* himself. *Vid. p. 35. Orig. Brit.*

^b Archbishop *Usher* in his *Eccl. Brit. Antiq.* and Bishop *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Brit.* allow the Tradition of King *Lucius*; the Archbishop says, that he had seen two Coins, one of Gold, and the other of Silver, with the Image of a King on them, and the Letters *LUC*, with a Cross: Which is plain proof, that there was such a King, and that he was a Christian; but over what part of *Britain* he reign'd, is uncertain.

^c *Pertinax* was afterwards Emperor.

^d His Body was sent to *Rome* by *Severus's* Order, to be set over the place of publick Execution; and afterwards 'twas suffer'd to lie before the *Pretorium* till it stunk, and was devour'd by Dogs.

^e *Bassianus* and *Geta*.

^f So *Paulus Orosius*; but *Spartianus* more truly, 80 or 82 Miles; as is clearly prov'd in the new Edition of *Cambden*, p. 845. and in Archbishop *Usher's* *Antiq. Eccl. Brit.* cap. 4.

A. D. Miles. *Orosius* adds it fortify'd with a deep
210. Trench, and between certain Spaces many
Towers, or Battlements. The Place whereof
Eutropii some will have to be in *Scotland*^a, the same
Peen. Oros. which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others
1. 7. affirm it only *Hadrian's* Work re-edified; both
Cassidor. plead Authorities and the ancient Tract yet vi-
ebro. sible: But this I leave among the studios of
Buchanan. these Antiquities to be discuss'd more at large.
While Peace held, the Empress *Julia* meeting
on a time certain *British* Ladies, and discoursing
with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, cast
out a scoff against the Looseness of our Island Wo-
men; whose manner then was to use promiscu-
ously the Company of divers Men. Whom straight
the *British* Woman boldly thus answer'd: *Much*
better do we Britains fulfil the Work of Nature,
than you Romans; we with the best men accustom
openly; you with the basest commit private Adul-
teries. Whether she thought this Answer might
serve to justify the Practice of her Country, as
when Vices are compar'd, the greater seems to
justify the less, or whether the Law and Custom
wherein she was bred, had wip'd out of her Con-
science the better Dictate of Nature, and not
convinc'd her of the Shame; certain it is, that
whereas other Nations us'd a Liberty not unna-
tural for one Man to have many Wives, the *Brit-*
ains altogether as licentious, but more absurd
and preposterous in their Licence, had one or
many Wives in common among ten or twelve
Husbands; and those for the most part incestu-
ously. But no sooner was *Severus* return'd into
the Province, than the *Britains* take Arms again.
Against whom *Severus* worn out with Labours
and Infirmary, sends *Antoninus* his eldest Son;
expressly commanding him to spare neither Sex
nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked
Thoughts taken up with the contriving of his
Father's Death, a safer Enemy than a Son, did
the *Britains* not much Detriment. Whereat *Se-*
verus more overcome with Grief than any other
Malady, ended his Life at *Tork*. After whose
decease *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son con-
cluding Peace with the *Britains*, took Hostages
and departed to *Rome*. The Conductor of all this
Northern War *Scottish* Writers Name *Donaldus*,
he of *Monmouth Fulgenius*, in the rest of his Re-
lation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman*
Empire declining apace, good Historians grow-
ing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but
Fragments for many Years ensuing. Under *Gor-*
dian the Emperor we find by the Inscription of
an Altar stone, that *Nomius Philippus* govern'd
here. Under *Galiemus* we read there was a
242. strong and general Revolt from the *Roman* Le-
Cambd. gate. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long
Cumber. after took upon them the Stile of Emperor, by
259. many Coins found among us, *Lollius*, *Victo-*
Eumen. Pa- *rinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are con-
neg. Const. jectured to have risen or born great sway in this
267. Island. Whence *Porphyrius*, a Philosopher, then
Cambd. living, said that *Britain* was a Soil fruitful of
Gildas. Tyrants; and is noted to be the first Author
Hieronym. that makes mention of the *Scottish* Nation.
282. While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonofus* the Son of a
Vopisc. in Rhetorician, bred up a *Spaniard*, though by de-
Bonof. scent a *Britain*, and a matchless Drinker, nor
much to be blam'd, if, as they write, he were
still wisest in his Cups, having attained in War-
fare to high Honours, and lastly in his Charge
over the *German* Shipping, willingly, as was
thought, miscarried, trusting on his Power with

the Western Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, A. D.
bore himself a while for Emperor; but after a 282.
long and bloody Fight at *Cullen* vanquish'd by
Probus, he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of
a ready Jest made on him for his much drink-
ing; *Here hangs a Tankard not a Man*. After
this, *Probus* with much Wisdom prevented a new
Rising here in *Britain*, by the severe Loyalty
of *Victorinus* a *Moor*, at whose Entreaty he had
plac'd here that Governour which rebelled. For
the Emperor upbraiding him with the Disloyalty
of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* underta-
king to set all right again, hastes hither, and
finding indeed the Governor to intend Sedition,
by some Contrivance not mention'd in the Sto-
ry, slew him, whose Name some imagine to be
Cornelius Lelianus. They write also that *Probus* *Cambd.*
gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Britains*
to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having
subdu'd the *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great
Battel, sent over many of them hither to inhab-
it, where they did good Service to the *Romans*
when any Insurrection happen'd in the Isle. Af-
ter whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Per-* 282.
sians, left *Carinus*, one of his Sons, to govern *Carin.*
among other Western Provinces this Island with
Imperial Authority; but him *Dioclesian*, saluted
Emperor by the Eastern Armies, overcame and
slew. About which time *Carusius* a Man of low
Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of
Cleves and *Juliers*, who through all Military
Degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Bel-* 284.
gic and *Armonic* Seas, then much infested by the
Franks and *Saxons*, what he took from the Pi-
rates, neither restoring to the Owners, nor ac-
counting to the Publick, but enriching himself, 285.
and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving
rather at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length
too great a Delinquent to be less than an Empe-
ror: For Fear and Guiltiness in those Days made
Emperors offer than Merit: And understanding
that *Maximianus Hercules*, *Dioclesian's* adopted
Son, was come against him into *Gallia*, pass'd
over with the Navy which he had made his
own, into *Britain*, and possess'd the Island. 286.
Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* Fa-
shion, got into his Power the Legion that was
left here in Garrison, other Outlandish Cohorts
detain'd, list'd the very Merchants and Factors
of *Gallia*, and with the Allurement of Spoil in-
vited great Numbers of other barbarous Nations
to his Part, and train'd them to Sea-service,
wherein the *Romans* at that time were grown so
out of Skill, that *Carausius* with his Navy did
at Sea what he list'd, robbing on every Coast;
whereby *Maximian*, able to come no nearer than
the Shoar of *Boloigne*, was forc'd to conclude a
Peace with *Carausius*, and yield him *Britain*; *Victor. Eu-*
as one fittest to guard the Province there against
Inroads from the North. But not long after ha-
ving assum'd *Constantius Chlorus* to the Dignity
of *Cesar*, sent him against *Carausius*; who in
the mean while had made himself strong both
within the Land and without. *Galsfrid* of *Mon-* *Buchanan.*
mouth writes that he made the *Picts* his Confe-
derates; to whom lately come out of *Scythia* he
gave *Albany* to dwell in: And it is observ'd that
before his time the *Picts* are not known to have been
any where mention'd, and then first by *Eumen-* *Paneg. 2.*
ius a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the
Wall of *Severus* with seven Castles, and a round
House of smooth Stone on the Bank of *Carron*,
which River, saith *Ninnius*, was of his Name so

^a *Buchanan* of that Opinion, in which he is not only oppos'd by our *English* Historians, but by *Fordun* and *Major* his own Countrymen.

A. D. 291. call'd; he built also a Triumphal Arch in Remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In France he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Boloinne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his Permission seated themselves in *Belgia*, were at his Devotion. But *Constantinus* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Boloinne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all Relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who, e're *Constantinus* with the great Fleet which he had prepar'd, could arrive hither^a, was slain treacherously by *Alektus*, one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his Place; when he seven Years, and worthily, as some say, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Island. So much the more did *Constantinus* prosecute that Opportunity, before *Alektus* could well strengthen his Affairs: and though in ill Weather, putting to Sea with all Urgency from several Havens to spread the Terror of his landing, and the Doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the Isle of *Wight*, no sooner got ashore, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of Refuge but in Victory. *Alektus* also, though now much dismay'd, transfers his Fortune to a Battel on the Shoar; but encountred by *Afclepiodorus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his Men, or bringing them all to fight, save the Accessories of his Treason, and his Outlandish Hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no Loss to the *Romans*, but great Execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the Field, for his Purple Robe he had thrown aside, lest it should defcry him, unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to *London*, and purposing with the Pillage of that City to escape by Sea, are met by another of the *Roman* Army, whom the Mist at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new Slaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britains*, their Wives also and Children, with great Joy go out to meet *Constantinus*, as one whom they acknowledge their Deliverer from Bondage and Insolence. All this seems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Constantinus*'s Household, to have been done in the Course of one continu'd Action; so also thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: Though all other allow three Years to the Tyranny of *Alektus*^b. In these Days were great Store of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Island, whom after the Alteration of things here, the *Aduans* in *Burgundy* entertain'd to build their Temples and publick Edifices. *Dioclesian* having hitherto successfully us'd his Valour against the Enemies of his Empire, uses now his Rage in a bloody Persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian Subjects: From the feeling whereof neither was this Island, though most remote, far enough remov'd. Among them here who suffer'd gloriously^c, *Aron*, and *Julius* of

Caer-leon upon *Usk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were most renown'd: The Story of whose Martyrdom soil'd, and worse martyr'd with the fabling Zeal of some idle Fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehensive of Truth, deserves not longer Digression. *Constantinus* after *Dioclesian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britain* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with Victory from an Expedition against the *Caledonians*, he dy'd at *Tork*. His Son *Constantine*, who happily came Post from *Rome* to *Boloinne* just about the time, saith *Eumenius*, that his Father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his Death, was by him on his Death-bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army saluted Emperor^d. There goes a Fame, and that seconded by^e most of our own Historians, though not those the ancientest, that *Constantine* was born in this Island, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of *Coilus* a *British* Prince, not sure the Father of King *Lucius*, whose Sister she must then be, for that would detect her too old by an Hundred Years to be the Mother of *Constantine*. But to salve this Incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colchester*. To this therefore the *Roman* Authors give no Testimony, except a Passage or two in the *Panegyrics*, about the Sense whereof much is argu'd: Others nearest to those times clear the Doubt, and write him certainly born of *Helena*, a mean Woman at *Naissus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, e're his Departure hence he seems to have had some Bickerings in the North, which by reason of more urgent Affairs compos'd, he passes into *Gallia*; and after four Years returns either to settle or to alter the State of things here; until a new War against *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Vita Constantianus* his Vicegerent^f. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his Part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alps*, this Island also. But falling to Civil War with *Constans* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother *Constantinus* coming into *Britain*, seiz'd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his chief Commanders, by some affirm'd the Son of a *British*, he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantinus* in many Battels for the sole Empire; but vanquish'd, in the end slew himself. Somewhat before this time *Gratianus* *Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had chief Command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept here. And the *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Island no small Disturbance: A Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantinus* appointed a Synod of more than 400 Bishops to assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British*^g, Poverty

^a *Cambden* in his *Brit. Tit. Buckinghamshire*, says *Alektus* kill'd him in Battel, and thinks *Caversfield* to be the Place where they fought. *Caversfield* stands on the *Ouse*, not far from *Buckingham*.

^b See an Account of *Alektus* and *Carausius*, and of the Places nam'd from them, *Allcester* and *Caversfield* in *Oxfordshire* and *Bucks*: In a History of *Allcester*, printed from the M.S. by Dr. Kennet in his *Paroch. Antiquities*.

^c A Thousand martyr'd at *Litchfield*, thence call'd *Licidfield*, which *Roufe* of *Warwick* renders a Field of Carcasses, if *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*'s Account is not forg'd.

^d *Eumenius*, in his Oration to *Constantine*, calls *Britain* the most blest and fortunate of all Lands, quia *Constantinum* *Cæsarem* primum vidisti. Which is not to be understood that he was born, but that he was first saluted Emperor here, tho' Dr. *Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Brit.* makes it probable, that *Britain* was the Place of his Birth.

^e See *Lipsius*'s Epistle to Mr. *Cambden*, upon this Point. *Cambd. Ep.* pag. 64. and *Usher's Primordia*, fol. p. 93.

^f *Cambden* in his *Britan.* says *Constantinus Chlorus* marry'd the Daughter of *Coilus* or *Cælus*, a *British* Prince, and by her had *Constantine* the Great in *Britain*.

^g *Constantine*, when he was last in *Britain*, divided the Province into four Parts. *Britannica Prima & Secunda*, the old Division, to which he added *Flavia* and *Maxima* *Cæsariensis*.

^h *Constantinus* was in *Asia* when *Constans* came into *Britain*. Dr. *Howell*. Hist.

ⁱ The *British* Church encreas'd mightily under *Constantine* the Great, and in the Year 314. sent Deputies to the Council of *Arles*, as also to the Oecumenical Synod of *Nice*, Anno 325. and to the Council of *Sardica*, in the Year 347.

A. D. 353. constringing them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born their Charges: Esteeming it more honourable to live on the Publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenious Mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the publick Stipend, but like not the Poverty that caus'd these to do so. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the Cruelty which *Paulus*, an Inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers, who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an accessory; at which enrag'd, he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guess'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* had made *Cæsar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had long insulted, to relieve those Countries almost ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britain*; which even then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirates hinder'd not the transportation. While *Constantius* yet reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Julian* being at *Paris* sends over *Lupicinus*, a well try'd Soldier, but a proud and covetous Man; who with a Power of light-arm'd *Herulians*, *Batarians*, and *Mæsians*, in the midst of Winter sailing from *Boloigne*, arrives at *Rutupia*, seated on the opposite shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the War; but soon after was recall'd by *Julian*, then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happening here; only that *Palladius*, one of his great Officers, was hither banish'd. This Year, *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* roaving up and down; and last the *Saxons*, with perpetual Landings and Invasions, harry'd the South Coast of *Britain*; slew *Nectarius*, who govern'd the Sea Borders, and *Bulcobandes* with his Forces by an ambush. With which News *Valentinian*, not a little perplex'd, sends first *Severus*, High Steward of his House, and soon recalls him; then *Jovinus*, who intimating the necessity of greater Supplies, he sends at length *Theodocius*, a Man of try'd Valour and Experience, Father to the first Emperor of that Name. He with selected Numbers out of the Legions and Cohorts, crosses the Sea from *Boloigne* to *Rutupia*; from whence with the *Batarians*, *Herulians*,^a and other Legions that arriv'd soon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into several Bodies, sets upon the dispers'd and plundering Enemy, laden with spoil; from whom recovering the Booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with their Lives, he restores all to the right Owners, save a small portion to his wearied Soldiers, and enters *London* victoriously; which, before in many straights and difficulties, was now reviv'd as with

a great deliverance. The numerous Enemy, with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the War scatter'd: Which *Theodocius*, getting daily some intelligence from Fugitives and Prisoners, resolves to carry on by sudden Parties and Surprisals, rather than set Battels; nor omits he to proclaim Indemnity to such as would lay down Arms, and accept of Peace, which brought in many. Yet all this not ending the work, he requires that *Civilis*, a Man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as Deputy of the Island, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodocius* busy'd, besetting with Ambushes the roving Enemy, repressing his Roads, restoring Cities and Castles to their former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentius*^c a *Pannonian* for some great offence banish'd into *Britain*, conspiring with certain Exiles and Soldiers against *Theodocius*, whose Worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the Isle into his power, is discover'd, and with his chief accomplices deliver'd over to condign Punishment: Against the rest, *Theodocius* with a wise lenity suffer'd not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettled. This done, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the Confines many strong Holds; and in them appoints due and diligent Watches; and so reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province, which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London*, *Augusta*. Thus *Theodocius* nobly acquitting himself in all Affairs, with general applause of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-side, returns to *Valentinian*. Who about five Years after sent hither *Fraomarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good service were in high esteem. Against *Gratian*, who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus* a *Spaniard*, and one who had serv'd in the *British* Wars with younger *Theodocius* (for he also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this Island) and now General of the *Roman* Armies here, either discontented that *Theodocius* was preferr'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Soldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the Imperial Purple, and having attain'd Victory against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the Flower and Strength of *Britain*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gratian*, and without much difficulty, the space of five Years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and slain by *Theodocius*. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*,^e which *Maximus* had given them to possess, the South of *Britain* by this means exhausted of her Youth, and what there was of *Roman* Soldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a prey to savage Invasions;

^a This *Paulus* was burnt alive afterwads by order of *Julian* the Apostate. Mr. Milton places *Paul* the Notary's coming into England five Years after the time.

^b Richborough near Sandwich in Kent. See Mr. Somner's Discourse on the Roman Ports in Kent, p. 3, 4.

^c Dr. Gale supposes the *Attacots* to be a barbarous sort of Britains, inhabiting the North of Scotland.

^d The *Jovii* and *Villiores*, the *Batavi* and the *Heruli*, which serv'd in this Expedition, were the four best Legions in the Roman Armies.

^e Should be *Valentinus*.

^f Geoffrey relates, that *Maximus* bestow'd *Armorica*, the Province of *Bretagne* in France, on *Conan* a *Britain*, Lord of *Denbysire*, whom he made Duke of it; as also that *Dionotus*, Duke of *Cornwall*, sent his own Daughter *Ursula* 11000 Noble Virgins, and 60000 others to Duke *Conan*, for Wives for himself and his Britains; of whom part perish'd in a Storm, the rest by the Kings of the *Huns* and the *Picts*, who either kill'd them, or made them Slaves. These Virgins are esteem'd Martyrs in the *Roman Legends*; and Card. *Baronius*, from no better Authority than Geoffrey of *Monmouth*, reports the same Story, as if it had been Matter of Fact, though it carries so many Improbabilities with it.

A. D. of Scots from the *Iris* Seas, of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Against them, first *Chrysanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a *Novatian* Bishop, made Deputy of Britain by *Theodosius*, demean'd himself worthily: Then *Stilicho*, a Man of great Power, whom *Theodosius* dying left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in Person, or sending over sufficient aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortify'd the Wall against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the Roman Armies from all parts hasten to relieve *Honorius*, then besieg'd in *Alea* of *Piemont*, by *Alaric* the Goth, Britain was left expos'd as before to those barbarous Robbers. Left any wonder how the Scots came to infect Britain from the *Iris* Sea, it must be understood, that the Scots not many Years before had been driven all out of Britain by *Maximus*; and their King *Eugenius* slain in fight, as their own Annals report: Whereby, it seems, wandering up and down, without certain feat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and Shoars as Pirates. But more Authentick Writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia*, long before the North of Britain took that Name. About this time, though troublesome, *Pelagius* a Britain found the leisure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by *St. Austin*. But the Roman Powers which were call'd into Italy, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into several Provinces: And perhaps *Victorinus* of *Tolosa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Island; if it were not he whom *Stilicho* sent hither^b. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the Picts into a Province, he gave the occasion of their calling back *Fergusius* and the Scots, whom *Maximus* with their help had quite driven out of the Island: And indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have been active in those parts. But the time which is assign'd him later *Buchanan* after *Gratianus* *Municeps*, by *Cambden* after *Constantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of History. For the Vandals having broke in and wasted all *Belgia*, even to those places from whence easiest passage is into Britain, the Roman Forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up *Marcus*, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him not found agreeable to their heady courses, they as hastily kill: For the giddy favour of a mutining rout is as dangerous as their fury. The like they do by *Gratian* a British Roman, in four Months advanc'd, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Soldier, whose name was *Constantine*, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of a Luckiness in his Name, as without other visible merit to create him Emperor^c. It fortun'd that the Man had not his Name for nought; so well he knew to

lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a waken'd Spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his Mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his Military Affairs: And with the whole Force of the Province, and what of British was able to bear Arms, he passes into France, aspiring at least to an equal share with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where by the valour of *Edobecus* a Franck, and *Gerontius* a Britain, and partly by persuasion gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Constans*, whom of a Monk he had made a *Cesar*, and by the conduct of *Gerontius* he reduces all Spain to his obedience. But *Constans* after this displacing *Gerontius*, the Affairs of *Constantine* soon went to wrack: For he by this means alienated, set up *Maximus* one of his Friends against him in Spain; and passing into France took *Vienna* by assault, and having slain *Constans* in that City, calls on the Vandals against *Constantine*; who by him incited, as by him before they had been repress'd, breaking forward, over-run most part of France. But when *Constantine* comes, the Emperor's General, with a strong Power came out of Italy, *Gerontius* deserted by his own Forces, retires into Spain; where also growing into contempt with the Soldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his House in the night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his Darts and other Weapons were spent, he might have escap'd at a private door, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnicbia*, whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged Crew, he first cuts off the Head of his Friend *Alanus*, as were agreed; next his Wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to out-live her Husband, he dispatches: For which her Resolution, *Sozomenus* an Ecclesiastick Writer gives her high praise, both as a Wife and as a Christian. Last of all, against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal place, with his Ponyard finishes the work. Thus far is pursu'd the Story of a famous Britain, related negligently by our other Historians. As for *Constantine*, his ending was not answerable to his setting out: For he with his other Son *Julian* besieg'd by *Constantine* in *Arles*, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his Head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing him, is carry'd into Italy, and there put to death; having four Years acted the Emperor. While these things were doing, the Britains at home destitute of Roman aid, and the chief strength of their own Youth, that went first with *Maximus*, then with *Constantine*, not returning home, vex'd and harass'd by their wonted Enemies, had sent Messages to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend Rome it self, which the same Year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letter to consult how best they

^a *Cambden* calls the Roman General *Victorinus*, *Broetius* and *Buchanan* say his Name was *Maximinian*.

^b *Claudius* in his Panegyrick on *Stilicho's* first Consulship introduces *Britannia* speaking thus in his praise:

*Scoticane Picta tremere nec Litore toto
Prospicerem dulcis Venientem Saxona Ventis:
The Scots and Picts alike now dreadless are;
No longer on the Coasts I quivering stand,
Nor fear a Fleet of Saxons on the Strand.*

^c *Stilicho's* Succours were sent in his first Consulship, Anno 395. and the Vandals did not break into the Empire till the Year 407. when *Marcus* was proclaim'd Emperor in Britain. Which very well agrees with the plain Course of History. *Dr. Howell's* Vol. II.

^d Hoping, says *Cambden* in his Remains he would prove another *Constantinus Maximus*.

^e He was proclaim'd Emperor at *Silchester* in Hampshire.

^f *Vienna* in Dauphine.

^g *Humphry Lloyd*, in his Discourse concerning Britain, says, he was so famous that the British Bards celebrated him with several Poems, part of which he recites.

A. D. 411. might for their own Safety, and acquits them of the Roman Jurisdiction. They therefore thus relinquish'd, and by all Right the Government relapsing into their own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after their own Laws, defending their Bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britains* of *France*, follow'd their Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; first in *Britain*, soon after in *Italy* it self: Having born chief Sway in this Island, though never throughly subdu'd, or all at once in Subjection, if we reckon from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which Year *Honorius* wrote those Letters of Discharge into *Britain*, the space of 462 Years*. And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, History, Civility, and

Procopius
Vandalic.
The *Romans* quit
Britain.

Calvis.
Sigon.

even Language it self, all these together, as it were, with equal pace diminishing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to steer by another fort of Authors; near enough to the things they write, as in their own Country, if that would serve; in time not much belated, some of equal Age; in Expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while: This we must expect; in civil Matters to find them dubious Relaters, and still to the best Advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: In most other Matters of Religion, blind, astonish'd, and struck with Superstition, as with a Planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these Guides, where can be had no better, must be follow'd; in gross it may be true enough; in Circumstance each Man as his Judgment gives him, may reserve his Faith, or bestow it. But so different a State of things requires a several Relation.

A. D.
416.

* *Julius Caesar* landed in *Britain* 53 Years before our Saviour's Birth, and in the Year 437. according to Mr. *Speed*, the *Romans* hid their Treasures in *Britain*, and despair'd of being able to defend it against the *Scots* and *Picts*. By this Calculation, their Dominion over the *Britains* lasted 490 Years; and we read in the same Mr. *Speed's* Chronicle, that the *Britains* ten Years afterwards wrote to *Aetius* in his third Consulate to assist them. *Cambden* in his *Britannia*, Tit. The *Romans* in *Britain*, says the *Roman Empire* expir'd here 475 Years after *Caesar's* first Invasion. For *Attila*, the *Hun*, was so terrible at that time to the *Romans*, that they could not spare any of their Forces to succour the *Britains*.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book III.

A. D. 416. **T**His Third Book having to tell of Accidents as various and exemplary, as the Intermillion or Change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve Attention more than common, and repay it with like Benefit to them who can judiciously read: Considering especially that the late Civil Broils had cast us into a Condition not much unlike to what the *Britains* then were in, when the Imperial Jurisdiction departing hence, left them to the sway of their own Councils; which Times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy with this interregn, we may be able from two such remarkable Turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raise a Knowledge of our selves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of Men the *Britains* generally are in Matters of so high Enterprize, how by Nature, Industry, or Custom fitted to attempt or undergo Matters of so main Consequence: For if it be a high Point of Wisdom in every private Man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than puffed up with vulgar Flatteries, and Encomiums, for want self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly, and come off miserably in great Undertakings. The *Britains*, thus as we heard, being left without Protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her Youth, consumed in Wars abroad, or not caring to return Home, themselves through long Subjection, servile in

Gild. Bedd.
Malmf.

Mind, slothful of Body, and with the Use of Arms unacquainted, sustain'd but ill for many Years the Violence of those barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to Freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestir them with a Shew of Diligence in their new Affairs, some secretly aspiring to Rule, others adoring the Name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by Proof the Weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not Stomach or the Love of Licence, but the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Labour, to use and maintain true Liberty, they soon remitted their Heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the Burden of their own Liberty, than before under a Foreign Yoke. Infomuch that the residue of those *Romans* which had planted themselves here, despairing of their ill Deportment at Home, and weak Resistance in the Field, by those few who had the Courage, or the Strength to bear Arms, nine Years after the sacking of *Rome* remov'd out of *Britain* into *France*, hiding for haste great part of their Treasure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britains*, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing Enemy, solicit *Honorius* to their Aid, with mournful Letters, Embassages and Vows of perpetual Subjection to *Rome*, if the Northern Foe were but repuls'd. He at their request spares them

A. D.
416.

Zozim.
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418
Ethelwerd.
annals Sax.

Gildas.
Vol. I. E 2 them

A. D. 422. them one Legion, which with great Slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, rescu'd the *Britains*, and advis'd them to build a Wall cross the Island, between Sea and Sea, from the Place where *Edenburgh* now stands to the Frith of *Dunbritton*, by the City *Alcluth*. But the Material being only Turf, and by the rude Multitude unartificially built up without better Direction, avail'd them little. For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy Spoilers returning, land in great Numbers from their Boats and Pinaces, wasting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are Messengers again posted to *Rome* in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole Province to be destroy'd, and the *Roman* Name, so honourable yet among them, to become the Subject of Barbarian Scorn and Insolence. The Emperor, at their sad Complaint, with what speed was possible sends to their Succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous Multitudes that minded only Spoil, surprize them with a terrible Slaughter. They who escap'd, fled back to those Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with Booties. But the *Romans*, who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the Ease of their Affairs to make such laborious Voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond Robbers, of whom neither Glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own Warfare; and to defend like Men their Country, their Wives, their Children, and what was to be dearer than Life, their Liberty, against an Enemy not stronger than themselves, if their own Sloth and Cowardice had not made them so; if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive Arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive Bonds. They gave them also their Help to build a new Wall, not of Earth as the former, but of Stone (both at the publick Cost, and by particular Contributions) traversing the Isle in direct Line from East to West, between certain Cities placed there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it twelve Foot high, eight broad. Along the South Shoar^a, because from thence also like Hostility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea-side at certain Distances, for Safety of the Coast. Withal, they instruct them in the Art of War, leaving Patterns of their Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many Lessons of Valour to a faint-hearted Audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda*, and *Diaconus*, the two last Years of *Honorius*. Their Leader, as some modernly write, was *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predecessor *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings against him to this Battel *Fergus* first King of *Scots* after their second suppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durstus* King of *Picts*, both there slain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britain*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbably sided with them against his own Country, hardly escaping. With no less Exactness of particular Circumstances, he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary Inrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, as if they had but Yesterday happen'd, their Order of Battel, manner of Fight, Number of

Slain, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be believ'd for bare Assertions, however quaintly drest, than our *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* when he varies most from Authentick Story. But either the inbred Vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond Zeal of praising their Nations above Truth hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set off their History, or magnifie their Country. The *Scots* and *Picts* in Manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return, from the *Gorroghs*, or Leathern Frigats pour out themselves in Swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: And from the North end of the Isle to the very Wall side, then first took Possession as Inhabitants; while the *Britains* with idle Weapons in their hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked *Barbarians* with their long and formidable Iron Hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody Pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these Confusions arose a Famine, and from thence Discord and Civil Commotion among the *Britains*: Each Man living by what he robb'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all Stores were consumed and spent where Men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was their only Sustainment. To the Heaps of these Evils from without, were added new Divisions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus*, a *Pelagian* Bishop, had spread his Doctrine wide among the *Britains* not uninfected before. The founder part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, not able to refute him, crave Assistance from the Churches of *France*: Who send them *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is written, confirm'd some, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a publick Disputation put to silence their Chief Adversaries. This Reformation in the Church was believ'd to be the Cause of their Success a while after in the Field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joynt Force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at least had any dwelling in this Island, during this abode of *Germanus* here, had made a strong Impression from the North. The *Britains* marching out against them, and mistrusting their own Power, send to *Germanus* and his Colleague, reposing more in the spiritual Strength of those two Men, than in their own Thousands arm'd. They came, and their Presence in the Camp was not less than if a whole Army had come to second them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the People instructed by the daily Sermons of these two Pastors, came flocking to receive Baptism. There was a Place in the Camp set apart as a Church, and trick'd up with Boughs upon *Easter-Day*. The Enemy understanding this, and that the *Britains* were taken up with Religion more than with Feats of Arms, advances, after the Paschal Feast, as to a certain Victory. *Germanus*, who also had Intelligence of their Approach, undertakes to be Captain that Day; and riding out with selected

^a The Enemies, which they fear'd on that side, were the *Saxon* Pirates, who hover'd upon the Southern Coast, and occasion'd the New-Officer, still'd *Comes Littoris Saxonici*.

A. D. 430. Troops to discover what Advantages the Place might offer, lights on a Valley compass'd about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to pass. And placing there his Ambush, warns them that what Word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal Shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and German thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which answered by the Soldiers with a sudden burst of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Host, throw themselves into flight, casting down their Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victory, thus won without hands, left to the Britains plenty of Spoil, and to the Person and the Preaching of Germanus greater Authority and Reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if Constantius, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had resolv'd us how the British Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganism at that time, or long before in the Land, we read not, or that Pelagianism was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire*, by a Town call'd *Guid-cruck*, and the River *Allen*, where a Field retains the name of *Maes German* to this day. But so soon as Germanus was return'd home, the Scots and Picts, though now so many of them Christians, that Palladius a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by Celestine the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing mischief to their Neighbours, where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore of the Britains, who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the strongest and South-west parts of the Isle, send Letters to Aëtius, then third time Consul of Rome, with this superscription; *To Aëtius thrice Consul, the Groans of the Britains*. And after a few words thus, *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two deaths we perish, either by the Sword or by the Sea*. But the Empire at that time overspread with Huns and Vandals, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more resolute, or less expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but falling out at length gave a stop to the insulting Foe with many seasonable defeats; led by some eminent Person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in Divine Assistance. And perhaps no other here is meant than the foresaid deliverance by Germanus, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long here, the Writers of his Life assent not. Finding therefore such opposition, the Scots or Irish Robbers, for so they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mention'd, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the Island, using now and then to make inroads upon the Britains. But they in the mean while thus rid of their Enemies, begin afresh to till the Ground; which after cessation yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly been known for many Ages. But Wan-

tonness and Luxury, the wonted companions of A. D. Plenty, grow up as fast; and with them, if Gildas deserve belief, all other Vices incident to Humane Corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of Truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the Malice of the Land was bent. Lyes and Falsties, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac'd for Good, Wickedness honour'd and esteem'd as Virtue. And this Quality their Valour had against a foreign Enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to Civil Broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the search of Truth, weak and shallow; in Falshood and wicked Deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weigh'd alike; and the worse, most an end, was the weightier. All things were done contrary to publick Welfare and Safety; nor only by secular Men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual Drunkenness; or swell'd with Pride and Wilfulness, full of Contention, full of Envy, indiscreet, incompetent Judges to determine what in the practice of Life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish'd with Judgment, and for Manners thus qualify'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to choose them several Kings of their own, as near as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's Anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the Truth, put to Death by their Anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of their Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the Romans had quite deserted their Claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the British Clergy too weak it seems at dispute, intreat the second time, Germanus to their assistance. Who coming with Severus a Disciple of Lupus that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the People generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to Banishment. They therefore by consent of all were deliver'd to Germanus, who carrying them over with him, dispos'd of them in such place, where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But Germanus the same Year dy'd in Italy; and the Britains not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour that their old troublers the Scots and Picts had prepar'd a strong Invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the Land from end to end. But ere their coming in, as if the instruments of Divine Justice had been at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked Nation, the Pestilence forestalling the Sword, left scarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one Extremity keeps off another, preserv'd the Land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous Disposseffors, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter far. And yet the Britains nothing better'd by these heavy Judgments, the one threaten'd, the other

Usser.
Primord.
p. 333.

431.
Prop.
Aquit.

Ethelwerd.
Florent.
Gild.
Bede.

Malmwry.
l. 1. c. 1.
p. 2.
446.

Gildas.

447
Constant.
Beda.

448.
Sigon.
Gildas.

Malmwry.

^a Guidrac, in the British Tongue, in the English Mould, in Flintshire.

^b Germans-Field.

A. D. 448. felt, instead of acknowledging the Hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of their King *Vortigern*^a with Complaints and Cries of what they suddenly fear'd from the *Pictish* Invasion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than sole King, unless the rest had perhaps left their Dominions to the common Enemy, is said by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the Death first of *Constantine*, then of *Constantine* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have usurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Constantine* with his Son *Constantine* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæsar*, perish'd in *France*, may discern the simple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to reign, is decipher'd by truer Stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the People much belov'd, because his Vices sort'd so well with theirs. For neither was he skill'd in War, nor wise in Council, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all Vice; wasting the publick Treasure in Gluttony and Riot, careless of the common Danger, and through a haughty Ignorance, unapprehensive of his own. Nevertheless importun'd and awak'd at length, by unusual clamours of the People, he summons a General Council, to provide some better means than heretofore had been us'd against these continual Annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the Saxons be invited into *Britain* against the *Scots* and *Picts*; whose breaking in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but Robberies and Cruelties done to all their Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Island, witness that military Force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd here purposely against them, under a special Commander, whose Title, as is found on good record, was Count of the Saxon-shoar in *Britain*; and the many Mischiefes done by their landing here, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath been related, witness as much. They were a People thought by good Writers to be descended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythian* in the North of *Asia*, thence call'd *Sacæ*, or Sons of *Sacæ*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and using Piracy from *Denmark* all along these Seas, possess'd at length by intrusion all that Coast of *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, which took thence the name of *Old Saxony*, lying between the *Rhine* and *Elbe*, and from thence North as far as *Fidora*, the River bounding *Holfatia*, tho' not so firmly or so largely, but that their multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation. Such Guests as these the *Britains* resolve now to send for, and entreat into their Houses and Possessions, at whose very Name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much

do Men through impatience count ever that the heaviest which they bear at present, and to remove the evil which they suffer, care not to pull on a greater; as if variety and change in Evil also were acceptable. Or whether it be that Men in the despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of Refuge from one Misery to another. The *Britains* therefore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over them all, resolve in full Council to send Ambassadors to their choicest Men with great Gifts, and faith a Saxon Writer in these words, desiring their aid: *Worthy Saxons, bearing the Fame of your Promises, the distressed Britains wearied out, and overpress'd by a continual invading Enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. They have a Land fertile and spacious, which to your Commands they bid us surrender. Heretofore we have liv'd with freedom under the obedience and protection of the Roman Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your selves; and therefore become Suppliants to your Valour. Leave us not below our present Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly we shall submit. Yet Ethelward writes not that they promis'd Subjection, but only Amity and League. They therefore who had chief rule among them, hearing themselves entreated by the *Britains* to that which gladly they would have wish'd to obtain of them by entreating, to the *British* Embassy return this answer: Be assur'd henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful Friends to the *Britains*, no less ready to stand by them in their Need, than in their best of Fortune. The Ambassadors return joyful, and with News as welcome to their Country, whose sinister Fate had now blinded them for destruction. The Saxons, consulting first their Gods, *Gildas*. (for they had answer, that the Land whereto they went, they should hold 300 Years, half that time conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a chosen Company of Warlike Youth, under the Conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, descended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his Acts, most Kings of those Nations derive their Pedigree. These, and either mix'd with these, or soon after by themselves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring People, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Futland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleswich*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arrive in the first Year of *Martian* the Greek Emperor, from the Birth of Christ 450, receiv'd with much good will of the People first, then of the King, who after some assurances given and taken, bestows on them the Isle of *Tanet*, where they first landed, hoping they might be made hereby more eager against the *Picts*, when they fought as for their own Country, and more loyal to the *Britains*, from whom they had receiv'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *British* *Nennius* writes, that these Brethren were driven into*

Notitia Imp.
1071.

Florent.
Wigorn. ad.
an. 370.

Ethelward.

Ethelward.
Malmsbur.
Witichind.
Gest. Sax.
l. 1. f. 3.

Malm.

Witichind.

Gildas.

* About
1500 Men.
of *Beda*.

450.
Nennius.
Malms.

The Saxons
land in
Britain.

^a *Vortigern* was chosen King in the Year 447.

^b The Bishop of *Worcester* will not agree with this Opinion, because no Rational Account can be given how the *Sacæ* left their own Country to people *Saxony*. *Orig. Britann.* p. 306. See also *Cambden*, *English Edit.* p. 124, and *Sheringham*, *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*: *Cambden* derives them from the *Saci*, a People of *Scythia*, *Sarmatia* or *Asiatica*; *Sheringham* does the same. Bishop *Stillingfleet* thinks they took their Name from their *Seaxes*, or short Swords. *Julius Scaliger* observes, that *Fader*, *Moder*, *Broder*, &c. are us'd in the same sense in the *Persian* Language as in the *Saxon*. And *Busbequius* in his *Epistles* writes, that the Inhabitants of the *Tawrick* *Chersonese* have these words, *Wind*, *Silver*, *Corn*, *Salt*, *Fish*, *Son*, *Apple*; and forty others in the same signification as they are now in with us. From whence Mr. *Cambden* in his *Remains*, p. 22. argues, that our *Saxon* Progenitors planted their Colonies in the *East* as well as the *West*.

^c I know not how Liberal the *Britains* might be in this Distress; but if they made such a frank Surrender, 'tis strange why the *Saxons* (designing to make themselves Masters of the Kingdom) should insult upon the poor pretence of short Diet and bad Pay; and not rather urge the express promise of the *Saxon*-Ambassadors.

^d Vide *Spelman*. *Gloss.* sub. *Tit. Gut.*

^e See *Cambden's Britannia*, *Engl.* p. 125. The *Jutes* so call'd from the *Gutes*, *Getes* or *Goths*, Inhabiting the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, which the *Danes* to this day call *Futland*. The *Angles*, says *Beda*, lib. 1. cap. 15. came out of the Country call'd *Angulus*, which is said to lie between the *Jutes* and the *Saxons*. *Holfstein* was the ancient Seat of the *Saxons*, and in the Country between *Holfstein* and *Futland* there is now a small Province call'd *Angel*, under the Jurisdiction of the City of *Flensberg*.

A. D. 450. *Malm.* exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reign'd in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambrosius* came opportunely into the Haven. For it was the custom in old *Saxony*, when their numerous Offspring overflow'd the narrowness of their bounds, to send them out by lot into new Dwellings, where-ever they found room, either vacant or to be forc'd. But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt not here long without Employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, some say, as far *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*^a, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new Opposition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a sharp Encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: Slaying in Fight, as some *Scotch* Writers affirm, their King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*, *Hengist* perceiving the Island to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other Inhabitants given to vicious Ease, sends word home, inviting others to a Share of his good Success. Who returning with seventeen Ships, were grown up now to a sufficient Army, and entertain'd without Suspicion on these Terms, that they should bear the brunt of War against the *Picts*, receiving Stipend and some Place to inhabit. With these was brought over the Daughter of *Hengist*, a Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowena* the *British* call her: She by Commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in Presence with a Bowl of Wine to welcome him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feast ended, won so much upon his Fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in Marriage upon any Conditions. *Hengist* at first, though it fell out perhaps according to the drift, held off, excusing his Meanness; then obscurely intimating a Desire and almost a Necessity, by reason of his augmented Numbers, to have his narrow Bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*^b, had it frait by Donation: Though *Guoragonus* till then was King of that Place: And so, as it were overcome by the great Munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And still encroaching on the King's Favour, got farther leave to call over *Ossa* and *Ebissa*, his own and his Brother's Son; pretending that they, if the North were given them, would sit there as a continual Defence against the *Scots*, while himself guarded the East. They therefore sailing with forty Ships even to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, possess'd that part of the Isle which is now *Northumberland*. Notwithstanding this they complain, that their Monthly Pay was grown much into Arrear; which when the *Britains* found means to satisfy, though alledging withal, that they to whom Promise was made of Wages, were nothing so many in number, quieted with this a while, but still seeking Occasion to fall off, they find fault next, that their Pay is too small for the Danger they undergo, threatening open War unless it be augmented. *Guortimer*, the King's Son, perceiving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmost Endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*,

waisted without Resistence almost the whole Land even to the Western Sea, with such a horrid Devastation, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Priests and People slain, Temples and Palaces, what with Fire and Sword, lay altogether heap'd in one mixt Ruin. Of all which Multitude, so great was the Sinfulness that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none were likely to be other than lew'd and wicked Persons. The residue of these, part overtaken in the Mountains, were slain; others subdu'd with Hunger prefer'd Slavery before instant Death; some getting to Rocks, Hills and Woods inaccessible, prefer'd the Fear and Danger of any Death before the Shame of a secure Slavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; some into *Holland*, where yet remain the Ruines of *Brittenburgh*, *Primord.* an old Castle on the Sea, to be seen at low Water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of their own affirm, or seiz'd on by those *Britains* in their Escape from *Hengist*: Others into *Armerica*, peopl'd, as some think, with *Britains* long before; either by Gift of *Constantine*, the Great, or else of *Maximus* to those *British* Forces which had serv'd them in Foreign Wars; to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*: And lastly, these Exiles driven out by *Saxons*, fled for Refuge. But the ancient Chronicles of those Provinces attest their coming thither to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the Name of *Britain* in *France* is not read till after that time^c. Yet how a sort of Fugitives, who had quitted without Stroke their own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unless joyn'd to some part of their own settl'd there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd by these Calamities, grew at last so obdurate as to commit Incest with his Daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an Ambition to the Crown. For which being censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clerks* and *Laicks*, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire*, by the Advice of *Ambrosius* a young Prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Nevertheless *Faustus*, who was the Son thus incestuously begotten, under the Instructions of *German*, or some of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a Religious Man, and liv'd in Devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Glamorganshire*. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easie to subdue the Isle, with most of their Forces, uncertain for what Cause, return'd home: When as the Easiness of their Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortimer*. For he coming to Reign, instead of his Father depos'd for Incest, is said to have thrice driv'n and besieg'd the *Saxons* in the Isle of *Taneth*; and when they issu'd out with powerful Supplies sent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are nam'd; the first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherein *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* fell, and on the *British* part *Catigern*;

^a *Hengist*, in this County, vanquish'd the *Scots* and *Picts*, and obtain'd of *Vortigern* as much Land as he cou'd encompass with an Ox's Hide cut into very small thongs; from which Treaty, the Town of *Thongastet* in *Lincolnshire* was so call'd.

^b This, we know, is the common Story: But the *Saxon Annals*, as they say nothing of *Rowena*, so they seem to intimate that *Hengist* got it by Force of Arms; telling us, that he worsted the *Britains* in two pitch'd Battels; and that, upon this, they quitted *Kent*, and betook themselves to *London*.

^c Mr. Milton calls the Name of this King of *Kent*, *Guoragonus*: Whereas *Cambden* in his *Brit.* says, The Person who then govern'd *Kent*, was *Vortigern's* Vice-Roy, or *Guorag*.

^d Bishop *Stillingfleet* proves the contrary from several ancient Authors, in his *Antiquities of the Brit. Church*, cap. 5.

A. D. 454. the other Son of *Vortigern*^a. The third in a Field by *Stonar*^b, then call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into their Ships that bore them home, glad to have escap'd, and not venturing to Land again for five Years after. In the space whereof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they should bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perswaded that his Bones lying there would be Terrour enough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that place: They, faith *Nennius*, neglecting his Command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning these times, antientest Annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the Year

455.
Bede.
Ethelwerd.
Florent.
Annal. Sax.
The King-
dom of
Kent.

457.
The King-
dom of
Kent
founded
A. D. 457.

Nennius.
458.

Malmsh.

455. *Hengist* and *Horfa* fought against *Vortigern*, in a Place call'd *Eglestbrip*, now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horfa* lost his Life, of whom *Horsted*, the Place of his Burial, took Name. After this first Battel and the Death of his Brother, *Hengist* with his Son *Efca* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Futes*; who also then or not long after possess'd the Isle of *Wight*, and part of *Hampshire* lying opposite. Two Years after in a Fight at *Creganford*, or *Craford*, *Hengist* and his Son slew of the *Britains* four Chief Commanders; and as many thousand Men: The rest in great Disorder flying to *London*, with the total Loss of *Kent*. And eight Years palling between, he made new War on the *Britains*; of whom in a Battel at *Weped-fleet*, twelve Princes were slain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his Name to that Place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. His last Encounter was at a Place not mention'd, where he gave them such an Overthrow, that flying in great Fear they left the Spoil of all to their Enemies. And these perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by these Writers far differently related; and happening, besides many other Bickerings, in the Space of twenty Years, as *Malmsh.* reckons. Nevertheless it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomsoever, were put to hard Shifts, being all this while fought withal in *Kent*, their own allotted Dwelling, and sometimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word *Wippeds-fleet* seems to intimate. But *Guortemir* now dead^c, and none of Courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern*, either by the Power of his Faction, or by consent of all, reassumes the Government: And *Hengist* thus rid of his grand Opposer, hearing gladly the Restoremment of his old Favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son-in-Law, now that the only Author of Dissention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all Terms of new League and Amity. The King, both for his Wife's Sake and his own Sottishness, consulting also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the Place of Parly is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose meaning was not Peace but Treachery, appointed his Men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The Watch-word was *Nemet eour Saxes*,

that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britains* were thoroughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by some Affront, dispatch'd with those Poinards every one his next Man, to the number of 200, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counfel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his Ransom three Provinces, which were called afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*^e. Who thus dismiss'd, retiring again to his solitary abode in his Country of *Guorthigirni-aun*^f, so call'd by his Name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in *North-Wales* by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Tower by Fire from Heaven, at the Prayer, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelianus*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great Fear, and partly for that Cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint, or of their own accord, after much Mischief done, most of them returning back into their own Country, left a fair Opportunity to the *Britains* of revenging themselves the easier on those that staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest Supplication imploring divine Help to prevent their final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a virtuous and modest Man, the last here of *Roman* Stock, advancing now onward against the late Victors, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common Opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *British* Fables, makes this *Ambrosius* to be a younger Son of that *Constantine*, whose eldest, as we heard, was *Constance* the Monk: Who both lost their Lives abroad usurping the Empire. But the express Words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, assures us that the Parents of this *Ambrosius* having here born Regal Dignity, were slain in these *Pictish* Wars and Commotions in the Island. And if the Fear of *Ambrose* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it seems *Vortigern* usurp'd his Right. I perceive not that *Nennius* makes any Difference between him and *Merlin*: For that Child without Father that prophecy'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambrose*, makes him the Son of a *Roman* Consul; but conceal'd by his Mother, as fearing that the King therefore sought his Life; yet the Youth no sooner had confess'd his Parentage, but *Vortigern* either in Reward of his Predictions, or as his right, bestow'd upon him all the West of *Britain*; himself retiring to a solitary Life. Whose ever Son he was, he was the first, according to surest Authors, that led against the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a time when most of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britains* gather'd Strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against their whole Powers, the second time returning obtain'd this Victory^g. Thus *Ambrose* as Chief Monarch

A. D.
461.

466.

Nin. ex legend.
St. Ger.
Galfrid.
Monmouth.

Gild.

Bede.

^a A Monument something like *Stonehenge*, to be seen near *Ailsford*, call'd by the Country People *Kith's Coty-house*, from *Catigern*.

^b So Mr. *Cambden* and my Lord Primate of *Armagh*; induc'd by the Resemblance of *Lapis tituli* to *Stonar*. But Mr. *Sommer* discovering in some ancient Records, that this *Stonar* was writ formerly *Estanore*, implying no more than *Ora Orientalis*, remov'd it to *Folkston*, and is follow'd in that Opinion by the Bishop of *Worcester*. See *Sommer's* Forts and Ports in *Kent*, p. 94, &c. *Still. Orig. Brit.* p. 322.

^c *Florence* of *Worcester* mentions 4000 Men.

^d *Wortimer*, says Mr. *Tallent*, was poyson'd by *Rowena* his Mother-in-Law, Anno 458. and the *Saxon* Annals under the Year 465. place the Battel of *Wippedes Fleet* then, which Mr. *Milson* puts in Anno 473.

^e The Return of *Hengist*, and the Murder of the *British* Nobles happened according to Mr. *Tallent's* Chronology, Anno 461. no Authentick Author places it so late as the Year 473.

^f *Ambrosius* commanded the *Britains* Twenty Years as their General, and Anno 485. was chosen King. *Vid. Dr. Powell's* Catalogue of the Kings of *Wales*.

A. D. 466. of the Isle succeeded *Vortigern*; to whose third Son *Pascentius* he permitted the Rule of two Regions in *Wales*,^a *Buelth* and *Guorthgirnian*. In his days, saith *Nennius*, the Saxons prevail'd not much: Against whom *Arthur*, as being then Chief General for the *British* Kings, made great War; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, than in true Stories. And the Sequel it self declares as much. For in the Year 477, *Ella* the Saxon, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Cissa*, at a place in *Sussex*, call'd *Cymensbore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britains*, chasing them that remain'd into the Wood^b *Andreds-League*. Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamsted*, wherein *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* make it so doubtful, that the Saxons were constrain'd to send home for Supplies. Four Year after dy'd *Hengist*, the first Saxon King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that Dignity by Craft as much as Valour, and giving scope to his own cruel Nature, rather than proceeding by Mildness or Civility. His Son *Oeric*, surnam'd *Oisc*, of whom the *Kentish* Kings were call'd *Oiscings*, succeeded him, and sat content with his Father's winnings; more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: He reign'd twenty four Years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Cissa* besieging *Andredchester*,^c suppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword. Thus *Ella*, three Years after the death of *Hengist*, began his Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then *Old Saxony*, at this day *Holstein* in *Denmark*, and had besides at his command all those Provinces which the Saxons had won on this side *Humber*. Animated with these good Successes, as if *Britain* were become now the Field of *Fortune*, *Kerdic* another Saxon Prince, the tenth by Lineage from *Woden*, an old and practis'd Soldier, who in many prosperous Conflicts against the Enemy in those parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with Equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of *Kerdic-sfoar*, with five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very same day overthrew the *Britains* that oppos'd him; and so effectually, that smaller Skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still farther off, leaving him a large Territory: After him *Porta* another Saxon, with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships arrive at *Portsmouth*^d thence call'd, and at their landing slew a young *British* Nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them. The *Britains*, to recover what they had lost, draw together all their Forces, led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britain*, and the greatest, saith one; but him with 5000 of his Men *Kerdic* puts to rout and slays. From whence the place in *Hampshire*, as far as *Kirdicford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*, Who this King should be, hath bred much question; some think it to be the *British* Name of *Ambrose*; others to be the right Name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the *Welsh* Tongue signifies Dreadful. And if ever such a King in *Britain* there were as

Uther Pendragon,^e for so also the *Monmouth Book* surnames him, this in all likelihood must be he: *Kerdic* by so great a blow given to the *Britains* had made large room about him; not only for the Men he brought with him, but for such also of his Friends as he desir'd to make great; for which cause, and withal the more to strengthen himself, his two Nephews, *Stuf* and *Witgar*, in three Vessels bring him new Levies to *Kerdic-sfoar*. Who, that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by their own seeking, or by appointment, are set in place where they could not but at their first coming give proof of themselves upon the Enemy: And so well they did it, that the *Britains* after a hard encounter left them Masters of the Field. About the same time, *Ella* the first *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Cissa* his youngest succeeded; the other two failing before him. Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, for it was before the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, that *Uffa* the eighth from *Woden* made himself King of the *East-Angles*, who by their Name testify the Country above-mention'd; from whence they came in such multitudes, that their native Soil is said to have remain'd in the Days of *Beala* uninhabited. *Huntingdon* defers the time of their coming in to the ninth Year of *Kerdic's* Reign: For, saith he, at first many of them strove for Principality, seizing every one his Province, and for some while so continu'd, making petty Wars among themselves; till in the end *Uffa*, of whom those Kings were call'd *Uffings*, overtop'd them all in the Year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, who became potent. And not much after the *East-Angles*, began also the *East-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have it later by eleven Years, and *Ercherwin* to be the first King. *Kerdic*, the same in Power, though not so fond of Title, forbore the name twenty four Years after his arrival; but then founded so firmly the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole Monarchy of *England*. The same Year he had a Victory against the *Britains* at *Kerdics-Ford*, by the River *Aven*; and after eight Years, another great Fight at *Kerdics-League*,^f but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath been collected what there is of certainty, with circumstance of Time and Place, to be found register'd, and no more than barely register'd in Annals of best Note; without describing after *Huntingdon* the manner of those Battels and Encounters, which they who compare and can judge of Books, may be confident he never found in any current Author whom he had to follow. But this Disease hath been incident to many more Historians: And the Age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be furcharg'd with all the idle fancies of Posterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on Saxon Relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these Wars in such a manner, though nothing conceited of the *British* Valour, as declares the Saxons in his time and before to have been foil'd

^a Bualth in Breconshire, and Caer Guorthgirn in Radnorshire. Camb. Brit.
^b The Weald in Sussex; call'd so from an ancient Forest, which went by the name *Andreda*. Vid. *Glof. ad Chron. Sax. in Voc. Andreda*. *Andredswald* took in Sussex, Kent, and Hampshire, 120 Mile in length, and 30 in breadth.
^c See Mr. Camden; but Mr. Somner rather chuses *Pemsey* or *Hastings*. *Ports and Forts*, p. 104, 105.
^d *Sardichefora*, qua nunc vocatur *Gernemeth*, (says *Brompton*) or *Tarmouth* in Norfolk.
^e Call'd so from its Port, and not from *Porta*. Camb.
^f The Story of *Uther Pendragon* is reckon'd a Fable by all the *British* Antiquaries. Bishop *Usher* conjectures, that this *Uther* is the same Person with *Nazaleod*, who for his Valour was surnam'd *Uther*, i. e. Terrible.
^g Suppos'd to be *Cherdsley* in Buckinghamshire.

A. D. not feldomer than the *Britains*. For besides
 527. that first Victory of *Ambrose*, and the inter-
 changeable success long after, he tells that the
 last overthrow which they receiv'd at *Badon-*
Hill was not the least; which they in their old-
 est Annals mention not at all. And because the
 time of this Battel, by any who could do more
 than guess, is not set down, or any foundation
 given from whence to draw a solid compute, it
 cannot be much wide to insert it in this place.
 For such Authors as we have to follow give the
 Conduct and Praise of this Exploit to *Arthur*;
 and that this was the last of twelve great Battels
 which he fought victoriously against the *Saxons*.
 The several places written by *Nennius* in their
Welsh Names, were many hundred Years ago un-
 known, and so here omitted. But who *Arthur*
 was, and whether ever any such reign'd in *Brit-*
tain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may
 again with good reason^a. For the Monk of
Malmesbury, and others whose Credit hath sway'd
 most with the learner sort, we may well per-
 ceive to have known no more of this *Arthur* five
 hundred Years past, nor of his Doings, than we
 now living: And what they had to say, trans-
 scrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet
 extant, which hath already been related. Or
 out of a *British* Book, the same which he of *Mon-*
mouth set forth, utterly unknown to the World
 till more than six hundred Years after the Days
 of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle
 confesses) all other Histories were silent, both
 foreign and domestick, except only that fabulous
 Book. Others of later time have sought to as-
 sert him by old Legends and Cathedral Regefts.
 But he who can accept of Legends for good Story,
 may quickly swell a Volume with Trash, and
 had need be furnish'd with two only necessities,
 Leisure and Belief, whether it be the Writer, or
 he that shall read. As to *Arthur*, no less is in
 doubt who was his Father; for if it be true, as
Nennius or his Notist avers, that *Arthur* was call'd
Mab-Uther, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the
 fierceness that Men saw in him of a Child, and
 the intent of his name *Arturus* imports as much,
 it might well be that some in after-Ages, who
 sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the
 word *Uther* into a proper Name, and so fain'd
 him the Son of *Uther*; since we read not in any
 certain Story, that ever such Person liv'd, till
Geoffrey of *Monmouth* set him off with the surname
 of *Pendragon*. And as we doubted of his Paren-
 tage, so may we also of his Puissance; for whe-
 ther that Victory at *Baden-Hill* were his or no,
 is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did
Ambrose in the former. Next, if it be true as
Caradoc relates, that *Melwas* King of that Coun-
 try, which is now *Summerfet*, kept from him
Gueniver his Wife a whole Year in the Town of
Glaston, and restor'd her at the entreaty of *Gil-*
das, rather than for any enforcement that *Arthur*
 with all his Chivalry could make against a small
 Town, defended only by a moory situation; had
 either his knowledge in War, or the force he had
 to make, been answerable to the fame they bear,
 that petty King had neither dar'd such an affront,
 nor he been so long, and at last without effect,

Nenn.

Nennius
a trivial
Writer.Caradoc.
Liancar-
von. vit.
Gildas.

in revenging it. Considering, lastly, how the A. D.
Saxons gain'd upon him every where all the 527.
 time of his suppos'd Reign, which began, as some
 write, in the tenth Year of *Kerdic*, who wrung
 from him by long War the Countries of *Summerfet*
 and *Hampshire*; there will remain neither Place
 nor Circumstance in Story, which may administer
 any likelihood of those great Acts that are ascrib-
 ed him. This only is alledg'd by *Nennius* in
Arthur's behalf, that the *Saxons*, tho' vanquish'd
 never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him
 by continual supplies out of *Germany*. And the
 truth is, that Valour may be over-toil'd, and
 overcome at last with endless overcoming. But
 as for this Battel of Mount *Baden*, where the
Saxons were hemm'd in, or besieg'd, whether by
Arthur won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to
 have given a most undoubted and important blow
 to the *Saxons*, and to have stopp'd their proceed-
 ings for a good while after. *Gildas* himself wit-
 nessing that the *Britains* having thus compell'd
 them to sit down with peace, fell thereupon to
 civil discord among themselves. Which words
 may seem to let in some light toward the search-
 ing out when this Battel was fought. And we
 shall find no time since the first *Saxon* War, from
 whence a longer Peace ensu'd, than from the
 Fight of *Kerdics-League* in the Year 527. which
 all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to
Kerdic; and gave us argument, from the custom
 they have of magnifying their own Deeds upon
 all occasions, to presume here his ill speeding.
 And if we look still onward, even to the 44th
 Year after, wherein *Gildas* wrote, if his obscure
 utterance be understood, we shall meet with ve-
 ry little War between the *Britains* and *Saxons*.
 This only remains difficult, that the Victory first
 won by *Ambrose* was not so long before this at
Baden Siege, but that the same Men living might
 be Eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hard-
 ly can the latter be thought won by *Arthur*, un-
 less we reckon him a grown Youth at least in the
 days of *Ambrose*, and much more than a Youth,
 if *Malmesbury* be heard, who affirms all the Ex-
 ploits of *Ambrose* to have been done chiefly by
Arthur as his General, which will add much un-
 belief to the common assertion of his reigning
 after *Ambrose* and *Uther*, especially the Fight at
Badon being the last of his twelve Battels^b. But
 to prove by that which follows, that the Fight
 at *Kerdics-League*, though it differ in name from
 that of *Badon*, may be thought the same by all
 effects; *Kerdic* three Years after, not proceeding
 onward, as his manner was, on the Continent,
 turns back his Forces on the Isle of *Wight*, which
 with the slaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*,
 he soon masters; and not long surviving, left it
 to his Nephews by the Mother's side, *Stuff* and
Withgar; the rest of what he had subdu'd, *Kenric*
 his Son held, and reign'd 26 Years, in whose
 tenth Year *Withgar* was bury'd in the Town of
 that Island which bore his Name. Notwithstand-
 ing all these unlikelihoods of *Arthur's* Reign and
 great Atchievements, in a narration crept in I
 know not how among the Laws of *Edward* the
Confessor, *Arthur* the famous King of *Britains*, is
 said not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*

Malmf.
Antiquit.
Glaston.

529.

Primord.
p. 468.
Polychronic.
l. 5. c. 6.Lansdown
near Bath.

530.

Sax. An.
omn.

534.

544.

^a Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in his Vth Chapter of his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, justifies the History of King *Arthur*. He was born at *Camelford*, and dy'd at *Tindagel* in *Cornwall*. *Camb. Brit. Tit. Corn.* The Story of this *British* Hero is confirm'd by the Inscription on his Coffin, which was dug up by command of *Henry* the Second, who had learn'd by the Songs of the *British* Bards, that he was bury'd at *Glastonbury* in *Somersetshire*, between two Pyramids; where nine Foot deep a Coffin made of the Trunk of an Oak was found, with this Inscription on it in *Gothick* Characters:

Hic jacet sepultus inclutus Rex Arturius in Insula Avalonia.

Cambd. Tit. Somersetsh.

^b This Fight was fought, according to the best *British* Manuscripts, Anno 520.

^c Suppos'd to be *Carisbrook-Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*. The Town was then call'd *Withgari-byrig*, from *Withgar*, *Cerdic's* Nephew, to whom it was given.

who

A. D. 544. who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeſland*, and all the North-Eaſt Iſles as far as *Ruſſia*, to have made *Lapland* the Eaſtern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britain*. When ſhould this be done? From the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battels, he had no reſt at home; after thoſe, the *Britains* contented with the Quiet they had from the *Saxon* Enemies, were ſo far from ſeeking Conqueſts abroad, that by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell to Civil Wars at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repreſs their flowing hither, than to have won Kingdoms as far as *Ruſſia*, ſcarce able here to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Hiſtorian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the Deeds of *Artur*, yet what he writes thereof himſelf, as of better Credit, ſhews not whence he had but from thoſe Fables; which he ſeems content to believe in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have aſſiſted *Artur* in all his Wars and Atchievements, whereof appears as little Ground by any credible Story, as of that which he moſt counts Fabulous. But not farther to conteſt about ſuch Uncertainties. In the Year

547. *Ida* the *Saxon*, ſprung alſo from *Woden* in the tenth Degree, began the Kingdom of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town * *Bebbanburg*, which was after wall'd; and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengiſt* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had ſent *Oſta* and *Ebiſſa* to ſeek them Seats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to ſecure the Southern Parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, that what by Force and fair Proceeding, they well quieted thoſe Countries; and though ſo far diſtant from *Kent*, nor without Power in their hands, yet kept themſelves nigh 180 Years within Moderation; and as Inferiour Governours, they and their Off-ſpring gave Obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the Elder Family. Till at length, following the Example of that Age; when no leſs than Kingdoms were the Prize of every fortunate Commander, they thought it but reaſon, as well as others of their Nation, to aſſume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the firſt, a Man in the prime of his Years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aſpiring or by free Choice, is not ſaid. Certain enough it is, that his Vertues made him not leſs Noble than his Birth, in War undaunted, and unſoil'd; in Peace temp'ring the Awe of Magiſtracy, with a natural Mildneſs: He reign'd about twelve Years.

552. In the mean while *Kenric* in a Fight at *Seareſbirig*, now *Salisbury*, kill'd and put to flight many of the *Britains*; and the fourth Year after at *Beranvirig*, now *Banbury*, as ſome think, with *Keaulin* his Son put them again to flight. *Keaulin* ſhortly after ſucceeded his Father in the *West-Saxons*. And *Alla* deſcended alſo of *Woden*, but by another Line, ſet up a ſecond Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it thirty Years; while *Adda* the Son of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd without other Memory in *Bernicia*: And in *Kent*, *Ethelbert* the next Year began. For *Eſca* the Son of *Hengiſt* had left *Oſta*, and he *Emeric* to Rule after him; both which without adding to their Bounds, kept what they had in Peace fifty three Years. But *Ethelbert* in length of Reign equall'd both his Progenitors, and as *Beda* counts, three Years exceeded. Young at his firſt Entrance, and un-experienc'd, he was the firſt Raiſer of Civil War among the *Saxons*; claiming from the Priority of time wherein *Hengiſt* took Poſſeſſion here, a kind of Right over the later Kingdoms;

and thereupon was troubleſome to their Con-
fines: But by them twice defeated, he who but
now thought to ſeem dreadful, became almoſt
contemptible. For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, Ann. omn.
pursuing him into his own Territory, ſlew there 568.
in Battel, at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Oſlac*, *Wimbleton*
and *Cnebban*. By this means the *Britains*, but in *Surcy*
chiefly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the ſpace
of forty four Years ending in 571, receiv'd no
great Annoyance from the *Saxons*: But the Peace
they enjoy'd, by ill uſing it, prov'd more de-
ſtructive to them than War. For being rais'd on
a ſudden by two ſuch eminent Succesſes, from
the loweſt Condition of Thralldom, they whoſe
Eyes had beheld both thoſe Deliverances, that
by *Ambroſe*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by
the Experience of either Fortune, both Kings,
Magiſtrates, Priests, and private Men, to live
orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted
with paſt Evils, and only ſenſible of their pre-
ſent Eaſe and Quiet, ſucceeded, ſtrait follow'd
the apparent Subverſion of all Truth, and Ju-
ſtice, in the Minds of moſt Men: Scarce the leaſt
Footſtep, or Impreſſion of Goodneſs left remain-
ing through all Ranks and Degrees in the Land;
except in ſome ſo very few, as to be hardly vi-
ſible in a general Corruption: which grew in
ſhort ſpace not only manifeſt, but odious to all
the Neighbour Nations. And firſt their Kings,
among whom alſo, the Sons or Grand-Children
of *Ambroſe*, were foully degenerated to all Ty-
ranny and Vitious Life. Whereof to hear ſome
Particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent.
They avenge, ſaith he, and they protect; not
the innocent, but the guilty: They ſwear oft,
but perjure; they wage War, but civil and un-
juſt War. They puniſh rigorouſly them that rob
by the high Way; but thoſe grand Robbers that
ſit with them at Table, they honour and reward.
They give Alms largely, but in the Face of their
Alms-deeds, pile up Wickedneſs to a far higher
Heap. They ſit in the ſeat of Judgment, but
go ſeldom by the Rule of Right; neglecting and
proudly overlooking the modeſt and harmleſs;
but countenancing the audacious, though guilty
of abominableſt Crimes; they ſtuff their Priſons,
but with Men committed rather by Circumven-
tion, than any juſt Cauſe. Nothing better were
the Clergy, but at the ſame paſs or rather worſe,
than when the *Saxons* came firſt in; unlearned,
unapprehenſive, yet impudent; ſubtle Prowlers,
Paſtors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent up-
on all Occaſions, not to feed the Flock, but to
pamper and well line themſelves: Not call'd,
but ſeiſing on the Miniſtry as a Trade, not as a
Spiritual Charge: Teaching the People, not by
ſound Doctrine, but by evil Example: Uſurp-
ing the Chair of *Peter*, but through the Blindneſs
of their own Worldly Luſts, they ſtumble upon
the Seat of *Judas*: Deadly Haters of Truth,
Broachers of Lies: Looking on the poor Chri-
ſtian with Eyes of Pride and Contempt; but
fawning on the wickeddeſt rich Men without
Shame: Great Promoters of other Men Alms
with their ſet Exhortations; but themſelves con-
tributing ever leaſt; ſlightly touching the many
Vices of the Age, but preaching without end
their own Grievances, as done to Chriſt; ſeek-
ing after Preferments and Degrees in the Church
more than after Heav'n; and ſo gain'd, make it
their whole Study how to keep them by any
Tyranny. Yet leſt they ſhould be thought
things of no Uſe in their eminent Places, they
have their Niceties and trivial Points to keep in
awe the ſuperſtitious Multitude; but in true ſa-
ving Knowledge leave them ſtill as groſs and
ſtupid as themſelves; Bunglers at the Scripture,
Vol. I. F 2 nay

547.
The King-
dom of
Northum-
berland.
Ann. omn.
Bed. Epit.
Malmſb.
* *Bambur-*
row at this
Day.

Malmſb.

552.
Annal. omn.
556.
Cambden.

560.
Annal.
Florent.
The King-
dom of the
Northum-
bers divid-
ed into two
Monar-
chies, *Ber-*
nicia and
Deira.

561.
Malmſb.

A. D. 571. nay forbidding and silencing them that know; but in Worldly Matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only Art and Simony, great Clerks and Masters, bearing their Heads high, but their Thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor Laity, so he goes on, these Beasts, all Belly? Shall these amend thee, who are themselves laborious in evil Doings? Shalt thou see with their Eyes, who see right forward nothing but Gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blind-fold into the same Perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himself blameless, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envy'd for his better Life? Who of them hath hated to consort with these, or withstood their entering the Ministry, or endeavour'd zealously their casting out? Yet some of these perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the State of Government, this of Religion among the *Britains*, in that long Calm of Peace, which the Fight at *Badon Hill* had brought forth. Whereby it came to pass, that so fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd and waste; nor was it long e're Domestic War breaking out, wasted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then also several Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living then in *Armorica*, at a safe Distance, boldly reproves by Name; First *Constantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Artur's* half Brother by the Mother's Side) who then reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical and Bloody King, polluted also with many Adulteries: He got into his Power, two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in Right, or otherwise suspected: And after solemn Oath given of their Safety, the Year that *Gildas* wrote, slew them with their two Governours in the Church, and in their Mother's Arms, through the Abbot's Cope, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the Reverence of his Vesture to have with-held the Murderer. These are commonly suppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Artur's* Nephew, said to have revolted from his Uncle, given him in a Battel his Death's Wound, and by him after to have been slain. Which things were they true, would much diminish the Blame of Cruelty in *Constantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of so false a *Mordred*. In another part, but not express'd where, *Aurelius Co-nanus* was King: Him he charges also with Adulteries, and Parricide; Cruelties worse than the former; to be a Hater of his Countries Peace, thirsting after Civil War and Prey: His Condition, it seems, was not very prosperous; for *Gildas* wishes him, being now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midst of a barren Field, to remember the Vanity, and Arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely Death in their Youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in Years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of Falshood, and cruel Actions. In his latter Days, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in Divorce, he became,

if we mistake not *Gildas*, incestuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbrud in Civil War; he also had divorc'd his Wife, and taken her Sister, who had vow'd Widowhood: He was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his Wealth. The last but greatest of all in Power, was *Maglocune*, and greatest also in Wickedness; he had driv'n out or slain many other Kings, or Tyrants; and was called the *Island Dragon*, perhaps having his Seat in *Anglesey*; a profuse Giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly Stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the Head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: Then touch'd with Remorse of his Doings, not without Deliberation took upon him the Profession of a Monk; but soon forsook his Vow, and his Wife also, which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brother's Son then living. Who not refusing the Offer, if she were not rather the first that entic'd, found means both to dispatch her own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her Marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better Instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest Man reputed of all *Britain*, the Instructor of his Youth. Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer Story, of what pass'd among the *Britains* from the time of their useless Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to say, as may be guess'd, from 527 to 571, is here set down all together; not to be reduc'd under any Certainty of Years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the most part all this while had been still, unless among themselves, began afresh to assault them, and e're long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this side *Wales*. For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Camden*. *Bedford* took from them four good Towns, * *Li-ganburgh*, * *Eglesburgh*, *Befington*, now *Benson* in * *Alesbury*. *Oxfordshire*, and † *Ignesham*; but outliv'd not many † *Ensham*, Months his good Success^b. And after six Years in *Oxfordshire*, more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great Overthrow at *Deorrbam* in *Glocestershire*, 577. *Deorrbam*. *Deorrbam* slew three of their Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmail*, and took three of their chief Cities; *Glocester*, *Cirencester*, and *Badencester*. The *Britains* notwithstanding, after some space of time, judging to have out-grown their Losses, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they slew among the thickest, and as is said, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the Fight, put them to a main Rout, and following his Advantage, took many Towns, and return'd laden with rich Booty. The last of those *Saxons* who rais'd their own Achievements to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time^c, first Founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing also his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the several Genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were, in my Opinion, to encumber the Story with a sort of barbarous Names, to little purpose. This may suffice, that of *Woden's* three Sons, from the Eldest issu'd *Hengist*, and his Succession; from the second, the Kings of *Mercia*; from the third, all that Reign'd in *West-Saxon*, and most of the *Northumbers*, of whom

Primord.
P 444.

571.

Ann. omn.

* *Alesbury*.

† *Ensham*.

in *Oxfordshire*.

577.

Deorrbam.

Bath.

Huntingd.

The King-

dom of

Mercia.

Huntingd.

Mat. West.

Malmf. l. i.

c. 3.

* Possibly *Layton* in *Bedfordshire*. See the Gloss to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

^b Some Authors place the founding of the Kingdom of the *East Angles* by *Uffa* at this time, Anno 575. Mr. *Tallent* is of this Opinion in his *Chronological Tables*.

^c *Henry of Huntington* and *Matt. Westmister*, write that *Crida* founded the Kingdom of *Mercia* in the Year 585.

A. D. 584. *Alla* was one, the first King of *Deira*; which after his Death, the Race of *Ida* seiz'd, and made it one Kingdom with *Bernicia*, usurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla's* Son, whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* expell'd. Notwithstanding others write of him; that from a poor Life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the access of a Kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not the fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more the *Britains*, e're they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some Manhood; for meeting *Keaulin* at *Wodens Beorth*, that is to say, *Wodens Mount* in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they ruin'd his whole Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence flying, he dy'd the next Year in Poverty, who a little before was the most Potent and indeed Sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. But who was chief among the *Britains* in this Exploit had been worth remembering, whether it were *Maglocune*, of whose Prowess hath been spoken, or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Regest of *Landaff* recounts to have been always Victorious in Fight; to have

Reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son *Mauric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to extremes, taking Arms again, he defeated them at *Tinterno* by the River *Wye*; but himself receiv'd a mortal wound. The same Year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son of *Crithulf*, *Keaulin's* Brother succeeded, *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wibba* succeeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfred* in the room of *Ethelric*, Reigning twenty four Years. Thus omitting Fables, we have the view of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, done in *Britain*, since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many Miseries and Desolations brought by Divine Hand on a perverse Nation; driven, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountainous and Barren Corner^b, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heaven, is Infidelity profess'd, than Christian Faith and Religion dishonoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounc'd their Heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book IV.

A. D. 593. **T**HE *Saxons* grown up now to seven Absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by Succession, finding their Power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britains*, and as little fearing to be displaced by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's Greatness. Which quickly bred among them either Envy or mutual Jealousies; till the *West* Kingdom at length grown over-powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well ripen'd his young Ambition, with more ability of Years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains; and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber*, to be at his devotion. To which design the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shaken by their overthrow at *Wodens-beorth*, and the Death of *Keaulin*, gave him no doubt a main advantage; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the *French* King's Daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the

free exercise of her Faith, under the care and instruction of *Letardus* a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding and his People retaining their own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* lays it sadly to the *Britains* charge, that they never would vouchsafe their *Saxon* Neighbours the means of Conversion: But how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least fallhood from their first arrival, is not now easie to determine. Howbeit not long after, they had the Christian Faith preach'd to them by a Nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in *Beda's* time) upon this occasion. The *Northumbrians* had a custom at that time, and many hundred Years after not abolish'd, to sell their Children for a small value into any foreign Land. Of which number, two comely Youths were brought to *Rome*, whose fair and honest Countenance invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that City, among others that beheld them, pitying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by some who stood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province of *Deira*, Subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion Pagans. Which last *Gregory* deploring

^a 'Tis probably the same place with *Wanburrow*, on the borders of *Wilts* and *Berks*; or rather a little Village between *Marlborough* and the *Devises*, near *Wansdike*.

^b The *British* Chronicles put the total Retreat of the *Welsh* into *Wales*, Anno 517.

A. D. 593. fram'd on a sudden this allusion to the three Names he heard; that the *Angli*, so like to Angels, should be snatch'd *de ira*; that is, from the Wrath of God, to sing *Hallelujah*: And forthwith obtaining licence of *Benedict* the Pope, had come and preach'd here among them, had not the *Roman* People, whose love endur'd not the absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recall'd him, then on his Journey, though but deferr'd his pious intention. For a while after, succeeding in the Papal Seat, and now in his fourth Year, admonish'd, saith *Beda*, by divine Instinct, he sent *Augustine*, whom he had design'd for Bishop of the *Englisch* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on their way, discouraged by some reports, or their own carnal fear, sent back *Austin*, in the name of all, to beseech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be sent a Journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose Tongue they understood not. *Gregory* with Pious and Apostolick Persuasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of Divine Assistance. The Letter itself yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastick Story, I omit here, as not professing to relate of those Matters more than what mixes aptly with Civil Affairs. The Abbot *Austin*, for so he was ordain'd over the rest, reincurag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his Fellows, by the Letter which he brought them, came safe to the Isle of *Tanet*, in number about forty, besides some of the *French* Nation, whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Austin* at his landing had sent a new and wondrous Message, that he came from *Rome* to proffer Heaven and Eternal Happiness in the knowledge of another God than the *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and Necessaries to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the Island, chose a place to meet them under the open Sky, possess'd with an old persuasion, that all Spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side, call'd to his presence, advancing for their Standard a Silver Cross, and the painted Image of our Saviour, came slowly forward singing their Solemn Letanies: Which wrought in *Ethelbert* more suspicion perhaps that they us'd Enchantments; till sitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that Assembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus answer'd: Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot hastily assent to, quitting the Religion which from my Ancestors, with all the *Englisch* Nation, so many Years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are Strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I persuade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly their Residence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canterbury* his chief City, and made provision for their Maintenance, with free leave to preach their Doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of their holy Life, spent in

Prayer, Fasting, and continual labour in the Conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the King's, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the City, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of *St. Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd here: In which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to pray. Here they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise Divine Worship. But when the King himself, convinc'd by their good Life and Miracles, became Christian, and was baptiz'd, which came to pass in the very first Year of their arrival; then Multitudes daily, conforming to their Prince, thought it honour to be reckon'd among those of his Faith: To whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shewed his favour, but compell'd none. For so he had been taught by them, who were both the Instructors and the Authors of his Faith, that Christian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha*, *Keaulin's* Brother, reign'd over the *West-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *Englisch*, *Welsh*, *Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Austin*, whom with his Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better place for their abode in the City, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into *France*, was by the Archbishop of *Arles*, at the appointment of Pope *Gregory*, ordain'd Archbishop of the *Englisch*: And returning, sent to *Rome* *Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his Associates, to acquaint the Pope of his good success in *England*, and to be resolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical Questions: With answers to which, not proper in this place, *Gregory* sends also to the great Work of Converting, that went on so happily, a supply of Labourers, *Mellitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what they were may be guess'd by the stuff which they brought with them, Vessels and Vestments for the Altar, Copes, Relicks, and for the Archbishop *Austin* a Pall to say Mass in: To such a rank Superstition that Age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of Apostolick Zeal. Lastly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a Letter with many Presents. *Austin* thus exalted to Archiepiscopal Authority, recover'd from the ruins and other profane uses, a Christian Church in *Canterbury*, built of old by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Christ's Church*, and joining to it built a Seat for himself and his Successors; a Monastery also near the City Eastward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built *St. Peter's*, the Apostle and enrich'd it with great Endowments, to be of the place of burial for the Archbishops and Kings of *Kent*: So quickly they stept up into fellowship of Pomp with Kings. While thus *Ethelbert* and his People had their Minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King was not less busied in far different affairs: For being altogether Warlike, and covetous of Fame, he more wasted the *Britains* than any *Saxon* King before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects. Whence *Edan* King of those *Scots* that dwelt in *Britain*, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degfastan*; but in the Fight losing most of his Men, himself with a few escap'd: Only *Theobald* the King's Brother, and the whole Wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* less intire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hostile manner durst pass into *Britain* for a hundred and more Years after:

A. D. 603. and what some Years before, *Kelwulf* the *West-Saxon* is annal'd to have done against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so Potent, unless in his Aid and Alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, assisted by *Keaulin*, whom he mis-titles King of *East-Saxons*, had before this time a Battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha* *Keaulin's* Son was slain. But *Cutha*, as is above written from better Authority, was slain in Fight against the *Welch* twenty Years before. The Number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustine* ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Assistants *Mellitus* and *Justus*, sent them out both to the Work of their Ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by Permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whole Conversion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of *St. Paul* in *London* to be their Bishop's Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rocheſter*, and both gifted by the same King with fair Possessions. Hitherto *Austin* laboured well among Infidels, but not with like Commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* summoning the *Britain* Bishops to a place ^b on the Edge of *Worcestershire*, call'd from that time *Augustine's* Oak, he requires them to conform with him in the same Day of celebrating *Easter*, and many other Points wherein they differ'd from the Rites of *Rome*: Which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by Dispute, he appeals to a Miracle, restoring to sight a blind Man whom the *Britains* could not cure. At this something mov'd, though not minded to recede from their own Opinions, without farther Consultation, they request a second Meeting: To which came seven *Britain* Bishops, with many other learned Men, especially from the famous Monastery of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by their own Labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One Man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the Life he led, who by his Wisdom effected more than all the rest who went: Being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a Man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the Yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his Advice, and hasted to the Place of Meeting. Whom *Austin*, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receiv'd in any Brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britains*, as they were counsell'd by the Holy Man, neglected him, and neither hearken'd to his Proposals of Conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Arch-bishop: And in Name of the rest, *Dimorbus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said, thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the Subjection which you require, be thus perfwaded of us, that in the Bond of Love and Charity

we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by Word and Deed, to be the Children of God: Other Obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this Obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon*^{*}, who is to oversee us in Spiritual Matters. To which *Austin* thus prefaging, some say menacing, replies, *Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye shall have War from your Enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the Word of Life, to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive Death.* This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his Prophecy, or as his Plot against the *Britains*, fell out accordingly. For many Years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the request of *Ethelbert*, incens'd by *Austin*, with a powerful Host came to *Westchester*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both sides in readiness to give the Onset, he discerns a Company of Men, not habited for War, standing together in a place of some Safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learn'd upon some Enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three Days fasting to pray for the good Success of their Forces against him, therefore they first, faith he, shall feel our Swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by their Prayers, and are our dangerouſest Enemies. And with that turns his first Charge upon the Monks: *Brocmil*, the Captain, set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden Massacre, whereof scarce fifty escap'd: But not so easie Work found *Ethelfrid* against another part of *Britains* that stood in Arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with Slaughter nigh as great to his own Soldiers. To excuse *Austin* of this Bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful Policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting Arch-bishop be right computed sixteen Years, he must survive this Action. Other just Ground of charging him with this Imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from *Geoffrey Monmouth*, whose weight we know. The same Year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, faith *Huntingdon*, to both sides, but most to them of the *South*: And four Years after dying left the Government of *West-Saxons* to *Kineglis* and *Cuicelm* the Sons of his Brother *Keola*. Others, as *Florent* of *Worcester*, and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, will have *Cuicelm* Son of *Kineglis*, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whose third Year they are recorded with joynt Forces or Conduct to have fought against the *Britains* in *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, and to have slain of them above two Thousand. More memorable was the second Year following, by the Death of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Saxons*, and no less a Favourer of all Civility in that rude Age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the Example of *Roman* Emperors, written with the Advice of

A. D. 604.

In Monmouthshire.

Sax. An. Huntingd. 607.

Malmbs. gest. Pont.

Sax. An.

611.

Sax. an.

Malmbs.

614.

616.

Sax. an.

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^a *Mellitus*, Bishop of *London*, and *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*.

^b *Beda* ſays, it was on the Confines of the *Wiccians* and *West-Saxons*; whereas *Worcestershire* doth not any where border upon the *West-Saxons*. By his Account, it ſhould have ſtood about that part of *Gloceſterſhire*, which joyns *Somerſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire*.

^c In this Year 611. *Sebert* King of the *East-Saxons* founded *St. Peter's* Church and Abbey at *Weſtminſter*, which was conſecrated by *Mellitus* firſt Biſhop of *London*.

^d The *Saxon* Chronicle calls it *Beandune*: And it is not unlikely, that 'twas *Bampton* in *Devonſhire*, where it borders upon *Somerſetſhire*, tho' *Camden* in his *Brit. Tit. Dorſetſhire*, ſays *Beandune* is *Byndon* near *Wareham* in that County.

^e He was the firſt *Engliſh* King who coin'd Money. *Camd. Rem.*

his

A. D. 616. his sagest Counsellors, but in the *English* Tongue, and observ'd long after. Wherein his special Care was to punish those who had stoll'n ought from Church or Churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he receiv'd at their hands the Christian Faith, Which, he no sooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the Course as fast to extinguish; not only falling back to Heathenism, but that which Heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his Father's second Wife. Then soon was perceiv'd what Multitudes for Fear or Countenance of the King had profess'd Christianity, returning now as eagerly to their old Religion. Nor staid the Apostasy within one Province, but quickly spread over to the *East-Saxons*; occasion'd there likewise, or set forward by the Death of their Christian King *Sebert*: Whose three Sons, of whom two are nam'd, *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his Life-time would be brought to Baptism, and after his Decease re-establish'd the free Exercise of Idolatry; nor so content, they set themselves in Despight to do some open Profanation against the other Sacrament. Coming therefore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Bishop was ministering, they requir'd him in Abuse and Scorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the consecrated Bread; and him refusing, drove disgracefully out of their Dominion. Who cross'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the same plight, and thence into *France*, with *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine Vengeance deferr'd not long the Punishment of Men so impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil Spirit, fell often into foul Fits of Distraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a Fight against the *West-Saxons* perish'd, with their whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the Year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Lawrence* the Archbishop and Successor of *Austin* was preparing to ship for *France*, after *Justus* and *Mellitus*, the Story goes, if it be worth believing^a, that *St. Peter*, in whose Church he spent the Night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many Stripes for offering to desert his Flock; at sight whereof the King (to whom next Morning he shewed the Marks of what he had suffer'd, by whom and for what Cause) relenting and in great Fear dissolv'd his incestuous Marriage, and apply'd himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely than before, with all his People. But the *Londoners*, addicted still to Paganism, would not be perswaded to receive again *Mellitus* their Bishop, and to compel them was not in his Power.

617. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North Parts disquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch'd before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and joyn'd that Kingdom to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his Right, whose known Vertues and high Parts gave cause of Suspicion to his Enemies, sends Messengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *East-Angles*; under whose Protection, after many Years wandring obscurely through all the Island, he had plac'd his Safety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all Defence to *Edwin* as to his Suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large Offers of Gold, and not contemning the Puissance of *Ethelfrid*, yielded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into their hands: But earnestly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hospitality and Refuge given, prefers his first Pro-

mise as the more Religious; nor only refuses to deliver him; but since War was thereupon denounc'd, determines to be beforehand with the Danger; and with a sudden Army rais'd, surprizes *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invasion, and in a Fight near to the East-side of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* Border, now *Nottinghamshire*^b, slays him, dissipating easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him; who yet as a Testimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, slew first with his own hands *Reiner* the King's Son. His two Sons *Oswald*, and *Oswi*, by *Acca*, *Edwin*'s Sister, escap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became so far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reckons him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hither-side *Humber* at his Obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receiv'd Baptism, but coming home, and perswaded by his Wife, who still it seems, was his chief Counsellor to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion; yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either, for more Assurance to keep them both; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more Deliberation he undertook, and with more Sincerity retain'd the Christian Profession, so also in Power and Extent of Dominion far exceeded all before him; subduing all, saith *Beda*, *English* or *British*, even to the Isles, then call'd *Mevanian*, *Anglesey*, and *Man*; settl'd in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he sought in Marriage *Edelburga*, whom others call'd *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whose Embassadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made answer, *That to wed their Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Christian Law*. *Edwin* reply'd, that to her Religion he would be no Hindrance, which with her whole Household she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. These ingenuous Offers, opening so fair a way to the Advancement of Truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a spiritual Guardian sent along with the Virgin. He being to that purpose made Bishop by *Justus*, omitted no Occasion to plant the Gospel in those Parts, but with small Success, till the next Year, *Cuichelm*, at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings, envious of the Greatness which he saw *Edwin* growing up to, sent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to assassinate him; who under Pretence of doing a Message from his Master, with a poison'd Weapon, stabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *Yorkshire*, on an *Easter-day*; which *Lilla*, one of the King's Attendants, at the instant perceiving, with a Loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole Body to the Blow; which notwithstanding made Passage through to the King's Person, with a Wound not to be slighted. The Murtherer encompass'd now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own Fall with the Death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no Opportunity to win the King from Mis-belief, obtain'd at length this Promise from him; that if Christ, whom he so magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his Wound, and Victory of his Enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in Pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion;

The Christians of Kent apostatize. Also the East-Saxons.

Malmsh.

Malmsh. l. i. c. 3.

^a Bede tells it.

^b Near *Markham*.

A. D. 626. who with twelve others of his Family, on the Day of *Pentecost* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound, to punish the Authers of so foul a fact, he went with an Army against the *West-Saxons*: Whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspir'd against him, put some to death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious; and from that time worshipp'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his belief. But while he still deferr'd, and his deferring might seem now to have past the maturity of Wisdom to a faulty lingring. *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was believ'd, coming to the knowledge of a Secret, which befel him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he remembered what that sign meant? The King trembling, and in amaze rising up, straight fell at his Feet: Behold, saith *Paulinus*, raising him from the ground, God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and given you the Kingdom, as you desir'd: Perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receive his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your Temporal Felicity add Eternal. The promise claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though favouring much of Legend, is thus related: *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazled with the Gold of *Erbelfrid*, or by his threatening over-aw'd, having promis'd to yield up *Edwin*, one of his faithful Companions, of which he had some few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of night comes in haste to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better security, reveals to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long been his only refuge, the Friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace-Gate, full of sadness and perplex thoughts, discerns about the dead of night a Man, neither by Countenance nor by Habit to him known, approaching towards him: Who, after salutation, ask'd him, why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin*, not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, What his sitting within doors or without concern'd him to know? To whom he again, Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promise to that Man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and persuade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, answer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the same Man should promise to make you greater than any *Englisch* King hath been before you? I should not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be answerably grateful. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to Happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known? would you hearken to his Counsel? *Edwin*, without stopping, promis'd he would. And the other,

laying his right Hand on *Edwin's* Head, When A. D. this sign, saith he, shall next befall thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd; and with these words disappearing, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the Friend who had been gone all this while to listen farther what was like to be decreed of *Edwin*, comes back, and joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the King's Mind, tho' for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why *Edwin* admonish'd by the Bishop of a sign which had befallen him so strangely, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that Reverence and Amazement, as to one sent from Heaven, to claim that promise of him which he perceiv'd well was due to a Divine Power that had assisted him in his troubles. To *Paulinus* therefore he makes answer, That the Christian Belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief Peers and Counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therefore being ask'd in Counsel what their Opinion was concerning this new Doctrine, and well perceiving which way the King inclin'd, every one hereafter shap'd his reply. The Chief Priest speaking first, discover'd an old Grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the King's Favour above him their Chief Priest: Another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choice of certain, before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none openly dissenting from what was likely to be the King's Creed: Whereas the Preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing Heathenism, became Christian: And the Pagan Priest offering himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons, *Osfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Queenburga*, Daughter, as saith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the People, both Nobles and Commons, easily converted, were baptized^b; he with his whole Family at *York*, in a Church hastily built up of Wood, the multitude most part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus christen'd, *Paulinus* crossing *Humber*, converted also the Province of *Linsey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Household and most of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the Roof in *Beda's* time^c, uncertain whether by Neglect or Enemies, was down, the Walls only standing. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinsman of *Wibba*, saith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdom from *Penda*, *Wibba's* Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth Year of his Age: With whom *Kineglis* and *Cuthelm*, the *West-Saxon* Kings, two Year after, having by that time it seems recover'd strength, since the Inroad made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirencester*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much deliberation he had receiv'd, persuaded^d *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King

^a 'Tis in *Beda*, and happen'd ten Years before.

^b About eighty Years afterwards.

^c On the Death of *Redwald* the *East-Angles* would have bestow'd their Kingdom on *Edwin*, but he out of Gratitude to his Benefactor *Redwald* permitted his Son *Eorpwald* to Reign as his Tributary. *Beda*, ch. 15.

A. D. 632. of *East-Angles*, to embrace the same Belief; willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the Name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long surviv'd his Conversion, slain in Fight by *Richbert* a Pagan: Whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of their King, as lightly fell back to their old Superstitions for above three Years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Virtue, by the due administration of Justice, wrought such peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea, Man or Woman might have travell'd in safety. His care also was of Fountains by the way-side, to make them fittest for the use of Travellers. And not unmindful of Regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carry'd before him. But having Reign'd with much Honour seventeen Years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallo*, King of the *Britains*, who with aid of the *Mercian Pinda*^a, had rebell'd against him, slain in a Battel with his Son *Oswald*, at a place call'd *Hethfield*^b, and his whole Army overthrown or dispers'd in the Year 633, and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of Man worthy a more peaceful end. His Head brought to *York*, was there bury'd in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: For *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *British* King, though in name a Christian, yet in deeds more bloody than the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous Cruelty in the slaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatening to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Christian. For the *Britains*, and, as *Beda* saith, even to his Days, accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better than Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From these Calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethelburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwin*'s Captains, made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*: Who receiving his Sister with all kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, where he ended his Days. After *Edwin*, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightful Heir seizing his part; in *Deira*, *Oswic* the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwin*'s Uncle, by profession a Christian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Fernicia*, *Eanfrid* the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oswald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had been there taught and baptiz'd. No sooner had they gotten each a Kingdom, but both turn'd recreant, sliding back into their old Religion, and both were the same Year slain; *Oswic* by a sudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a strong Town had unadvisedly besieg'd; *Eanfrid* seeking Peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendering himself. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both those Provinces, using cruelly his Conquest; when *Oswald*,^c the Brother of *Eanfrid*, with a small but Christian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, near the antient *Roman* Wall then call'd *Denisburn*^d, the place afterwards *Heaven-field*, from the Croſs reported miraculous for Cures,

which *Oswald* there erected before the Battel, in token of his Faith against the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdom, he took care to instruct again the People in Christianity. Sending therefore to the *Scotiſh* Elders, *Beda* so terms them, among whom he had receiv'd Baptism, requested of them some faithful Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late Troubles had impair'd; they as readily hearkning to his request, send *Aidan*, a *Scotch* Monk and Bishop, but of singular Zeal and Meekness, with others to assist him, whom at their own desire he seated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopal Seat, now *Holy Island*: And being the Son of *Ethelfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwin*'s Dominion lost any part, but enlarg'd it rather, over all the four *British* Nations, *Angles*, *Britains*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exercising Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility and Almshouses, much is spoken; that he disdain'd not to be the Interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in *Scotch* or bad *English*, to his Nobles and Household Servants; and had the Poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: His Meaning might be upright, but the Manner more antient of Private or of Church Contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About this time the *West-Saxons*, antiently call'd *Geiſſi*, by the Preaching of *Bevinus* a Bishop, whom Pope *Honorius* had sent, were converted to the Faith with *Kineglis* their King: Him *Oswald* receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in Marriage. The next Year *Cuicelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorchester*^e, but liv'd not to the Year's end. The *East-Angles* also this Year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Christ, which for some Years past they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpwald* now succeeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a most Christian and Learned Man: Who while his Brother yet reign'd, living in *France* an exile for some Displeasure conceiv'd against him by *Redwald* his Father, learn'd there the Christian Faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his People, by the Preaching of *Felix*^f a *Burgundian* Bishop. In the Year 640, *Eadbald* deceaſing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the *French* King's Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; recorded the first of *English* Kings, who commanded through his Limits the destroy'ing of Idols; laudably, if all Idols to be without exception; and the first to have establish'd *Lent* among us, under strict penalty, not worth remembring, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was observ'd here till his time by compulsion; especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whose right was Precedent to the Crown. *Oswald* having Reign'd eight Years, worthy also as might seem of longer Life^g, fell into the same Fate with *Edwin*, and from the same Hand, in a great Battel overcome and slain by *Penda*, at a place call'd *Maserfeld*, now *Oswestre* in *Sbrop-Cambden* shire, miraculous, as saith *Beda*, after his Death. His Brother *Oswi* succeeded him, Reigning, tho' in much trouble, twenty eight Years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his

Sax. An.
Floren.
Genealog.

The Brit-
tains beat
the Saxons
633.

The Brit-
tains dis-
own the
Christiani-
ty of the
Saxons, and
think it no
better than
Pagan Idol-
latry.

634.

A. D.
634.

635.
Sax. An.
The West-
Saxons
converted
to Chri-
stianity.

640.

Ercombert
the first
Engl. King
who com-
manded
Idols to be
destroy'd.

Mat. West.

642.

Bed. 1. 3.
c. 14.

^a Geoffrey says, he first conquer'd *Pinda*.

^b 'Tis probably *Hatfield*, in the bounds of *Yorkshire* and *Lincolnshire*. See the Glossary to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

^c Nephew to *Edwin* by his Sister *Occa*.

^d *Dilston*, the Seat and Barony of the Earl of *Darwentwater*, call'd in old Books *Devilstone*, by *Beda*, *Devilsburn*. Vid. *Camb. Britan. Tit. Northumberland*.

^e By *Byrinus* an Italian, the first Bishop of *Dorchester* in *Oxfordshire*.

^f The first Bishop of *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*.

^g He liv'd 38 Years only.

^h *Oswaldstre* on the Borders of *Denbighshire*.

A. D. 643. Brother's Son *Ethelwald*. Next Year *Kinegils* the *West-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *East-Angles*, having learn'd in *France*, e're his coming to reign, the manner of their Schools, with the Assistance of some Teachers out of *Kent*, instituted a School here after the same Discipline, thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first founded*: And at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monastical Life; commending the Care of Government to his Kinsman *Egric*, who had sustain'd with him part of that Burthen before. It happen'd some Years after, that *Penda* made War on the *East-Angles*: They expecting a sharp Encounter, besought *Sigebert*, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his Presence to confirm the Soldierly: And him refusing carried by force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a single Wand in his hand, he was slain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in Right, succeeded; and hath the Praise of a vertuous and most Christian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having married the Sister of *Penda*, and divorc'd her, was by him with more Appearance of a just Cause vanquish'd in Fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: Whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, after three Years abode in his Court, he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oswi* in the former Years of his Reign, had Sharer with him, *Oswin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* seven Years, commended much for his Zeal in Religion, and for Comeliness of Person, with other Princely Qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithstanding which, Dissentions growing between them, it came to Arms. *Oswin* seeing himself much exceeded in Numbers, thought it more Prudence, dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for some better Occasion. But committing his Person with one faithful Attendant to the Loyalty of *Hunwald* an Earl, his imagin'd Friend, he was by him treacherously discover'd and by Command of *Oswi* slain. After whom within twelve Days, and for Grief of him whose Death he foretold, dy'd Bishop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekness, and labour in the Gospel. The Fact of *Oswi* was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a Monastery was built in the Place where it was done, and Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the slain and the Slayer. *Kenwalk* by this time re-install'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great Losses: And in 652 by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelwerd* calls it) at *Bradanford* by the River *Asene*; against whom, and for what Cause, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Cambden* names the Place *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, by the River *Avon*, and *Cuthred* his near Kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* four Years before had given large Possessions to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd. The next Year *Peada*, whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that People converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oswi* with Request to have in Marriage *Alfreda*

his Daughter, he was deny'd her but on Condition, that he with all his People should receive Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Resurrection and Eternal Life, much perswaded also by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had his Sister *Kyniburg* to Wife, he easily assented, for the Truth's sake only, as he profess'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his Followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the People of his Province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himself no Believer, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or believe the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who professing to believe, attested not their Faith by good Works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they chuse to believe. How well might *Penda*, this Heathen, rise up in Judgment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and these Days! Yet being a Man bred up to War (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, perhaps without Cause, for *Anna* was esteem'd a just Man, and at length slew him. About this time the *East-Saxons*, who as above hath been said, had expell'd their Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of *Oswi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert*, surnam'd the *Small*, being the Son of *Seward*, without other Memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province, after him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming often to visit *Oswi* his great Friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from Idolatry, and convinc'd at length to forsake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home, taking with him *Kedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose teaching with some help of others, the People were again recover'd from Misbelief. But *Sigebert* some Years* after, though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in place near about him, wickedly murder'd; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a Deed so heinous, gave no other than this barbarous Answer; *That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries whenever they besought him*. Yet his Death seems to have happen'd not without some Cause by him given of Divine Displeasure. For one of those Earls who slew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no Man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at Meat with him, the King not regarding this Church Censure, went to feast with him at his Invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fall'n at his Feet, touch'd with the Rod in his Hand, and angerly thus foretold: *Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die*: And so it fell out, perhaps from that Prediction, God bearing Witness to his Minister in the Power of Church Discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the Contemner thereof. This Year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Oswi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oswi* by the continual Inroads of *Penda*, having long endur'd much Devastation, to the endangering once by Assault and Fire *Bebbanburg*, his strongest City, now *Banborrow* Castle, unable to resist

* *Beda* says, 'twas a little desolate City in his time, and takes no notice of it as an University, Anno 700. *Robert of Remington* writes, that in the Reign of *Edward* the First, *Grants-Bridge* or *Cambridge*, from a School was made an University like *Oxford*. *Cambd. Tit. Cambr.*

A. D. 655. him, with many rich Presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but Destruction to that King, though more than once in Affinity with him, turning Gifts into Vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliver'd from his Enemy, a Child of one Year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and twelve Portions of Land whereon to build Monasteries. His Vows, as may be thought, found better Success than his proffer'd Gifts; for hereupon with his Son *Alfrid*, gathering a small Power, he encounter'd and discomfited the *Mercians*, thirty times exceeding his in Number, and led on by expert Captains; at a Place call'd *Loydes*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*. Besides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Ofwald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe Place expected the Event: With which unseasonable retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrifi'd and misdoubting more Danger, fled; their Commanders, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, among whom *Edelbere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *East-Angles*, and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then swell'n above his Banks. The Death of *Penda*, who had been the Death of so many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed*, *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelbere* succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East-Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *East-Saxons*, *Suidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, faith *Beda*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, faith *Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then residing in the *East-Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King, receiv'd out of the Font. But *Ofwi* in the Strength of his late Victory, within three Years after subdu'd all *Mercia*, and of the *Pictish* Nation greatest part, at which time he gave to *Penda* his Son-in-Law the Kingdom of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Penda* the Spring following, as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of *Ofwi*, married by him for a special Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Ofwi*, set up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be their King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the *Britains*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somersetshire*, and overcoming pursues them to *Pedridan*. Another Fight he had with them before, at a Place call'd *Witgeornesbrug*, barely mention'd by the Monk of *Malmsbury*. Nor was it long ere he fell at Variance with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at *Possentesburg*, on the *Easter* Holydays, and as *Ethelwerd* faith, took him Prisoner; but the *Saxon Annals*, quite otherwise, that *Wulfer* winning the Field, wasted the *West-Saxon* Country as far as *Eskefdun*; nor staying there, took and wasted the Isle of *Wight*, but causing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then Unbelievers, gave the Island to *Ethelwald* King of the *South-Saxons*, whom he had receiv'd out of the Font^a. The Year 664. a Synod of *Scotch* and *English* Bishops, in the Presence of *Ofwi* and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monastery in those

Parts*, to debate upon what Day *Easter* should be kept; a Controversie which long before had disturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: Wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the way of *Rome*, nor yielding to the Disputants on that side, to whom the King most inclin'd, such as were Bishops here, resign'd, and return'd home with their Disciples. Another Clerical Question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my Opinion as ridiculous, about the right shav- ing of Crowns. The same Year was seen an Eclipse of the Sun in *May*, followed by a fore Pe- stilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with great Mor- tality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Sni- thelm*'s decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the Small, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both subject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his Peo- ple unsteady of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing their old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* understanding, sent *Jerumannus* a faithful Bishop, who with other his Fellow Labourers, by sound Doctrine and gentle dealing, soon recur'd them of their second Relapse. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son *Ecbert*. In whose fourth Year by means of *Theodore*, a Learned *Greekish* Monk of *Tarsus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had ordain'd Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, with other Liberal Arts, Arith- metick, Musick, Astronomy, and the like; be- gan first to flourish among the *Saxons*; as did also the whole Land, under Potent and Religi- ous Kings, more than ever before, as *Beda* af- firms, till his own Days. Two Years after, in *Northumberland* dy'd *Ofwi*, much addicted to *Romish* Rites, and resolv'd, had his Disease re- leas'd him, to have ended his Days at *Rome*: *Ecfred* the eldest of his Sons begot in *Wedlock*, succeeded him. After other three Years, *Ecbert* in *Kent* deceasing, left nothing memorable be- hind him, but the general Suspicion to have slain or conniv'd at the Slaughter of his Un- cles: two Sons, *Elbert*, and *Egelbright*. In Re- compence whereof, he gave to the Mother of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lorbair*. And much about this time, by best Account it should be, however plac'd in *Beda*, that *Ecfred* of *Northumberland*, having War with the *Mercian* *Wulfer*, won from him *Lindsey*, and the Country there- about. *Sebbi* having reign'd over the *East-Sax- ons* thirty Years, not long before his Death, though long before desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the same Devotion. *Ken- walk* also dying, left the Government to *Sex- burga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one Year, driven out, faith *Mat. West.* by the No- bles, disdaining Female Government. After whom several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for ten Years space divided the *West-Saxons*; others name two, *Efscwin* the Nephew of *Kini- gils*, and *Kentwin* the Son, not petty by their Deeds: For *Efscwin* fought a Battel with *Wulfer*, at *Bedanbasde*, and about a Year after both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not without a Stain left be- hind him, of selling the Bishoprick of *London*, to *Wini* the first *Simonist* we read of in this Sto- ry; *Kenwalk* had before expell'd him from his Chair at *Winchester*; *Ethelfred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next the Kingdom of *Mercia*,

* Suppos'd to be the River *Aire*.

^a *Beda* agrees with the *Saxon Annals*.

^b Suppos'd to be *Bedwin* in *Wiltshire*.

^c *Pontesbury* in *Shropshire*.

^d *Mat. of Westminster* calls them his Cousins.

^e *Alton* near *Wallingford* in *Berkshire*.

A. D. 676. not only recover'd *Lindsey*, and what besides in those Parts *Wulfer* had lost to *Ecfrið* some Years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, wasting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also endamaging the City of *Rocheſter*: Notwithstanding what Resistance *Lothair* could make against him. In August 678. was seen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were converted to the Christian Faith, upon this Occasion. *Wilfrid* Bishop of the *Northumbrians* entring into Contention with *Ecfrið* the King, was by him depriv'd of his Bishoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length into *England*, but not daring to approach the North, whence he was banish'd, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his Ministry. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edelwalk* their King not long before had been baptiz'd in *Mercia*, persuaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath been said, receiv'd out of the Font. For which Relation's sake he had the Isle of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meauuari* adjoining, given him on the Continent about *Meaneſborow* in *Hantsſhire*, which *Wulfer* had a little before gotten from *Kenwalk*. Thither *Wilfrid* takes his Journey, and with the help of other Spiritual Labourers about him, in short time planted there the Gospel. It had not rain'd, as is said, of three Years before in that Country, whence many of the People daily perish'd by Famine; till on the first Day of their publick Baptism, soft and plentiful Showers descending, restor'd all Abundance to the Summer following. Two Years after this, *Kentwin* the other *West-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britains*, as is Chronicl'd without Circumstance, to the very Sea Shoar. But in the Year, by *Beda's* reck'ning, 682, *Kedwalla* a *West-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*) thrown out by Faction, return'd from Banishment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever else had divided the Succession of *Kenwalk*, slaying in Fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in their Aid; but soon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the Province in their Power. But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the Slaughter of *Bertune*, and also of *Edric* the Successor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdom: But reduc'd the People to heavy Thralldom. Then addressing to conquer the Isle of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, saith *Beda* (others otherwise, as above hath been related) made a Vow, though himself yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fourth part of that Island, and the Spoils thereof, to holy Uses. Conquest obtain'd, paying his Vow as then was the Belief, he gave his fourth to Bishop *Wilfrid*, by chance there present; and he to *Bertwin* a Priest, his Sister's Son, with Commission to baptize all the vanquish'd, who meant to save their Lives. But the two young Sons of *Arnald*, King of that Island, met with much more Hostility; for they at the Enemies approach flying out of the Isle, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of some Wounds receiv'd, and by his Appointment, after Instruction and Baptism, first given them, harshly put to Death, which the Youths are said above their Age to have Christianly suffer'd. In *Kent*, *Lothair* dy'd this Year of his Wounds receiv'd in Fight against the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it

seems challeng'd the Crown; and wore it, though not commendably, one Year and a half: But coming to a violent Death, left the Land expos'd a Prey either to home-bred Usurpers, or Neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking Advantage from their Civil Distempers, and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harraſs'd the Country, untouch'd of long time by any Hostile Incursion. But the *Kentish* Men, all Parties uniting against a Common Enemy, with joyn't Power so oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the Fight with twelve Men of his Company, seeking Shelter in a House, was beset and therein burnt by the Pursuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a Loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chafing Enemy; nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death of his Brother. At length *Vitred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both settl'd at home all things in Peace, and secur'd his Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both West and East, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrið* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelfied* the *Mercian*, fought a fore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherein *Elfwine* Brother to *Ecfrið*, a Youth of eighteen Years, much belov'd, was slain; and the Accident likely to occasion much more shedding of Blood, Peace was happily made by the grave Exhortation of Arch-bishop *Theodore*, a Pecuniary Fine only paid to *Ecfrið*, as some Satisfaction for the Loss of his Brother's Life. Another Adversity befel *Ecfrið* in his Family, by means of *Etheldrith* his Wife, King *Anna's* Daughter, who having taken him for her Husband, and professing to love him above all other Men, persisted twelve Years in the obstinate Refusal of his Bed, thereby thinking to live the purer Life. So perversly then was Chastity instructed against the Apostles Rule. At length obtaining of him with much Importunity her Departure, she veild her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd seven Years after the Pestilence; and might with better Warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken Wedlock, though now canoniz'd *St. Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrið* had sent *Bertus* with a Power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, saith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the *English*; in both which they seem to have left a Posterity much unlike them at this Day: Miserably wasted, without regard had to Places hallowed or profane, they betook them partly to their Weapons, partly to implore Divine Aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in their full Avengement upon *Ecfrið*, for he the next Year, against the Mind and Persuasion of his sagest Friends, and especially of *Cudbert*, a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had been subject to *Northumberland*, was by them, feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow Streights overtopped with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, saith *Beda*, Military Valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then peaceable, but some part of the *Britains* also recover'd by Arms their Liberty for many Years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfrið*, a Man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which Place in his Brother's Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much Honour, though in narrower Bounds, the residue of his Kingdom: *Kedwalla* having now with great disturbance of his

Bed. l. 4.
c. 12.

The South-Saxons are converted to Christianity.

Bed. l. 4.
c. 13.
Camden.

681.
Sax. An.

682.
Sax. An.

Bed. l. 4.
c. 15.

Malmf.

684.

Bed. l. 4.
c. 16.

A. D. 685.
Malmf.

Sax. An.
Malmf.

686.

687.

Bede.

The Saxons invade Ireland.

They grow effeminate.

A. D. 686. his Neighbours, Reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two Years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, weary'd perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receive Baptism, which till then his worldly Affairs had deferr'd; and accordingly on *Easter-day* 689, he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his Name chang'd to *Peter*. All which notwithstanding, surpriz'd with a Disease, he out-liv'd not the Ceremony so far fought, much above the space of five weeks, in the thirtieth Year of his Age, and in the Church of *St. Peter* was there bury'd, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him succeeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many Years oppress'd the Land with like Grievances, as *Keatwalla* had done before him, insomuch that in those times there was no Bishop among them. His first Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand satisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Vitred*, loth to hazard all for the rash Act of a few, deliver'd up thirty of those that could be found accessory; or, as others say, pacify'd *Ina* with a great Sum of Money^b. Mean while, at the incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Priest, eminent for Learning, pass'd over Sea, having twelve others in Company, with intent to preach the Gospel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin*, chief Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Frisia*, by his Countenance and Protection, promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the Work of Conversion much the easier, and *Wilbrod* the first Bishop in that Nation^c. But two Priests, each of them *Hewald* by Name, and for distinction furnam'd from the Colour of their Hair, the Black and the White, by his Example, piously affected to the Souls of their Countrymen the old *Saxons*, at their coming thither to convert them, met with much worse entertainment. For in the House of a Farmer, who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discover'd by their daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of their coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcher'd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at such Violence offer'd to his Strangers, sending arm'd Men, slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt their Village.

697. After three Years in *Mercia*, *Ofred* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda's* Epitome records; *Florence* calls them *Southumbrians*, negligently omitting the Cause of so strange a Fact. And the Year following, *Bertred*, a *Northumbrian* General, was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred*, seven Years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the^d Monk, and resign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next Year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Ofred* a Child of eight Years to succeed him. Four Years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Constantine*, and shorn a Monk spent there the residue of his Days. *Kelred* succeeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before.

With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *A. D. East-Saxons*, and betook him to the same Habit, 709. leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Person in the prime of his Youth, much desir'd of the People; and such his Virtue, by report, as might have otherwise been worthy to have reign'd. *Ina* the *West-Saxon* one Year after fought a Battel, 710. at first doubtful, at last successful, against *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The next Year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Captain, fought with the *Picts*, and slaughter'd them, saith *Huntingdon*, to the full avengement of *Ecfrid's* Death. The fourth Year after, *Ina* had another doubtful and cruel Battel 715. at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltshire*, with *Kelred* the *Mercian*, who dy'd the Year following a lamentable Death: 716. For as he sat one day feasting with his Nobles, suddenly possess'd with an Evil Spirit, he expir'd in despair, as *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, an Englishman, who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by way of caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of kin, who succeeded him. *Ofred* also the young *Northumbrian* King, slain by his Kindred in the eleventh of his Reign, for his vicious Life and Incest committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred* succeeded and aveng'd. He Reigning two Years, left *Ofric* in his room. In whose seventh Year, if *Beda* calculate right, *Vitred* King of *Kent* deceas'd, having reign'd thirty four Years, and some part of them with *Suebbard*, as *Beda* testifies. He left behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alric* his Heirs^e. Three Years after which, appear'd two Comets about the Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the Morning, the other after him in the Evening, for the space of two Weeks in *January*, bending their Blaze toward the North; at which time the *Saracens* furiously invaded *France*, but were expell'd soon after with great overthrow. The same Year in *Northumberland*, *Ofric* dying or slain, adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Successor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his Story; but writes this only of him, that the beginning and the process of his Reign met with many adverse Commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* seven Years before having slain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, given usually to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth Year after overthrown and slain *Albright* another *Clito*, driven from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquish'd also the *East-Angles* in more than one Battel, as *Malmshury* writes, but not the Year, whether to expiate so much Blood, or infected with the contagious Humour of those Times, *Malmshury* saith, at the persuasion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his Days; yet this praise left behind him, to have made good Laws, the first of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinsman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown: No less than the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we believe a digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor, was the first King crown'd of *English* and *British*, since the *Saxon* entrance; of the *British* by means of his second Wife, some way related to *Cadwallader* last King of *Wales*, which I had not noted, being unlikely,

Malmsh.
Sax. An.
Ethelwulf.

* At *Bar-
deney* Abby
in *Lincoln-
shire*.

^a Dr. *Powell* and Mr. *Vaughan*, in their Notes on *Caradoc's Welsh Chronicle*, suppose, that this *Cadwalla* was *Edwal*, firmam'd *Twrch*, Prince of *Wales*; who about this time went to *Rome*, and there dy'd. Other *Welsh* Authors pretend, *Cadwalla* here mention'd was their King *Cadwallader*; who, according to *Caradoc*, publish'd by Dr. *Powell*, went to *Rome*, Anno 664. and dy'd there eight Years afterwards.

^b *Ina* in the Year 693. held a Great Council of his Bishops, Elder Men, and the Antients of his People, by whom several Laws were made, and is the first Authentick Great Council, whose Laws are come to us entire. *Spelman Brit. Conne.*

^c His See was *Wettaburgh*, in the *Gallick* Tongue *Trajectum*, now *Utrecht*.

^d Suppos'd to be King of *Cornwall*, there being no such Name in the Catalogue of the Kings of *North* or *South-Wales*.

^e *Peter-Pence* was granted to the Pope about the Year 725, by *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*.

but

A. D. 731. but for the place where I found it*. After *Ina*, by a surer Author, *Ethelwald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this side *Humber*, with their Kings; the *Picts* were in League with the *English*, the *Scots* peaceable within their bounds, and the *Britains* part were in their own Government, part subject to the *English*. In which peaceful state of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aside the exercise of Arms, betook them to the Cloister: And not content so to do at home, many in the Days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laicks, Men and Women, hasting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themselves no where sure of Eternal Life, till they were cloister'd there. Thus representing the state of things in this Island, *Beda* surceas'd to write. Out of whom chiefly hath been gather'd, since the *Saxons* arrival, such as hath been deliver'd, a scatter'd Story pick'd out here and there, with some trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Visions and Miracles; toward the latter end so bare of Civil Matters, as what can be thence collected may seem a Kalendar rather than a History, taken up for the most part with Succession of Kings, and Computation of Years, yet those hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Their Actions, we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what Cause wag'd, or by what Counsels carry'd on, no care was had to let us know: Whereby their Strength and Violence we understand, of their Wisdom, Reason, or Justice, little or nothing, the rest Superstition and Monastical Affectation; Kings, one after another, leaving their Kingly Charge, to run their Heads fondly into a Monk's Cowle: Which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was wanting to his Matter, or his Matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Danish* Invasion it will be worse with us, destitute of *Beda*. Left only to obscure and blockish Chronicles; whom *Malmshury* and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they than we had better Authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with Conjectures and Surmises of their own: Them rather than imitate, I shall choose to represent the Truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmshury* must be acknowledg'd, both for Stile and Judgment, to be by far the best Writer of them all: But what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbish in the rest, *Florence* of *Worcester*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and many others of obscurer note, with all their Monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only Registers, Transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travel rather than not know at once what may be known of our Antient Story, sifted from Fables and Impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like unpleasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all their Life-time raking in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals: But to my Task now as it befalls. In the Year 733. on the 18th Kalends of September, was an Eclipse of the Sun about the third Hour of day, obscuring almost his whole Orb, as with a black Shield^b. *Ethelwald* of *Mercia* besieg'd and took the Castle or Town of

Somerton: And two Years after, *Beda* our Historian dy'd, some say the Year before. *Felwulf* in *Northumberland* three Years after became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the severest; for he brought those Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale; in which Doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile; and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good Provision, great Treasure and Revenues of Land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all under pretence of following (I use the Author's words) poor *Christ*, by voluntary Poverty: No marvel then if such applause were given by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much Cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert*, his Uncle's Son, he left the Kingdom, whose Brother *Ethbert*, Archbishop of *York*, built a Library there. But two Years after, while *Eadbert* was busy'd in War against the *Picts*, *Ethelwald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, assaulted part of *Northumberland* in his absence, as the Supplement of *Beda*'s Epitomy records. In the *West-Saxons*, *Elelard* who succeeded *Ina*, having been much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Ofwald* his Kinsman, who contended with him for the Right of Succession; overcoming at last those Troubles, dy'd in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the same Lineage to succeed him: Who at first had much War with *Ethelwald* the *Mercian*, and various success, but joining with him in League two Years after, made War on the *Welsh*: *Huntingdon* doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports, another Battel fought between *Britains* and *Picts* the Year ensuing. Now was the Kingdom of *East-Saxons* drawing to a Period; for *Sigeward* and *Senfred*, the Sons of *Sebbi*, having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who soon quitted his Kingdom to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath been said, the Government was conferr'd on *Selred* Son of *Sigebert* the Good, who having rul'd thirty eight Years, came to a violent Death; how or wherefore, is not set down. After whom *Switbred* was the last King, driven out by *Ecbert* the *West-Saxon*: But *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they also were dissolv'd. *Cuthred* had now reign'd about nine Years, when *Kenric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in military tumult slain by his own Soldiers. The same Year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Ethilbert* reign'd in his stead. But after two Years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whose War with the *Picts* hath been above mention'd, made now such progress there, as to subdue *Kyle*^c, so saith the Auctary of *Beda*, and other Countries thereabout, to his dominion; while *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon* had a Fight with *Ethelbun*, one of his Nobles, a stout Warriour, envy'd by him in some matter of the Commonwealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelwerd* can be understood, (others interpret it Sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took *Ethelbun* for his Valour into Favour, by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelfth or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a set Battel with *Ethelwald* the *Mercian* at *Beonford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*; one Year after against the *Welsh*, which was the last but one of his Life. *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the Annal Text, makes a terrible Description of that Fight between *Cuthred* and

* Among the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, 'tis inserted, That *Ina* marry'd *Guala* the Daughter of *Cadwallader* King of *Wales*. Vid. *Lambert's Archives*, cap. 17.

^b The next Year, 734. the Moon appear'd as it were stain'd with Blood, which, says *Simeon* of *Durham*, lasted one whole Hour, then follow'd a Blackness, and then it return'd to its Natural Colour. In this or the next Year *Beda* dy'd.

^c To this *Kelwulf* *Beda* dedicated his History.

^d Or *Drumbritton-Frith* in *Scotland*.

A. D. 753. *Ethelbald*, and the Frowes of *Ethelbun*, at *Beor-*
fo l, but so affectedly, and therefore suspici-
 754. *Sax. An.* 754. *Malmsb.* 755. *The first*
Malmsb. 755. *Instance of*
 755. *an English*
 755. *King so*
 755. *leemly de-*
 755. *pos'd.*
 755. *Hunting.*
 755. *Hunting.*
 755. *Cambden.*
 755. *Cambden.*
 755. *Sax. An.*
 755. *Epit. B. d.*
 755. *Sim. Dun.*
 755. ** Bmiface.*
 758. *Sim. Dun.*
 758. *Ecclef. 1. 2.*
 759. *Sim. Dun.*
 762. *Mat. West.*
 765. *Sim. Dun.*
 769.

Ethelbald, and the Frowes of *Ethelbun*, at *Beor-*
fo l, but so affectedly, and therefore suspici-
 754. *Sax. An.* 754. *Malmsb.* 755. *The first*
Malmsb. 755. *Instance of*
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 755. *pos'd.*
 755. *Hunting.*
 755. *Hunting.*
 755. *Cambden.*
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 758. *Sim. Dun.*
 758. *Ecclef. 1. 2.*
 759. *Sim. Dun.*
 762. *Mat. West.*
 765. *Sim. Dun.*
 769.

Tyrant, who the same Year came to like end. A. D.
 And after five Years more, *Alfred* the King de- 774.
 pos'd and forsaken of all his People, fled with
 a few, first to *Bebba*, a strong City of those *Sim. Dun.*
 Parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethel-*
red the Son of *Mollo*, was crown'd in his stead.
 Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerful,
 had subdu'd a Neighbouring People, by *Simeon*
 call'd *Hestings*; and fought successfully this
 Year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a Place call'd
 * *Ottanford*: The Annals also speak of wondrous * *Oxford* in
 Serpents then seen in *Suffex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* *Kent.*
 the *West-Saxon* given small proof of his Valour
 in several Battels against the *Welch* heretofore,
 but this Year 775. meeting with *Offa*, at a Place 775.
 call'd *Befington*, was put to the worse, and *Offa* *Sax. An.*
 won the Town for which they contended. In *Befington* in *Ox-*
Northumberland, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of *fordshire.*
 his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Rinwulf*, and *Ecca*, trea- *now Benfon.*
 cherously to be slain by two other Peers, was 778.
 himself the next Year driven into Banishment *Sim. Dun.*
Efwald the Son of *Oswulf* succeeding in his Place,
 yet not without Civil Broils; for in his second 780.
 Year *Oswald* and *Ethelbeard*, two Noblemen, *Sim. Dun.*
 raising Forces against him, routed *Bearne* his
 General, and pursuing, burnt him at a Place
 call'd *Seletune*. I am sensible how wearisome it
 may likely be to read of so many bare and
 reasonless Actions, so many Names of Kings
 one after another, acting little more than mute
 Persons in a Scene: What would it be to have
 inserted the long Bead-roll of Arch-bishops, Bi-
 shops, Abbots, Abbesses, and their Doings, nei-
 ther to Religion profitable, nor to Morality,
 swelling my Authors each to a voluminous Bo-
 dy, by me studiously omitted; and left as their
 Propriety, who have a mind to write the Eccle-
 siastical Matters of those Ages; neither do I care
 to wrinkle the Smoothness of History with
 rugged Names of Places unknown, better harp'd
 at in *Cambden*, and other Chorographers. Six 786.
 Years therefore pass'd over in Silence, as whol- *Ethelwerd.*
 ly of such Argument, bring us to relate next *Malmsb.*
 the unfortunate end of *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon*;
 who having laudably reign'd about thirty one
 Years, yet suspecting that *Kineard* Brother of
Sigebert the former King, intended to usurp the
 Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brother's
 Expulsion, had commanded him into Banish- *Sax. An.*
 ment; but he lurking here and there on the
 Borders with a small Company, having had In- *Cambden.*
 telligence that *Kenwulf* was in the Country
 thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*,
 at the House of a Woman whom he lov'd, went
 by Night and beset the Place. *Kenwulf* over-
 confident either of his Royal Presence, or per-
 sonal Valour, issuing forth with the few about
 him, runs fiercely at *Kineard*, and wounds him
 fore, but by his Followers hem'd in, is kill'd
 among them. The Report of so great an Acci-
 dent soon running to a Place not far off, where
 many more Attendants awaited the King's re-
 turn, *Osric* and *Wivert*, two Earls, hasten'd with
 a great number to the House, where *Kineard*
 and his Fellows yet remain'd. He seeing him-
 self surrounded, with fair Words and Promise
 of great Gifts, attempted to appease them; but
 those rejected with Disdain, fights it out to the
 last, and is slain with all but one or two of his
 Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf*
 was succeeded by *Birhtic*, being both descended

* The Saxon Annals call them the Wife and Noblemen of the *West-Saxons*.

^b *Catwrick-bridge*, of the Antiquity whereof see the Additions, in the late Edition of *Cambden's Britannia*.

^c *Lambert* in his Glossary, at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*, thinks they were *Danes*.

^d *Roger Hovedon* says he was depos'd by the Common Council, and Consent of his own Subjects.

A. D. 788. of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdom. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two Years after slain miserably by the Conspiracy of *Siggar*, one of his Nobles, others say of the whole People at *Seilcester* by the Roman Wall; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hazulstall*, now *Hexham* upon *Tine*, and some Miracles there said to be done, are alledg'd to witness; and *Siggar* five Years after laid violent hands on himself. *Ofred*, Son of *Alcred*, advanced into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one Year driven out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten Years of Banishment (Imprisonment, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand. The third Year of *Birtbri* King of *West-Saxons*, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal Revolution of Calamity on this Land. For three *Danish* Ships, the first that had been seen here of that Nation arriving in the West, to visit these, as was suppos'd, Foreign Merchants, the King's Gatherer of Customs taking Horse from *Dorchester*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of their lading at the King's Custom-House, they slew him and all who came with him; as an earnest of the many Slaughters, Rapines, and Hostilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Island. Of this *Danish* first Arrival, and on a sudden worse than Hostile Aggression, the *Danish* History far otherwise relates, as if their landing had been at the Mouth of *Humber*, and their spoilful March far into the Country; tho' soon repell'd by the Inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to their Ships: But from what Cause, what Reason of State, what Authority or Public Council the Invasion proceeded, makes not mention, and our Wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmark*, and long after, was a Man studious more of Peace and Quiet than of Warlike Matters. These therefore seem rather to have been some Wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commission, or without, through Love of Spoil, or Hatred of Christianity, seeking Booties on any Land of Christians, came by Chance or Weather on this Shoar. The next Year *Ofred* in *Northumberland*, who driven out by his Nobles had given place to *Ethelred*, was taken and forcibly shaven a Monk at *Tork*. And the Year after, *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, formerly King, were drawn by fair Promises from the Principal Church of *Tork*, and after by Command of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wondremere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancashire*, now call'd **Winandermere*. Nor was the third Year less bloody; for *Ofred*, who not liking a shaven Crown, had desired Banishment and obtain'd it, returning from the Isle of *Man* with small Forces, at the secret but deceitful Call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also taken, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, thereupon married *Elfred* the Daughter of *Offa*: For in *Offa* was found as little Faith or Mercy. He the same Year having drawn to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*, with fair Invitations to marry his Daughter, caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his Kingdom wrongfully seiz'd,

by the wicked Counsel of his Wife, saith *Malin*. A. D. 792. *West*, annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which Violence and Bloodshed to make Attainment, with Fryars at least, he bestows the Reliques of *St. Alban*, in a Shrine of Pearl and Gold. Far worse it fard the next Year with the Reliques in *Lendisfarne*; where the *Danes* landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fryars kill'd some, carried away others Captive, sparing neither Priest nor Lay: Which many strange Thunders and fiery Dragons, with other Impressions in the Air seen frequently before, were judg'd to fore signify. This Year *Alric* third Son of *Vithred*, ended in *Kent* his long Reign of thirty four Years. With him ended the Race of *Hengist*: Thenceforth whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanc'd, took on him the Name and State of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784. name *Ealmond* then reigning in *Kent*; but that consists not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where else mention'd. The Year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a strenuous and subtle King; he had much intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at first Enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either side, at length much Amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himself yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent Man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of *England* in those Days had sent Orator into *France*, to maintain good Correspondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, saith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual Tribute to the Pope, out of every House in his Kingdom; for yielding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfield* in his own Dominion. He drew a Trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *British* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Egferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great Hope, who also had been crown'd nine Years before his Father's Decease, restoring to the Church what his Father had seiz'd on: Yet within four Months by a Sickness ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the same Progeny bequeath'd his Kingdom. Mean while the *Danish* Pirates who still wast'd *Northumberland*, ventring on Shoar to spoil another Monastery at the Mouth of the River *Don*, were assail'd by the *English*, their Chief Captain slain on the Place; then returning to Sea, were most of them ship-wrack'd; others driven again on Shoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this their Punishment to the Power of *St. Cuthbert*, offended with them for the rifling of his Covent. Two Years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at last from the Fate of many his Predecessors, miserably slain by his People, some say deservedly, as not unconscious with them who train'd *Ofred* to his Ruine. *Osbal*, a Nobleman, exalted to the Throne, and in less than a Month, deserted and expelled, was forc'd to fly at last from *Lendisfarne* by Sea to the *Pictish* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* six Years before had commanded to be put to Death at *Ripon*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was suppos'd, and with solemn Dirge carried into the Church, after Midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banish'd, now recall'd was in *Tork* created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the Annals call

* *Cambden*, in his *Brit. Tit.* *Devonshire*, tells us, that the *Danes* first landed at *Teignmouth* in that County: Now *Tinmouth*, a Fisher-Town, which was burnt by the *French* in the last War.

^b He assisted *Charlemagne* in his Founding the University of *Paris*.

^c Call'd *Offa's Dyke*, about 90 Miles long, says Mr. *Cambden*.

^d From the Mouth of *Dee* to that of the River *Wye*. Mr. *Lloyd*, in his Additions to *Wales* (in the late Edition of *Cambden*) has set down the exact Course of it, *Page* 587.

A. D. *Eadbright* (so different they often are one from another, both in Timing and in Naming) by some means having usurp'd Regal Power, after two Years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him taken Prisoner, and soon after, out of pious Commiseration, let go: But not receiv'd of his own, what became of him, *Malmfbury* leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his Hands; but whether the Sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second Year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conspir'd against *Ethelred*, now also raising War against *Eardulf*, under *Wada* their Chief Captain, after much havoc on either side at *Langbo*, by *Wdaley* in *Lancashire*, the Conspirators at last flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The same Year *London*, with a great multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden Fire was consum'd. The Year 800 made way for great alteration in *England*, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *West-Saxon*; him *Birtric* dying Childless left next to Reign, the only Survivor of that Lineage, descended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, he began early from his Youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary Worth growing up in him; which *Birtric* fearing, and withal his juster Title to the Crown, secretly sought his Life, and *Ecbert* perceiving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: But he having marry'd *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birtric*, easily gave ear to his Ambassadors coming to require *Ecbert*: He again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into *France*; but after three Years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his Education, *Charles* the Great then Reigning, he was call'd over by the Publick Voice (for *Birtric* was newly dead) and with general applause Created King of *West-Saxons*. The same day *Ethelmund* at *Kimmeresford*, passing over with the *Worcestershire* Men, was met by *Woolstan* another Nobleman with those of *Wiltshire*, between whom happen'd a great Fray, wherein the *Wiltshire* Men overcame, but both Dukes were slain; no reason of their Quarrel written. Such Bickerings to recount, met often in these our Writers; what more Worth is it than to Chronicle the Wars of Kites or Crows flocking and fighting in the Air? The Year following, *Eardulf* the *Northumbrian*, leading forth an Army against *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, for harbouring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelates, Arms were laid aside, and Amity soon sworn between them. But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birtric*, a Woman every way wicked, in Malice especially cruel, could not or car'd not to appease the general hatred justly conceiv'd against her; accusom'd in her Husband's days to accuse any whom she spighted; and not prevailing to his ruine, her Practice was by Poison secretly to contrive his Death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which she had temper'd, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sip'd thereof only, and in a while after still pining away, ended his Days; the Favourite drinking deeper, found speedier the Operation. She fearing to be question'd for these Facts, with what Treasure she had, pass'd over

Sea to *Charles* the Great, whom with rich Gifts coming to his presence the Emperor courtly receiv'd with this pleasant Proposal: Choose, *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son, (for his Son stood by him) to be thy Husband: She, no dissembler of what she lik'd best, made easie answer. Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger Man. To whom the Emperor, between jest and earnest, Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow'd on thee my Son; but since thou hast chosen him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess; for that Life, it may seem, she chose next to profess: But being a while after detected of Unchastity with one of her Followers, she has commanded to depart thence; from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a City of *Italy*, she finish'd at last in Beggary her shameful Life. In the Year 805, *Cutbred*, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, instead of *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, having obscurely Reign'd eight Years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Eardulf* the Year following was driven out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who Reign'd two Years in his room; after whom *Eayred*, Son of *Eardulf*, thirty three Years. But I see not how this can stand with the sequel of Story out of better Authors: Much less that which *Buchanan* relates the Year following of *Acaius* King of *Scots*, who having Reign'd thirty two Years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what Year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts*, with 10000 *Scots*, against *Atbelstan* a *Saxon* or *Englishman*, then wasting the *Pictish* Borders; that *Hungus*, by the aid of those *Scots*, and the help of *St. Andrew* their Patron, in a Vision by Night, and the appearance of his Cross by Day, routed the astonish'd *English*, and slew *Atbelstan* in fight. Who this *Atbelstan* was, I believe no Man knows; *Buchanan* supposes him to have been some *Danish* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had bestow'd *Northumberland*: But of this I find no footstep in our Antient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it must be little less than one hundred Years after; this *Atbelstan* therefore, and this great Overthrow seems rather to have been the fancy of some Legend, than any warrantable Record. Mean while, *Ecbert* having with much Prudence, Justice and Clemency, a Work of more than one Year, establish'd his Kingdom, and himself in the Affections of his People, turns his first Enterprize against the *Britains*, both them of *Cornwall*, and those beyond *Severn*, subduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the sixth Year after, having Reign'd with great Praise of his Religious Mind and Virtues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of seven Years, was committed to the Care of his Eldest Sister *Quendred*; who with a Female Ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nurture, to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of Hunting. The Murther, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a written Note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long Story told, tho' out of order, by *Malmfbury*; and under the Year 821 by *Matt. West.* where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I

^a *Ethelward* says, he was Ordain'd King; *Dr. Lloyd* Bishop of *Worcester*, from *Affer's Annals*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Roger Hoveden*, and others, proves *Egbert's* Accession to the Throne to be two Years forwarder, Anno 802.
^b It seems to be *Kempsford* on the edge of *Glostershire*, next to *Wiltshire*.

A. D. with my Readers. Only the Note was to this
819. purpose :

*Low in a Mead of Kine under a Thorn,
Of Head bereaft li' th poor Kenelm King-born.*

820.
Ingulf.

823.
Sax. Ann.

825.
Camden.

827.
Ingulf.

828.
Mat. West.

829.
Ingulf.

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man on the *East-Angles*, was by them with his
five Consuls, as the *Annals* call them, surpriz'd
and put to the Sword: And *Witblif* his Successor
first vanquish'd, then upon submission with all
Mercia, made Tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while
the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it self was fallen
to shivers; their Kings, one after another, so
often slain by the People, no Man daring, tho'
never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter,
which many had found so hot, (the only ef-
fectual Cure of Ambition that I have read) for
the space of thirty three Years after the Death
of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmfbury* writes,
there was no King: Many Noblemen and Pre-
lates were fled the Country. Which mis-rule
among them, the *Danes* having understood, oft-
times from their Ships entring far into the
Land, infested those parts with wide depopula-
tion, wasting Towns, Churches and Monasteries,
for they were yet Heathen: The *Lent* before
whose coming, on the North-side of *St. Peter's*
Church in *Tork*, was seen from the Roof to rain
Blood. The Causes of these Calamities, and the
Ruine of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk
living in those Days, attributes in several Epi-
stles, and well may, to the general ignorance
and decay of Learning, which crept in among
them after the Death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the
Archbishop; their neglect of breeding up Youth
in the Scriptures, the spruce and gay Apparel of
their Priests and Nuns, discovering their vain
and wanton Minds; Examples are also read,
even in *Beda's* Days, of their wanton Deeds:
Thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloisters
violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with
Blood of their Princes, Civil Dissentions among
the People, and finally all the same Vices which
Gildas alledg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Brit-
tains*. In this estate, *Ecbert*, who had now con-
quer'd all the South, finding them in the Year
827, (for he was march'd thither with an Army
to compleat his Conquest of the whole Island)
no wonder if they submitted themselves to the
Yoke without resistance, *Eandred* their King be-
coming Tributary. Thence turning his Forces
the Year following, he subdu'd more thoroughly
what remain'd of *North-Wales*.

A. D.
825.

827

828.

Mat. West.

T H E
History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book V.

A. D.
828.

THE Sum of things in this Island, or the best part thereof, reduc'd now under the Power of one Man; and him one of the worthiest, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time here before unless in Fables; Men might with some Reason have expected from such Union, Peace and Plenty, Greatness, and the flourishing of all Estates and Degrees: But far the contrary fell out soon after, Invasion, Spoil, Desolation, Slaughter of many, Slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly called, and sometimes *Dacians*, by others, the same with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themselves were at first reputed, and much more; for the *Saxons* first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came most of them from *Futland* and *Anglen*, a part of *Denmark*, as *Danish* Writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the same; then in this Invasion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, their own Posterity. And *Normans* afterwards, none but Antienter *Normans*. Which Invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchy stood divided as it was, had either not been attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and People, excited by their nearest Concernments, had more industriously defended their own Bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those Troubles, the lesser Kingdoms revolting from the *West-Saxon* Yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with their own Safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they sought to repel the Danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed Servitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by their own Vices for no Condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to punish our instrumental Punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine Retaliation; Invasion for Invasion, Spoil for Spoil, Destruction for Destruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britains* were at their Arrival, broken with Luxury and Sloth, either secular, or superstitious; for laying aside the Exercise of Arms, and the Study of all vertuous Knowledge, some betook them to over-worldly or vicious Practice, others to Religious Idleness

and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive Visions; easily perceiv'd such, by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses, Idols, add to these Ostentation of Alms, got of-times by Rapine and Oppression, or intermixt with violent and lustful Deeds, sometimes prodigally bestow'd, as the Expiation of Cruelty and Bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when Religion it self grew so void of Sincerity, and the greatest Shews of Purity were impur'd.

A. D.
828.

E C B E R T.

Ecbert in full heighth of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conquest seven peaceful Years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the Exercise of Arms perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden Storm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in the 32 of his Reign, wasted *Shepey* in *Kent*. *Ecbert* the next Year, gathering an Army, for he had heard of their Arrival in 35 Ships, gave them Battel by the River *Carr* in *Dorsetshire*; the Event whereof was, that the *Danes* kept their Ground, and encamp'd where the Field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Ofmund*, and two Bishops as some say, were there slain. This was the only Check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receiv'd. For the *Danes* returning two Years after with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the *Cornish*, who had enter'd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these Invasions against *Ecbert*, the *Danish* History is not silent; whether out of their own Records or ours, may be justly doubted; for of these times at home, I find them in much Uncertainty, and beholding rather to Out-landish Chronicles than any Records of their own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous Success, the next Year with Glory ended his Days, and was buried at *Winchester*.

E T H E L W O L F.

Ethelwolf the Son of *Ecbert* succeeded, by *Malmfbury* describ'd a Man of mild Nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therefore contented with the

* Near *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire*.

* At *Hengston* in *Cornwall*: So call'd from *Hengist* the *Saxon*.

A. D. 836. ancient *West-Saxon* Bounds, he gave to *Ethelstan* his Brother, or Son, as some write, the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Saxon* Annalist, whose Authority is Elder, saith plainly, that both these Countries and *Sussex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The unwarlike Disposition of *Ethelwolf*, gave Encouragement no doubt, and easier Entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next Year with thirty three Ships; but *Wulfbeard*, one of the King's Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southampton* with great Slaughter; himself dying the same Year, of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have been one of *Ecbert*'s old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwolf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains with the *Dorsetshire* Men, had at first like Success against the *Danes* at *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood their Ground, and put the *English* to rout. Worse was the Success of *Earl Herebert* at a Place call'd *Merewar*, slain with the most part of his Army. The Year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-Angles*, and *Kent*, much Mischief was done by their landing; where the next Year, imbolden'd by Success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel Hostility: And giving no respite to the peaceable Mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next Year in thirty five Ships, fought with him, as before with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good their Ground. In *Northumberland* *Eandred* the Tributary King deceasing, left the same Tenure to his Son *Ethelred*, driven out in his fourth Year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation, hastening forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvezheli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in Fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was re-exalted to his Seat. And to be yet farther like him in Fate, was slain the fourth Year after. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But more Southerly, the *Danes* next Year after met with some stop in the full course of their outrageous Insolences. For *Earnulf* with the Men of *Somerset*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and *Osric* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the River's Mouth of ** Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great Numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This Repulse quell'd them, for ought we hear, the Space of six Years; Then also renewing their Invasion, with little better Success. For *Keorle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and overthrew them at *Wigganbeorch* with great Destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same Year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealker* his General, their great Army defeated, and nine of their Ships taken, the rest driven off, however to ride out the Winter on that Shoar, *Aſſer* saith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey Isle*. Hard it is through the bad Expression of these Writers to define this Fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea-fight. Nevertheless, with fifty Ships (*Aſſer* and others add three Hundred) they enter'd the Mouth of *Thames*, and made Excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes destroy'd both; of *London*, *Aſſer* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, Successor of *Witlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then

passing over *Thames* with their Powers into *Surrey*, and the *West Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelwald* his Son, at a Place call'd ** Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receiv'd a total Defeat with memorable Slaughter. This was counted a lucky Year to *England*, and brought to *Ethelwolf* great Reputation. *Barbed* therefore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the *Mercian* Kingdom, two Years after this, imploring his Aid against the *North-Welch*, as then troublesome to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in Person, and thereby reduc'd them to Obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* sent his Son *Alfrid* a Child of five Years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both consecrated to be King afterward, and adopted to be his Son; at home *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with those of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at their landing in *Tanet*, and at first put them back; but the slain and drown'd were at length so many on either side, as left the Loss equal on both: Which yet hinder'd not the Solemnity of a Marriage at the Feast of *Malmſbury*, *Easter*, between *Barbed* the *Mercian*, and *Ethelſwida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. Howbeit the *Danes* next Year winter'd again in *Shepey*. Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding humane Health sufficient to resist growing daily upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, register'd in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all Impositions, but converted to the Maintenance of Masses and Psalms Weekly to be sung for the prospering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it self, in *William of Malmſbury*. *Aſſer* saith, he did it for the Redemption of his Soul, and the Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done some great Matter, to shew himself at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope; he takes a long and cumbersome Journey thither with young *Alfrid* again, and there stays a Year, when his Place requir'd him rather here in the Field against Pagan Enemies left wintering in his Land. Yet so much Manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*. But ere his return, *Ethelward* his eldest Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Emulf* Earl of *Somerset* conspir'd against him; their Complaints were, that he had taken with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought Home with him an Out-landish Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdom. The Disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than War: But the King abhorring Civil Discord, after many Conferences tending to Peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; Division was made, but the Matter so carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best given to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great Indignation, offering to the King their utmost Assistance for the Recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his Portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund* Lineal from the Ancient Stock of those Kings, a Youth of fourteen Years only, but of great Hopes, was with consent of all but his own crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the

* At Port now call'd *Portland*.

* On *Merſewarum*, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, i. e. Among the *Marshes*, or Inhabitants of the *Marshes* or *Fenns*. The Name does not denote any particular Place, as Mr. *Milton* imagin'd.

* This Battel is rather suppos'd to be fought at the Mouth of the River *Aze*, on *Bladen Down* in *Somersetshire*; the Village being from the Slaughter of that Day, call'd *Bleaden* or *Bloody Down*.

* Thought to be *Wenbury* in *Devonshire*.

* At *Chippinham* in *Wiltshire*.

* *Okely* in *Surrey*, upon the Borders of *Sussex*.

A. D. 857. *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* been driven out of their Country, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid against *Donaldus* the *Scottish* King, to recover their Ancient Possession. *Osbert*, who in Person undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a Retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, oversecure of their suppos'd Victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took Prisoner their King, and pursu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlingbridge*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Ambassadors intreating Peace, had it granted them on these Conditions: The *Scots* were to quit all they had possess'd within the Wall of *Severus*: The Limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlingbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side *Dunbritton-Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *British* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had join'd with *Osbert* in this Action, and so far extended on that side the *British* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themselves witness (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of their own Country?) How much wanting have been our Historians to their Country's Honour, in letting pass unmention'd an Exploit so memorable, by them remember'd and attested, who are wont offer to extenuate than to amplify ought done in *Scotland* by the *English*? *Donaldus* on these Conditions releas'd, soon after dies, according to *Buchanan*, in 858. *Ethelwolf*, chief King in *England*, had the Year before ended his Life, and was bury'd as his Father at *Winchester*. He was from his Youth much addicted to Devotion; so that in his Father's time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne: Managing therefore his greatest Affairs by the Activity of two Bishops, *Astlan* of *Sherburne*, and *Switbin* of *Winchester*. But *Astlan* is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William* of *Malmesbury*; the more vehemently, no doubt, for doing some notable damage to that Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome* paid a Tribute to the Pope, continu'd to his Days. However he were facile to his Son and seditious Nobles, in yielding up part of his Kingdom; yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it pleas'd. The *West-Saxons* had decreed, ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birtric*, that no Queen should sit in State with the King, or be dignify'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should lose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his Death he divided the Kingdom between his two Sons, *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*; to the Younger, *Kent*, *Essex*, *Sursey*, *Sussex*; to the Elder, all the rest: To *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what Uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

ETHELBALD, and ETHELBERT.

Affer. Malmbs. Sim. Dun. *Ethelbald*, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary Sin, of too much Love to his Father's Wife; and whom at first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three Years end, without doing ought more worthy to be remember'd; having Reign'd two Years with his Father, impiously usurping, and

three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And A. D. his hap was all that while to be unmolested by 860. the *Danes*; not of Divine Favour doubtless, but to his great Condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous Life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him bury'd at *Sherburn*, with great sorrow of his People, who miss'd him long after. *Mat. West.* saith, that he repented of his Incest with *Judith*, and dismiss'd her: But *Affer* an Eye-witness of those Times, mentions no such thing.

ETHELBERT alone.

Ethelbald by Death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightfully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Virtue and no Blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peaceful; once or twice invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the West with a great Army, and sack'd *Winchester*, were met by *Osric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Barkshire*, beaten to their Ships, and forc'd to leave their Booty. Five Years after, about the time of his Death, 865. they set foot again in *Taney*; the *Kentishmen* weary'd out with so frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain Sum of Money; but ere the Peace could be ratify'd, and the Money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a sudden Eruption in the Night, soon wasted all the East of *Kent*. Mean while, or something before, *Ethelbert* deceasing was bury'd as his Brother at *Sherburn*.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred the third Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his first coming to the Crown was entertain'd with a fresh Invasion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *East-Angles*; there they winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants, furnish'd themselves of Horses, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of their own: These Pagans, *Affer* saith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long Expedition, they ventur'd the next Year to make their way over Land and over *Humber*, as far as *Tork*, then they found to their hands embroil'd in Civil Dissentions; their King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another Faction chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonish'd by their Common Danger, towards the Year's end, with United Powers made Head against the *Danes* and prevail'd; but pursuing them over-eagerly into *Tork*, then but slenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where slaughter'd, both within and without; their Kings also both slain, their City burnt, saith *Malmesbury*, the rest as they could made their Peace, over-run and vanquish'd as far as the River *Tine*, and *Ecbert* of *English* Race appointed King over them. *Bromton*, no antient Author (for he wrote since *Mat. West.*) nor of much Credit, writes a particular Cause of the *Danes* coming to *Tork*: That *Bruern* a Nobleman, whose Wife King *Osbert* had ravish'd, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The Example is remarkable, if the Truth were as evident. Thence Victorious, the *Danes* next Year enter'd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they spent the Winter. *Burberd*, then King of that Country, unable to resist, implores,

A. D. 868. plores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his Brother, they assembling their Forces and joining with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel: The *Danes*, not daring to come forth, kept themselves within that Town and Castle, so that no great Fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians*, weary of long suspense, enter'd into Conditions of Peace with their Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *Tork*, made their abode there the space of one Year, committing, some say, many Cruelties. Thence imbarcking to *Lindsey*, and all the Summer destroying that Country, about September they came with like Fury into *Kesteven*, another part of *Lincolnsbire*, where *Algar*, the Earl of *Howland*, now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hundred stout Soldiers belonging to the Abby of *Croiland*, three hundred from about *Boston*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well train'd and arm'd, *Osgot* Governour of *Lincoln*, with five hundred of that City, all joining together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, slew of them a great multitude, with three of their Kings, and pursu'd the rest to their Tents: But the Night following, *Gorburn*, *Bafeg*, *Ofketil*, *Halfden* and *Hamond*, five Kings; and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from several parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the *Engliff* began to sink home. Nevertheless *Algar*, with such as forsook him not, all next Day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and sustaining unmov'd the brunt of their Assaults, could not withhold his Men at last from pursuing their counterfeited flight; whereby open'd and disorder'd, they fell into the Snares of their Enemies rushing back upon them. *Algar*, and those Captains fore-nam'd with him, all resolute Men, retreating to a Hill side, and slaying of such as follow'd them, manifold their own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of Dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence passing on into the Country of *East-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monastery of *Ely*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* affailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himself taken, bound to a Stake, and shot to Death with Arrows, his whole Country subdu'd*. The next Year with great Supplies, saith *Huntingdon*, bending their march toward the *West-Saxons*, the only People now left, in whom might seem yet to remain Strength or Courage likely to oppose them, they came to *Reading*, fortify'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames* and *Kenet*; and about three Days after, sent out Wings of Horse under two Earls to forage the Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Barkshire*, at *Englefeld* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, slew one of their Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four Days after came the King himself and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battel; and the *Danes* issuing forth, a bloody Fight began, on either side great Slaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* lost his Life; but the *Danes* losing no ground, kept their place of standing to the end. Neither did the *Engliff* for this make less haste to another Conflict at *Eccesdune*, or *Asb-down*†, four Days after, where both Armies with their whole Forces on either side met. The

Danes were imbattel'd in two great Boddies, the one led by *Bascai* and *Halfden*, their two Kings, the other by such Earls as were appointed: In like manner the *Engliff* divided their Powers, *Ethelred* the King stood against their Kings; and though on the lower ground, and coming later into the Battel from his *Orifone*, gave a fierce onset, wherein *Bascai* (the *Daniff* History names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnus*) was slain. *Alfred* was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battel ere his Brother came into the Field, with such Resolution charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd, *Sidroc*, Elder and Younger, *Osbern*, *Frena*, *Harald*; at length in both Divisions, the *Danes* turn their backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest pursu'd till Night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* fourteen Days after such an Overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Basing*, under conduct, saith the *Daniff* History, of *Agnernus* and *Hubba*, Brothers of the slain *Ivarus*, should obtain the Victory; especially since the new Supply of *Danes*, mention'd by *Affer*, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months, the King and his Brother fought with them again at *Merton*‡, in two Squadrons as before, in which Fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver their Meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for *Affer* is here silent) to be the chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Basis upon which the *Monks* later in time Gloss and Comment at their Pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Bishop only, but many valiant Men lost their Lives. This Fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; whereof, as is thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was bury'd at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inscribes, that he had his Death's Wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Daniff* History 872*. Of all these terrible Landings and Devastations by the *Danes*, from the Days of *Ethelwulf* till their two last Battels with *Ethelred*, or of their Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Daniff* History of best Credit saith nothing; so little Wit or Conscience it seems they had to leave any Memory of their Brutish, rather than Manly Actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of *Affer*, from *Danubius*, rather than from *Denmark*, more probably some barbarous Nations of *Prussia*, or *Livonia*, not long before seated more Northward on the *Baltick* Sea.

ALFRED.

Alfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwulf*, had scarce perform'd his Brother's Obsequies, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the Month's end in haste with a small Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and most part of the Day foil'd them; but unwarily following the Chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained Masters of the

* It appears by the Inscription on his Tomb, which may be read in *Winbourn* Church, that he fell per manus Danorum Paganorum, by the hands of the Pagan Danes, the 23^d of April, Anno. 872.

† *Afferius Menevensis*, *Affer* Bishop of *St. David's*, wrote the Life of this Prince, in whose Reign he liv'd. The Life of King *Alfred* was also written at large by Sir *John Spelman*, (Son to Sir *Henry*) the Original Manuscript whereof is now in the *Bodleian* Library. It was translated into Latin; and publish'd in Folio, with Mr. *Walker's* Notes, some Years ago.

- A. D. Field. This Year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had been fought against the Danes on the South-side of *Thames*, besides innumerable Excursions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in Fight, so that weary on both sides at the Year's end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next Year the Danes took their march to *London*, now expos'd their Prey, there they winter'd, and thither came the *Mercians* to renew Peace with them. The Year following they rov'd back to the Parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torksey* in *Lincolnshire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made Peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing their Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbyshire*, and there wintering, they constrain'd *Barbed* the King to fly into Foreign Parts, making Seizure of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to *Rome*, with better Reason than his Ancestors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the *English* School. His Kingdom the Danes farm'd out to *Kelwulf*, one of his Household Servants or Officers, with Condition to be resign'd them when they commanded. From *Rependune* they dislodg'd, *Hafden* their King leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by the River *Tine*, and subjecting all those Quarters, wasted also the *Picts* and *British* beyond: But *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Anwyn*, other three of their Kings moving from * *Repton* in *Darbyshire*, came with a great Army to † *Grant-bridge*, and remain'd there a whole Year. *Alfred* that Summer purposing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and Neglect of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) met with seven *Danish* Rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable Success from so small a Beginning: For the *English* at that time were but little experienc'd in Sea Affairs. The next Year's first Motion of the Danes was towards *Warham* Castle: Where *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or their Doubt of his Power; *Ethelwerd* saith, by Money brought them to such Terms of Peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallow'd Bracelet, others say upon certain Reliques (a solemn Oath it seems which they never vouchsafed before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the Land: But falsifying that Oath, by Night with all the Horse they had (*Affer* saith, slaying all the Horsemen he had) stole to *Exeter*, and there winter'd. In *Northumberland*, *Hafden* their King began to settle, to divide the Land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were marched to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, coursing now and then to *Warham*; but their Fleet the next Year sailing or rowing about the West, met with such a Tempest near to *Swanwich**, or *Gnawenwic*, as wrack'd 120 of their Ships, and left the rest easie to be master'd by those Gallies which *Alfred* had set there to guard the Seas, and streiten *Exeter* of Provision. He the while beleaguering them in the City; now humbled with the Loss of their Navy (two Navies, saith *Affer*, the one at *Gnawenwic*, the other at *Swanwine*) distress'd them so, as that they gave him as many Hostages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths, to keep their covenanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer coming on, they departed into *Mercia*, whereof part they divided amongst themselves, part left to *Kelwulf* their substituted King. The Twelfth following, all Oaths forgotten, they came to *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, dispeopling the Countries round, dispossessing some, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himself A. D. with a small Company was forc'd to keep with- 878. in Woods and Fenny Places; and for some time all alone, as *Florent* saith, sojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-herd, made afterwards for his Devotion, and Aptness to Learning, Bishop of *Winchester*. *Hafden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, *Sim Dun*. coming with twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great Spoil, landed in *Devonshire*, nigh to a strong Castle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garrison issuing forth unexpectedly, they were slain with twelve Hundred of their Men. Mean while the King about *Easter*, not despairing of his Affairs, built a Fort- 879. tress at a Place call'd *Atbelney* in *Somersetshire*, therein valiantly defending himself and his Followers, frequently falling forth. The seventh Week after, he rode out to a Place call'd * *Ecbryt-stone* in the East part of *Selwood*: Thither resorted to him with much Gratulation the *Somerset* and *Wiltshire* Men, with many out of *Hampshire*, some of whom a little before had fled 880. their Country; with these marching to *Ethandune* now *Eldon* in *Wiltshire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Danish* Power, and put them to flight. Then besieging their Castle, within fourteen Days took it. *Malmbury* writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a Spy into the *Danish* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the Habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining access to the King's Table, and sometimes to his Bed-Chamber, got Knowledge of their Secrets, their careless encamping, and thereby this Opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The Danes by this Misfortune broken, gave him more Hostages, and renew'd their Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Their King *Gyro*, or *Gothrun*, offer'd willingly to receive Baptism, and accordingly came with thirty of his Friends, to a Place call'd *Aldra*, or * *Aulre*, near to *Atbelney*, 881. and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receiv'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Atbelstan*. After which, they abode with him twelve Days, and were dismiss'd with rich Presents. Whereupon the Danes remov'd next Year 879. to *Cirencester*, thence peaceably to the *East-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as some write had bestow'd The Danes on *Gothrun* to hold of him; the Bounds whereof have the Kingdom of may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thames*, and joining there with a great Fleet newly come inven them. to the River, thence pass'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enter'd, so far conquering or wasting, as witness'd sufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemish* were no more able than the *English*, by Policy or Prowess to keep off that *Danish* Inundation from their Land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their landing; three Years after 882. (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, and at first met with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the Men over-board, then with two others, wherein were two of their Princes, and took them also, but not without some Loss of his own. After three Years another Fleet of them appear'd 885. on these Seas, so huge, that one part thought themselves sufficient to enter upon *East-France*, the other came to *Rocheſter*, and beleagu'd it, they within stoutly defending themselves, till *Alfred* with great Forces, coming down upon the Danes, drove them to their Ships, leaving for haſt all their Horses behind them. The same Year *Alfred* sent a Fleet toward the *East-Angles*, then

* Between the Rivers *Tone* and *Parret* in *Somersetshire*, about *North-Petherton*.† Possibly *Briarton* on the West-side of *Wiltshire*. See the Gloss to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

A. D. 885. inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the Mouth of *Stour*^a, meeting with sixteen *Danish* Ships, after some fight took them all, and slew the Soldiers aboard; but in their way home lying careless, were overtaken by another part of that Fleet, and came off with Loss; whereupon perhaps those *Danes* who were settl'd among the *East-Angles*, erected with new Hopes, violated the Peace which they had sworn to *Alfred*, who spent the next Year in repairing *London*, (besieging, saith *Huntingdon*) much ruin'd and unpeopl'd by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but those who had been led away Captive, soon return'd to their Dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by the King appointed their Governor^b. But after thirteen Years respite of Peace, another *Danish* Fleet of 250 Sail^c, from the East part of *France* arriv'd at the Mouth of a River in *East Kent*, call'd^d *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood^e *Andred*, famous for Length and Breadth; into that Wood they drew up their Ships four Mile from the River's Mouth, and built a Fortrefs. After whom *Haesten* with another *Danish* Fleet of Eighty Ships, entring the Mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the former Army remaining at a Place call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceiving this, took of those *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in *Essex*, Hostages, lest they should joyn, as they were wont, with their Country-men newly arriv'd. And by the next Year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd so, as to be ready for either of them, who first should happen to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spar'd from strong Places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter foraging Parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrench'd. In Conclusion, rowling up and down, both sides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*^f; where the *Danes* by *Alfred*'s Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the *Thames* to a certain Island near *Coln* in *Essex*, or as *Cambden* thinks, by *Colebrooke*, were besieged there by *Alfred* till Provision fail'd the Besiegers, another part staid behind with the King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the Siege in *Colney*, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *East-Angles*, and with a Hundred Ships coasting Southward, landed in *Devonshire*, and besieged *Exeter*; thither *Alfred* hasten'd with his Powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: With whom the Citizens marching forth to ** Beamflet*, where *Haesten* the Dane had built a strong Fort, and left a Garrison, while he himself with the Main of his Army was enter'd far into the Country, luckily surprize the Fort, master the Garrison, make prey of all they find there; their Ships also they burnt or brought away with good Booty, and many Prisoners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of *Haesten* were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at Liberty. Whereupon *Haesten* gave Oath of

Amity and Hostages to the King, he in requital, whether freely, or by Agreement, a Sum of Money. Nevertheless without regard of Faith given, while *Alfred* was busied about *Exeter*, joyning with the other *Danish* Army, he built another Castle in *Essex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Westward by the *Thames*, aided with *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglish* *Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in their way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth*, the King's Captains, with united Forces[†] pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttington*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomeryshire*, the River running between, and there many Weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes*, who besieged *Exeter*, having eaten part of their Horses, the rest urg'd with Hunger broke forth to their Fellows, who lay encamp'd on the East-side of the River, and were all there discomfited, with some Loss of valiant Men on the King's Party; the rest fled back to *Essex* and their Fortrefs there. Then *Laf*, one of their Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglish* *Danes*, who leaving their Money, Ships and Wives with the *East-Angles*, and marching Day and Night, sat down before a City in the West call'd^g *Wirbeal* near to *Chester*, and took it ere they could be overtaken. The *English* after two Days Siege, hopeless to dislodge them, wasted the Country round to cut off from them all Provision, and departed. Soon after which, next Year the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirbeal*, destitute of Victuals, enter'd *North-Wales*; thence laden with Spoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *East-Angles* as far as *Essex*, where they seiz'd on a small Island call'd *Me-Merseyrefig*. And here again the Annals record them to besiege *Exeter*, but without Coherence of Sense or Story. Others relate to this purpose, that returning by Sea from the Siege of *Exeter*, and in their way landing on the Coast of *Sussex*, they of *Chichester* fallied out, and slew of them many Hundreds, taking also some of their Ships. The same Year they who possess'd *Meresfig*, intending to winter thereabout, drew up their Ships, some into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank thereof built a Castle twenty Miles from *London*; to assault which the *Londoners* aided with other Forces march'd out the Summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the King's Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that these four were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: But little Credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single. For the King thereupon with his Forces, lay encamp'd nearer the City, that the *Danes* might not infest them in time of Harvest; in the mean time, subtly devising to turn *Lee* Stream several ways; whereby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry Ground: Which they soon perceiving march'd over Land to *Quatbrig*^h on the *Severn*, built a Fortrefs and winter'd there; while their Ships left in *Lee*, were either broken or brought away by the *Londoners*; but their Wives and Children they had left in Safety with the *East-Angles*. The next Year was pestilent,

^a Not that in *Kent*, but that which runs by *Harwich* in *Essex*.

^b In the Year 886. 'tis said *Alfred* founded the University of *Oxford*, and in the next, he held that great Council wherein all the Laws were made that go under his Name. *Cambd. Spelm.*

^c In 885. Mr. *Milton* says the *Danes* invaded *England*, and in 893. they came again; so there cou'd be but 8 Years Peace.

^d The Mouth of this River then ran into the Sea near *Rumney*, but 'tis now turn'd.

^e The Weald of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and the Wood-land part of *Hampshire*.

^f Mr. *Cambden* writes, that the Battel of *Farnham* was fought in the Year 893. *Brit. Tit. Surrey.*

^g Mr. *Milton* mistakes the Name of the Country for that of the City. *H. Huntingdon* says 'twas a certain City in *Werbeal* call'd *Legacester*, now *Chester*, and the Country that runs into the Sea to the N. W. is by Mr. *Cambden* call'd *Wirrall*. *Brit. Tit. Cheshire.*

^h This is most like to be *Bridgenorth* in *Shropshire*. For what Reasons, see the Gloss to the *Saxon Chronicle*, under the Title of *Cwathrigge*. Suppos'd by others to be *Cambridge*, in *Gloucestershire*, now a Village situated on the River *Cam*, where it falls into the *Severn*.

A. D. 897. and besides the common sort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Britbulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this Evil, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy Oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own Invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirates, who had done much harin in the Isle of *Wight* and Parts adjoining. The Bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the Water, part on the Sands; not without Loss of some Eminent Men on the *English* side. The Pirates at length were either slain or taken, two of them stranded; the Men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his Command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her Men much wounded: The same Year not fewer than twenty of their Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all their Men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* landing here, as *Mat. West.* writes, though not in what part of the Island, after an unsuccessful Fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into *France*, and conquer'd the Country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the Sum of what pass'd in three Years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexedly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-gifted with Utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spoken, whether meant of the *Danes* or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three Years of Peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all vertuous Employments both of Mind and Body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his Days in the Year 900, the 51 of his Age, the 20th of his Reign, and was buried Regally at *Winchester*; he was born * at a Place call'd † *Wanadring* in *Berkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oslac* the King's Cup-bearer, a * *Goth* by Nation, and of Noble Descent. He was of Person comelier than all his Brethren, of pleasing Tongue and graceful Behaviour, ready Wit and Memory; yet through the Fondness of his Parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth Year of his Age; but the great Desire of Learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems Day and Night, which with great Attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in Devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his Bosom to use on all Occasions. He thirsted after all Liberal Knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little Vacancy from Wars, and the Cares of his Kingdom; yet leisure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his People, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boetius*, *Bede's* History, and others, permitted none unlearn'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth; at twenty Years of Age not yet Reigning, he took to Wife *Egelswitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The Extremities which beset him in the sixth of his Reign, *Neo-*

than Abbot told him, were justly come upon A. D. him for neglecting in his younger Days the 900. Complaints of such as injur'd and oppress'd repair'd to him, as then second Person in the Kingdom for Redress; which Neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a Youth, through Jollity of Mind, unwilling perhaps to be detain'd long with sad and sorrowful Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking Regal Charge, no Man more patient in hearing Causes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing Justice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more severe in punishing unjust Judges or obstinate Offenders. Thieves especially and Robbers, to the Terror of whom in cross ways were hung upon a high Post certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; so that Justice seem'd in his Days not to flourish only, but to triumph: No Man than he more frugal of two precious things in Man's Life, his Time and his Revenue; no Man wiser in the Disposal of both. His Time, the Day and Night he distributed by the burning of certain Tapers into three equal Portions: The one was for Devotion, the other for publick or private Affairs, the third for bodily Refreshment: How each Hour past, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole Annual Revenue, which his first Care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal Parts; the first he employ'd to secular Uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his Soldiers, Household Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended Monthly by turn; the second was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of several Nations; for he was also an Elegant Builder; above the Custom and Conceit of *Englishmen* in those Days: The third he had in Readiness to relieve or honour Strangers according to their Worth, who came from all Parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal Part of his Yearly Wealth he dedicated to Religious Uses, those of four sorts; the first to relieve the Poor, the second to Building and Maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study Sacred Knowledge and Liberal Arts, ^b some say at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the Relief of Foreign Churches, as far as *India* to the Shrine of *St. Thomas*, sending thither *Sigelm* Bishop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; Gifts also, and a Letter he receiv'd from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sent many to *Rome*, and for them receiv'd Reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his Noble Mind, which render'd him the Mirror of Princes; his Body was diseas'd in his Youth with a great Soreness in the Siege, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward Pain of unknown Cause, which held him by frequent Fits to his dying Day; yet not disinabl'd to sustain those many glorious Labours of his Life both in Peace and War.

EDWARD the Elder.

EDward the Son of *Alfred* succeeded, in Learning not equal, in Power and Extent of Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning of his Reign had much Disturbance by *Ethelwald*

* A *Saxon* Lord descended from *Withgar* first Prince of the Isle of *Wight*.

^b The Truth of it is so clearly made out by several Authors, that he had no reason to mention it so suspiciously.

A. D. 901. an ambitious young Man, Son of the King's Uncle, or Cousin German, or Brother, for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He vainly avouching to have equal Right with *Edward* of Succession to the Crown, possess'd himself of *Winburne* in *Dorset*, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompass'd with the King's Forces at *Badbury*, a Place nigh, his Heart failing him, he stole out by Night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back thither^a. About this time the *Kentish* Men, against a Multitude of *Danish* Pirates, fought prosperously at a Place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records, *Ethelwald* aided by the *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three Years after, failing to the *East-Angles*, perswaded the *Danes* there to fall into the King's Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and passing the *Thames* there, waisted as far beyond as they durst venture, and laden with Spoils return'd home. The King with his Powers making Speed after them, between the ^b *Dike* and *Onse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, as far as the Fens Northward, laid waste all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanding that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the *Kentish* Men, though often call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and join'd Battle with the King: Where Duke *Sigulf* and Earl *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were slain; on the *Danes* part, *Eorik* their King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high Note, and of them greater Number, but with great Ruine on both sides; yet the *Danes* kept in their Power the burying of their slain. Whatever followed upon this Conflict, which we read not, the King two Years after with the *Danes*, both of *East-Angles*, and *Northumberland* concluded Peace, which continu'd three Years, by whomsoever broken; for at the end thereof King *Edward* raising great Forces out of *West-Sex*, and *Mercia*, sent them against the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where staying five Weeks, they made great Spoil and Slaughter. The King offer'd them Terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, enter'd with the next Year into *Mercia*, rendring no less Hostility than they had suffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, saith *Florent*, were by the *English* in a set Battel otherthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a Hundred Sail, others gone Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now supposing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took Liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of Prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King guessing what might embolden them, sent before him the lightest of his Army to entertain them; then following with the rest, set upon them in their return over *Cantbrig* in *Gloucestershire*, and slew many Thousands, among whom *Ecwils*, *Hafden*, and *Hinguar* their Kings, and many other harsh Names in *Huntingdon*; the Place also of this Fight is variously written by

Ethelwerd and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfield*. The Year following *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, to whom *Alfred* had given *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward* resum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoining, into his own hands, and the Year after, built, or much repair'd by his Soldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either side *Lee*, and leaving a sufficient Number at the Work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into *Essex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Soldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Country, subject formerly to the *Danes*, yielded themselves to his Protection. Four Years after (*Florent* allows but one Year) the *Danes* from *Leister* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordshire*, committed much Rapine, and in some Towns thereof great Slaughter; while another Party waisting *Hertfordshire*, met with other Fortune; for the Country-people inur'd now to such kind of Incurfions, joining stoutly together, fell upon the Spoilers, recover'd their own Goods, with some Booty from their Enemies. About the same time *Elsed* the King's Sister sent her Army of *Mercians* into *Wales*, who routed the *Welch*, took the Castle of ^a *Brecenam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and brought away the King's Wife of that Country, with other Prisoners. Not long after she took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Castle by a sharp Assault. But the Year ensuing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under two Leaders, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the Lands End, came up to the Mouth of *Severn*; there landing waisted the *Welch* Coast, and *Irebenfield* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuteleac* a *British* Bishop, for whose Ransome King *Edward* gave forty Pound, but the Men of *Hereford* and *Glocestershire* assembling, put them to flight; slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, pursu'd them to a Wood, and there beset, compell'd them to give Hostages of present Departure. The King with his Army far not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that openly they durst not, by Night they twice ventur'd to land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchor'd by a small Island where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a Place call'd *Deomied*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a Month, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Onse* ere his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Danish* Leader, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yielded him Subjection. Whereupon the next Year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took Possession thereof, staid there a Month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Onse*. Thence the Year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having small hope to thrive here, where things with such Prudence were manag'd against his Interest, got leave of the King, with as many Voluntaries as would follow him, to pass in to *France*. Early the next Year King *Edward* re-edifi'd *Tovecheester*, now *Torchester*; and ano-

^a *Ran Higden*, in his *Polychron*, says he took her out of the Monastery of *Winburne*, and went away with her to the *Danes*.

^b The *Devil's Ditch*, which formerly divided the Kingdoms of the *Mercians*, and the *East-Angles*.

^c The next Year 914. the *Danes* committed great Outrages in *Buckinghamshire* about *Bernwood*, and destroy'd an ancient Roman Burgh, which stood where now *Briel* stands.

^d *Brecenannmere* is the right Name: In English *Brecknock Mere*.

^e Where they besieg'd an Island, which *Florent* of *Worcester* calls *Reoric*, suppos'd to be *Stepholm*; and when they had taken it, were almost starv'd with Hunger. This Island is now of no Use nor Defence, yielding nothing fit for Humane Nourishment: It lies about two Leagues from the Shoar, over-against *Uphill* in *Somersetshire*.

^f *Deomod* the *Saxon* Annals call it. 'Tis no particular Place, but a Country; the same which the Ancients call'd *Demeta*, including *Carmarthenshire*, *Pembrokeshire*, and *Cardiganshire*.

A. D. 921. ther City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leister* and *Northampton-shire*; not liking perhaps to be Neighbour'd with strong Towns, laid Siege to *Torchester*, but they within, repelling the Assault one whole Day till Supplies came, quitted the Siege by Night; and pursu'd close by the besieged, between *Birnwood*^a and *Ailbury* were surpriz'd, many of them made Prisoners, and much of their Baggage lost. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *East-Angles*, finding that Castle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*, judging that Place more opportune from whence to make their Excursions; and soon after went forth with design to assail *Bedford*: But the Garrison issuing out, slew a great part of them, the rest fled. After this, a great Army of them gather'd out of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, came and besieg'd the City call'd *Wigingmere* a whole Day; but finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving away much of their Cattel: Whereupon the *English*, from Towns and Cities round about joining Forces, laid Siege to the Town and Castle of *Temsford*, and by Assault took both; slew their King with *Togla* a Duke, and *Mannan* his Son an Earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather than yield. Encourag'd by this, the Men of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Essex*, enterprize the Siege of *Colchester*, nor gave over till they won it, sack'd the Town, and putting to Sword all the *Danes* therein, except some who escap'd over the Wall. To the Succour of these, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *East-Angles*, united their Forces; but coming too late, as in Revenge beleagu'd *Maldon*; but that Town also timely reliev'd, they departed, not only frustrate of their Design, but so hotly pursu'd, that many Thousands of them lost their Lives in the Flight. Forthwith King *Edward*, with his *West-Saxons*, went to *Passham* upon *Ouse*, there to guard the Passage, while others were building a Stone Wall about *Torchester*; to him the Earl *Thurfert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with their Army thereabout as far as *Woolud*, came and submitted. Whereat the King's Soldiers joyfully cry'd out to be dismiss'd home: Therefore with another part of them he enter'd *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where Breaches had been made; all the People thereabout returning to Obedience. The like was done at *Colchester* by the next remove of his Army, after which both *East* and *West-Angles*, and the *Danish* Forces among them, yielded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: The Army also of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, surrendering themselves took the same Oath. The Summer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built a Castle there on the South-side of the River, where all the People of those Quarters acknowledg'd him Supream. During his abode there, *Elfred* his Sister a Martial Woman, who after her Husband's Death would no more marry, but gave her self to Publick Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring sometimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the chief Seat of *Mercia*, whereof by Gift of *Alfred* her Father, she was Lady or Queen; whereby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did also *North-Wales*, with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*,

and *Jeothwell* their Kings. Thence passing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part *English*, part *Danes*, and receiv'd Fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheeshire*, he built and fortify'd *Thelwel*; and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he sent to repair and fortify *Manchester*. About Mid-summer following, he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over-against it on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridge joyn'd them both; thence journeyed to a Place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Pisland*; there also built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him Honour as to his Sovereign, together with the whole *Scotish* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, *Danish* Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both *English* and *Danes*. The King also of a People thereabout call'd *Streagledwalli* (the *North-Welch*, as *Cambden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbigh-shire*, perhaps rather the *British* of *Cumberland*) did him Homage, and not undeserv'd. For *Buchanan* himself confesses, that this King *Edward*, with a small number of Men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole United Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, slew most of the *Scotish* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolm*, whom *Constantine* the *Scotish* King had made General, and design'd Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight, fore wounded. Of the *English*, he makes *Arhelstan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and so far seems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the same with that fought by *Arhelstan*, about twenty four Years after at *Bruneford*, against *Anlaf* and *Constantine*, whereof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occasion to inveigh against the *English* Writers, upbraiding them with Ignorance, who affirm *Arhelstan* to have been Supream King of *Britain*, *Constantine* the *Scotish* King with others to have held of him; and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Sirname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotish* Affairs, till the time of King *Dunbad* slain by *Macbetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the Year 1040. which gives Cause of Suspicion, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to their own Country-man, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the Year following dy'd at *Farendon*; a Builder and Restorer even in War, not a Destroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives many Children; his Eldest Daughter *Edgith*, he gave in Marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grand-child of *Charles* the *Bald* above mention'd; of the rest in Place convenient. His Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at *Winchester*, in the Monastery by *Alfred* his Father. And a few Days after him dy'd *Ethelwerd* his Eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Island in Subjection, yet so as petty Kings reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had set up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under their Yoke, at the end of six Years had expell'd, one *Ricfig* was set up King, and

Wigmore in Hereford-shire.

In Northamptonshire.

922. Sax. An.

A. D.

922.

922.

Sax. An.

924.

Sax. An.

The Scots King do Homage to King Edward.

Buch. l. 6.

Buch. l. 6.

925.

Sax. An.

In Berkshire.

Huntingd.

Mat. Weji.

* At Oxford.

Sim. Dun.

^a Forest of *Bernwood*. See *Kennet's Paroch. Antiquities of Ambrosden*, &c.

^b This is an Error which has been handed down to our Historians by *Marianus*, who mistook the *Saxon* Annals. These do not tell us, that King *Edward* repair'd *Manchester*, but that he repair'd many ceapen, i. e. *Many Cities*: Which is certainly the Sense of the Place.

^c The *Cottonian* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals relate, that he went from *Nottingham* into *Peakland*, the *Peak* in *Darbyshire*, and thence to *Bedecanwell*, suppos'd to be *Bakewell* in that County.

A. D. bore the Name three Years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Gutbred*; the latter if we believe Legends, of a Servant made King by Command of *St. Cudbert*, in a Vision; and enjoy'd by another Vision of the same Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monastery. But now to the Story.

ATHELSTAN.

926. *A*thelstan next in Age to *Ethelward* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few Days before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great Appearance of many Vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne, at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, and by his Father's last Will, faith *Malmfbury*, yet not without some Opposition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not liking he should reign, had conspir'd to seize on him after his Father's Death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conspiratours discover'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was sent to *Rome*, to assert his Innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediately, and carried out by his Servants, three Days after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes*, though much aw'd were not idle. *Inguald*, one of their Kings, took Possession of *York*. *Sitric*, who some Years before had slain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheshire*; and however he defended these Doings, grew so considerable, that *Athelstan* with great Solemnity gave him his Sister *Edgith* to Wife: But he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere the Year's end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Guthfert* the Kingdom, driven out the next Year by *Athelstan*; not unjustly faith *Huntingdon*, as being first Raisers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a *British* King, whom *Athelstan* this Year drove out of his Kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the Name and Time not much differing, the Place only mistaken. *Malmfbury* differs in the Name also, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them also I wish as much mistaken, who write that *Athelstan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin*'s towardly Vertues, left added to the Right of Birth, they might some time or other call in question his illegitimate Precedence, caus'd him to be drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, some say, with one Servant in a rotten Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the Youth far off Land, and in rough Weather despairing, threw himself over-board; the Servant more patient, got to Land † and reported the Success. But this *Malmfbury* confesses to be sung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: And *Huntingdon* speaks as of a sad Accident to *Athelstan*, that he lost his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelstan*, as is written by all, tenderly lov'd, and bred up the rest of his Brethren, of whom he had no less Cause to be jealous. And the Year following he prosper'd better than from so foul a Fact, passing into *Scotland* with great Puissance, both by Sea and Land, and chasing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeoder*, and *Wertermore*, by Sea as far as *Catbness*. The Cause of this Expedition, faith *Malmfbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thither fled, though not deny'd at length by *Constantine*, who

with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a Place A. D. call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, surrender'd 934. himself and each his Kingdom to *Athelstan*, who brought back with him for Hostage the Son of *Constantine*. But *Gudfert* escaping in the mean *Florent*. while out of *Scotland*, and *Constantine* exasperated by this Invasion, perswaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* *Florent*. King of *Ireland* and the *Isles*, his Son-in-Law, with *Sim. Dun.* 615 Ships, and the King of *Cumberland* with other Forces, to his Aid. This within four Years effected, 928. they enter'd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Sax. An.* *Athelstan* at a Place call'd *Wendune*, others term it *Malmfb.* * *Brunanburg*, others *Bruneford*, which *Ingulf* places beyond *Humber*, *Cambden* in *Glendale* of *Nor-* * *Bromwig* in the County of *Northumb-* *thumberland* on the *Scotch* Borders; the bloodiest *berland*. Fight, say Authors, that ever this Island saw, to describe which, the *Saxon* Annalist went to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another Writer, now labouring under the Weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on a sudden into such extravagant Fancies and Metaphors, as bear him quite beside the Scope of being understood. *Huntingdon*, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a Pastime to his Readers. I shall only sum up what I can attain, in usual Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from Morning till Night; some fell of King *Edward*'s old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other side great Multitudes, the rest fled to their Ships. Five Kings, and seven of *Anlaf*'s Chief Captains were slain on the Place, with *Froda* a *Norman* Leader; *Constantine* escap'd home, but lost his Son in the Fight, if I understand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a small remainder of his great Host. *Malmfbury* relates this War, adding many Circumstances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joyning with *Constantine* and the whole Power of *Scotland*, besides those which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelstan* who had retir'd on set purpose to be the surer of his Enemies, enclosed from all Succour and Retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceiving the Valour and Resolution of *Athelstan*, and mistrusting his own Forces though numerous, resolv'd first to spy in what Posture his Enemies lay: And imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the Habit of a Musician, got access by his Lute and Voice to the King's Tent, there playing both the Minstrel and the Spy: Then towards Evening dismiss'd, he was observ'd by one who had been his Soldier and well knew him, viewing earnestly the King's Tent, and what Approaches lay about it, then in the Twilight to depart. The Soldier forthwith acquaints the King, and by him blamed for letting go his Enemy, answer'd, that he had given first his Military Oath to *Anlaf*, whom if he had betray'd, the King might suspect him of like treasonous Mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good distance off; and so done, it happen'd that a Bishop with his Retinue coming that Night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent in the same Place, from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by Night, as he had design'd to assault the Camp, and especially the King's Tent, finding there the Bishop in stead, slew him with all his Followers. *Athelstan* took the Alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that

* He was crown'd by *Athelm* Bishop of *Canterbury*, on a Scaffold erected for that purpose, in the midst of the Town.

† What he calls extravagant Fancies, is nothing but a Passage in Imitation of *Cadmon*'s Verse, which was the Standard of Poetry among the Saxons. This *Cadmon*, says *Mr. Cambden* in his Remains, about the Year 680. became so Divine a Poet in our English Tongue, that with his sweet Verses he withdrew many from Vice to Virtue.

A. D. 928. the Day now appearing, he put his Men in order, and maintain'd the Fight till Evening; wherein *Constantine* himself was slain with five other King's, and twelve Earls, the Annals were content with seven, in the rest not disagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland*, from the Authority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: That *Atbelstan*, above a Mile distant from the Place where Execution was done upon the Bishop and his Supplies, alarm'd at the Noise, came down by break of Day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch'd and wearied now with the Slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, consisting most of *West-Saxons*, against *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Irisb*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* against *Constantine* and his *Scots*. The Shower of Arrows and Darts over-pass'd, both Battels attack'd each other with a close and terrible Engagement, for a long space neither side giving Ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul* a Man of great Stature and Strength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of select Valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worstershire* Men, a Captain of undaunted Courage, broke into the thickest, making his way first through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Constantine* himself fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending their King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the Goodness of his Armour well endur'd, he had yet been beaten down, had not *Singin* his faithful Second at the same time slain *Constantine*; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, whereof a huge Multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving Worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own Cost he had repair'd from *Danish* Ruins, and left there this Memorial of his former Actions. *Atbelstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more ease vanquish'd *Ludwal* the King, and possess'd his Land. But *Malmfbury* writes, that commiserating humane Chance, as he displac'd, so he restor'd both him and *Constantine* to their Regal State; for the surrender of King *Constantine* hath been above spoken of. However the *Welch* did him Homage at the City of *Hereford*, and covenanted Yearly Payment of Gold 20 Pound, of Silver 300, of Oxen 25 thousand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took *Exeter* from the *Cornish Britains*, who till that time had equal Right there with the *English*, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *British* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and near, three Years after he dy'd at *Gloster*, and was buried with many Trophies at *Malmfbury*, where he had caus'd to be laid his two Cofin Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelstan*, both slain in the Battel against *Anlaf*. He was thirty Years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in Wisdom from his Childhood, comely of Person and Behaviour; so that *Alfred* his Grandfather in Blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child into Soldiers Habit. He had his Breeding in the Court of *Elfred* his Aunt, of whose Vertues more than Female we have related, sufficient to evince that his Mother, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of Parentage and Worth, as the Royal Line disdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmfbury's* Days (for it seems he refus'd not the Authority of

941.
Sax. An.
Malmfb.
Ingulf.

Ballads for want of better) that his Mother was A. D. 941. a Farmer's Daughter, but of excellent Feature; who dreamt one Night she brought forth a Moon that should enlighten the whole Land: Which the King's Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one Day to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damsel, lik'd her, and by earnest Suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Atbelstan*, a bounteous, just and affable King, as *Malmfbury* sets him forth; nor less honour'd abroad by Foreign Kings, who sought his Friendship by great Gifts or Affinity; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* sent him a Ship, whose Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other Golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place so far from such Superfluity of Wealth, the other from all Sea: The Embassadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *Tork*. His Sisters he gave in Marriage to greatest Princes, *Elgif* to *Orbo* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdiib* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, sprung of *Charles* the Great, *Etbilda* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who sent *Aldulf* Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all these great Suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of *France* came rich Presents, Horses of excellent Breed, gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of Onyx, and other precious things, which I leave Poetically describ'd in *Malmfbury*, taken, as he confesses, out of an old Versifier, some of whose Verses he recites. The only Blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother *Edwin*, who disavow'd by Oath the Treason whereof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath been said, which add also that *Atbelstan*, his Anger over, soon repent-ed of the Fact, and put to Death his Cup-bearer, who had induc'd him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearer's own Mouth, who slipping one Day as he bore the King's Cup, and recovering himself on the other Leg, said aloud, fatally as to him it proved, one Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to Heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the Adviser of that Fact, took on him seven Years Penance, and as *Mar. West.* faith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this Day.

EDMUND.

Edmund not above eighteen Years old succeed-ed his Brother *Atbelstan*, in Courage not inferior. For in the second of his Reign he freed *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leister*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it seems gave not good Proof of their Fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* setting forth from *Tork*, and having wasted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leister*; but that e're the Battels joyn'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulstan* the two Arch-bishops, with Conversion of *Anlaf*; for the same Year *Edmund* receiv'd at the Font-stone this or another *Anlaf*, as faith *Huntingdon*, not him spoken of before, who dy'd this Year (so uncertain they are in the Story of these Times also) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Bishop

942.
Sax. An.

A. D. 942. Bishop confirm'd him: Their Limits were divided North and South by *Watling-street*. But spiritual Kindred little avail'd to keep Peace between them, whoever gave the Cause; for we read him two Years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now first call the Son of *Sivric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into Subjection. *Edmund* the next Year harra's'd *Cumberland*, then gave it to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. West.* adds that in this Action *Edmund* had the Aid of *Leolin* Prince of *North-Wales*, against *Dummail* the *Cumbrian* King, him depriving of his Kingdom, and his two Sons of their Sight. But the Year after, he himself by strange Accident came to an untimely Death, feasting with his Nobles on *St. Austin's Day* at *Puckle-kerke* in *Glostershire*, to celebrate the Memory of his first converting the *Saxons*. He spy'd *Leof* a noted Thief, whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guests; whereat transported with too much Vehemence of Spirit, though in a just Cause, rising from the Table he ran upon the Thief, and catching his Hair, pull'd him to the Ground. The Thief who doubted from such handling no less than his Death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a short Dagger struck the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such Assassination, mortally into the Breast. The Matter was done in a Moment, ere Men set at Table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till perceiving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the Murderer and hew'd him to pieces; who like a wild Beast at abbay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The King was buried at *Glaston*, whereof *Dunstan* was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings.

EDRED.

948. *Edred* the third Brother of *Athelstan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predecessors, and crown'd at *Kingston*. *Northumberland* he thoroughly subdu'd, the *Scots* without Refusal swore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtful Faith, soon after chose to themselves one *Eric*, a *Dane*. *Huntingdon* still haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have been rid) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and reign four Years, then again put to his shifts. But *Edred* entering into *Northumberland*, and with Spoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his Rear. *Edred* turning about, both shook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a second Inroad: Which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, slew *Amanus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many Presents appeasing *Edred*, submitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Osulf* was the first. 950. *Sim. Dun.* About this time *Wulstan* Arch-bishop of *York*, accus'd to have slain certain Men of *Tberford*, in revenge of their Abbot whom the Towns-men had slain, was committed by the King to close Custody; but soon after enlarg'd, was restor'd to his Place. *Malmibury* writes that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the Revolt of his Coun-

trymen: But King *Edred* two Years after sickning in the Flower of his Youth, dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Winchester*. A. D. 957. *Sim. Dun.*

EDWI.

Edwi the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age, after his Uncle *Edred's* Death took on him the Government, and was crown'd at *Kingston*. His lovely Person firnamed him the *Fair*, his Actions are diversly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmibury* and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married or kept as Concubine, his near Kinswoman, some say both her and her Daughter; so inordinately given to his Pleasure, that on the very Day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Consultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiwa*, so was her Name, who had such Power over him. Whereat his Barons offended, sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest among them, to request his return: He going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his Dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the hand, between Force and Perswasion brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly displeas'd, and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent *Dunstan* into Banishment, caus'd his Monastery to be rifl'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Whereupon *Odo* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* pronounc'd a Separation or Divorce of the King from *Algiwa*. But that which most incited *William* of *Malmibury* against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt in by Secular Priests, or, to use his own Phrase, made it a Stable of Clerks; at length these Affronts done to the Church were so resented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *West-Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with Grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his Days, and was buried at *Winchester*. Mean while *Elfsin* Bishop of that Place after the Death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the same Year for his Pall, was frozen to Death in the *Alps*. 956. *Hoveden.* 957. *Sax. An.* 958. *Mat. West.*

EDGAR.

Edgar by his Brother's Death now King of all *England* at sixteen Years of Age, called home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no War all his Reign; yet always well prepar'd for War, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour and Prosperity, gaining thence the Sirname of *Peaceable*, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries; as some write, every Year one: For he much favour'd the Monks against secular Priests, who in the time of *Edwi* had got Possession in most of their Covents. His Care and Wisdom was great in guarding the Coast round with stout Ships, to the number of three thousand six hundred, *Mat. West.* reckons them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four Squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the Land meeting

* The *Laudean* Copy of the *Saxon Annals*, and *Ethelwerd* in his History, place the Death of King *Athelstane*, Anno 898.

A. D. 959. each other; the first of one thousand two hundred Sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fourth between North and South, himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of Strangers, and prevented Foreign War; but by their too frequent resort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in their Vices unaware. Thence the People, saith *Malmsbury*, learnt of the Outlandish Saxons Rudeness, of the Flemish Daintiness and Softness, of the Danes Drunkenness; though I doubt these Vices are as naturally home-bred here as in any of those Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring-time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see Justice well administered, and the poor not oppress'd. Thieves and Robbers he routed almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of Prey altogether; enjoying *Lutwiel* King of *Wales* to pay the Yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which he did for two Years together, till the third Year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the Cause he was not crown'd till the 30th of his Age, but then with great Splendour and Magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feast of *Pentecost*. This Year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142 Year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th in that Fenny and Watrith Air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next Year went to *Chester*, and summoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took Homage of them: Their Names are *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Maccuse* of the *Isles*, five of *Wales*, *Duswal*, *Huwel*, *Griffith*, *Jacob*, *Judethil*, these he had in such awe, that going one Day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each Man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himself sat at the Stern: Which might be, done in Merriment easily obey'd; it with a serious Brow, discover'd rather Vain-Glory, and insulting Haughtiness, than Moderation of Mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his Words then utter'd, That his Successors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had such Honour done them. And perhaps the Divine Power was displeas'd with him for taking too much Honour to himself; since we read that the Year following he was taken out of this Life by Sickness in the height of his Glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaston Abby*. The same Year, as *Mat. West.* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scotish* King, many rich Presents, and the whole Country of *Laudian*, or *Lothien*, to hold of him on condition that he and his Successors should repair to the *English* Court at high Festivals when the King sat crown'd; gave him also many lodging Places by the way, which till the Days of *Henry* the second were still held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of Body slender, yet so well made, that in Strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and dislik'd nothing more than that they should spare him for Respect or Fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, sitting one Day at Table was heard to say jestingly among his Servants, *He wonder'd how so many Provinces could be held in Subjection by such a little dapper Man*: His Words were brought to the King's Ear; he

fends for *Kened* as about some private Business, A. D. and in Talk drawing him forth to a secret Place, 975. takes from under his Garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now saith he, *It shall be try'd which ought to be the Subject; for it is shameful for a King to boast at Table, and shrink in Fight*. *Kened* much abash'd fell presently at his Feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spoken, no way intended to his Dishonour or Disparagement: Wherewith the King was satisfied. *Cambden* in his Description of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears, he had in Subjection all the Kingdoms of the *Isles* as far as *Norway*, and had subdu'd the greatest part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*: But of this other Writers make no mention. In his Youth having heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire*, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl *Arhelwold*, whose Loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answer'd report, to demand her in Marriage. He at the first view taken with her Presence, disloyally, as it often happens in such Employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary Commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the King's Mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Arhelwold* had forestall'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more spoken of, the King now heated not only with a Relapse of Love, but with a deep Sense of the Abuse, yet dissembling his Disturbance, pleasantly told the Earl, what Day he meant to come and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his Welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform her self, what she might, either in Dress or otherwise, lest the King, whose amorous Inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Arhelwold* had step'd between her and the King, against his coming Arrays her self richly, using whatever Art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her Love, the more for that he had been so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolv'd not only to recover his intercepted Right, but to punish the Interloper of his destin'd Spouse, and appointing with him as was usual, a Day of Hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd *Harewood*, smote him through with a Dart. Some censure this Act as cruel and tyrannical, but consider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no Man of sensible Spirit, but in his Place, without extraordinary Perfection, would have done the like: For next to Life, what worse Treason could have been committed against him? It chanc'd that the Earl's base Son coming by upon the Fact, the King sternly ask'd him, *How he lik'd this Game*; he submissly answering, *That whatsoever pleas'd the King, must not displease him*; the King return'd to his wonted Temper, took an Affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husband's Death, though therein she had no hand, cover'd the Place of his Bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Another Fault is laid to his Charge,

King Edgar row'd down the Dee by *Kened* King of *Scotland*, *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, *Maccuse* King of *Man* and the *Isles*, and five *Irish* and *Welsh* Kings.

A. D. 975. no way excusable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her Friends to avoid his Pursuit, and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not obstinately in the Offence; for sharply reprov'd by *Dunstan*, he submitted to seven Years Penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritten. Another Story there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel than a History; but as I find it in *Malmfbury*, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his Youth he abstain'd not from Women, and coming on a Day to *Andover*, caus'd a Duke's Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter should be so deflowr'd, at fit time of Night sent in her Attire, one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it seems not unhandsome nor unwitty; who supply'd the Place of her young Lady. Night pass'd, the Maid going to rise, but Day-light scarce yet appearing, was by the King ask'd why she made such haste, she answer'd, to do the Work which her Lady had set her; at which the King wondring, and with

much ado staying her to unfold the Riddle, for he took her to be the Duke's Daughter, she falling at his Feet besought him, that since at the Command of her Lady she came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in Remembrance to set her free from the hard Service of her Mistress. The King a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a Jest, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her, and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. These only are his faults upon Record, rather to be wonder'd how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at sixteen to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Vertues were so many and so mature, he dying before the Age wherein Wisdom can in others attain to any Ripeness: However with him dy'd all the *Saxon* Glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double Conquest, and the Causes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the Praises of their former Actions and Liberty well defended, shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another Book.

A. D. 275.

THE History of ENGLAND,

Continu'd to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

By Mr. JOHN MILTON. Book VI.

EDWARD the Younger.

Edward the Eldest Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfreda* his first Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to Right and his Father's Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his second Wife, and her Faction only repining, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred*, a Child of seven Years, prefer'd before him; that she under that Pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were seen in Heaven, portending not Famine only, which follow'd the next Year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to ensue. The Troubles begun in *Edwin's* Days, between Monks and Secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into Parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with Gifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in their stead put Secular Priests with their Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *East-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnot* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *East-Angles* from such Intruders. To appease these Tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Winchester*, and nothing

there concluded, a General Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Caln* in *Wiltshire*, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against *Dunstan*, the room wherein they sat fell upon their Heads, killing some, maiming others, *Dunstan* only escaping upon a Beam that fell not, and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This Accident quieted the Controversie, and brought both Parts to hold with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious Will of his Stepmother and her Son *Ethelred*: To whom she displeas'd that the Name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. *Edward* on a Day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his Attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his Mother lodg'd at *Corvesgate* (*Corfe* Castle, saith *Cambden*, in the Isle of *Purbeck*) innocently went thither. She with all shew of Kindness welcoming him, commanded Drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a Poignard. The poor Youth who little expected such Unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through

978.

Florent.
Sim. Dun.

Vol. I.

K

Loss

A. D. 978. Loss of Blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one Foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his Blood, and buried without Honour at *Werham*, having reigned about three Years: But the Place of his Burial not long after grew famous for Miracles. After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmfbury* saith, had a hand in his Death) he was Royally interr'd at *Skepton*, or *Shafsbury*. The Murtheress *Elfrida* at length repenting spent the residue of her Days in Sorrow and great Penance.

Malmfb.

ETHELRED.

979. *Ethelred* second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida*, (for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his Brother *Edward* wickedly remov'd, was now next in Right to succeed, and accordingly crown'd at *Kingstone*: Reported by some, fair of Visage, comely of Person, elegant of Behaviour; but the Event will shew, that with many sluggish and ignoble Vices he quickly sham'd his out-side; born and prolong'd a fatal Mischief of the People, and the Ruine of his Country; whereof he gave early Signs from his first Infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Bishop was baptizing him. Whereat *Dunstan* much troubl'd, for he stood by and saw it, to them next him broke into these words, *By God and God's Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard*. Another thing is written of him in his Childhood, which argu'd no bad Nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edward's* cruel Death, he made loud Lamentation; but his furious Mother offended therewith, and having no Rod at hand, beat him so with great Wax Candles, that he hated the Sight of them ever after. *Dunstan* though unwilling set the Crown upon his Head; but at the same time foretold openly, as is reported, the great Evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in Avengement of his Brother's innocent Blood. And about the same time, one Midnight, a Cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all *England*; and within three Years the *Danish* Tempest, which had long surceast, revolv'd again upon this Island. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Danish* History, at least their latest and diligentest Historian, as neither from the first landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *West-Saxon Birttric*, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more than enough to make out the bare Names and Successions of their uncertain Kings, and their small Actions at home: Unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own Annals; the surer, and the sadder Witnesses of their Doings here, not Glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly Barbarous. For the *Danes* well understanding, that *England* had now a slothful King to their Will, first landing at *Southampton* from seven great Ships, took the Town, spoiled the Country, and carried away with them great Pillage; nor was *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* uninfested on the Shoar; Pirates of *Norway* also harried the Coast of *West-Chester*: And to add a worse Calamity, the City of *London* was burnt, casually or not, is not written. It chanc'd four Years after, that *Ethelred* besieg'd *Rocheſter*, some way or other offended by the Bishop thereof. *Dunstan* not approving the Cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not *St. Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor waſt his Lands; an old Craft of the

979.

Malmfb.

Florent.

Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

982.

Malmfb.

Eadmer.

Florent.

Hoved.

Sim. Dun.

Hoved.

986.

Malmfb.

Ingulf.

Clergy to secure their Church-Lands, by entailing them on some Saint; the King not hearkning, *Dunstan* on this condition that the Siege might be rais'd, sent him a hundred Pound, the Money was accepted and the Siege dissolv'd. *Dunstan* reprehending his Avarice, sent him again this word, Because thou hast respected Money more than Religion, the Evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not in my Days, for so God hath spoken. The next Year was calamitous, bringing strange Fluxes upon Men, and Murrain upon Cattel. *Dunstan* the Year following dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zealous without dread of Person, and for ought appears, the best of many Ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King *Arbelftan*, and *Edmund* who succeeded, much employ'd in Court Affairs, till envied by some who laid many things to his Charge, he was by *Edmund* forbidden the Court, but by the earnest Mediation, saith *Ingulf*, of *Turkitel* the Chancellor, receiv'd at length to Favour, and made Abbot of *Glaston*, lastly by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Not long after his Death, the *Danes*, arriving in *Devonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the *Danes*, but with Loss of their own Lives. The third Year following, under the Conduct of *Justin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steytan*, they landed and spoil'd *Ipswich*, fought with *Brithnot* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Maldon*, where they slew him; the Slaughter else had been equal on both sides. These and the like Depredations on every side, the *English* not able to resist, by Counsel of *Siric* then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with their Iron: And ten thousand Pound was paid to the *Danes* for Tribute Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. The next Year but one they took by Storm and rifl'd *Bebbanburgh* an ancient City nigh *Durham*: Sailing thence into the Mouth of *Humber*, they waſted both sides thereof, *Yorkshire* and *Lindſey*, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Fraena*, *Fritbegift*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Father's side, willingly began Flight, and forsook their own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less Treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, whom the King for some Offence had banish'd, but now recall'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprize the *Danes*, in some Place of Disadvantage, gave them over-night Intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, saith *Florent*, perceiving, pursu'd, took the Ship, but mis'd of his Person; the *Londoners* by chance grappling with the *East-Angles* made them fewer, saith my Author, by many thousands. Others say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only escap'd, but with a great Fleet set upon the *English*, took many of their Ships, and in Triumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to besiege *London*: For *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*, at the head of these, came with ninety four Gallies. The King for this Treason of *Alfric*, put out his Son's Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and Water, so valiantly resisted their Besieges, that they were forc'd in one Day with great Loss to give over.

A. D.

986.

987.

Malmfb.

988.

Malmfb.

991.

Sim. Dun.

Tribute

first paid to

the *Danes*.

992.

Sim. Dun.

Florent.

Huntingd.

994.

Sim. Dun.

* This seems to be a Monkish Fable, copy'd from the Story of *Constantine* the VIth Emperour of *Constantinople*, who is said to have done so, and was thence called *Copronymus*.

† Then Bishop of *Worcester*.

A. D. 994. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, waſting with Sword and Fire all *Esſex*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*. Thence horſing their Foot, diffuſ'd far wider their outrageous Incurſions, without Mercy either to Sex or Age. The ſlothful King inſtead of Warlike Oppoſition in the Field, ſends Embaſſadors to treat about another Payment; the Sum promis'd was now 16000; till which paid, the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviting *Anlaf* to come and viſit him at *Andover*: Where he was Royally entertain'd, ſome ſay baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and diſmiſs'd, with great Preſents, promiſing by Oath to depart, and moleſt the Kingdom no more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not ſo, for after ſome Intermiſſion of their Rage for three Years, the other Navy of *Danes* ſailing about to the Weſt, enter'd *Severn*, and waſted one while *South-Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, till at length they winter'd about *Tauiſtoc*. For it were an endleſs Work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular Place, and to repeat as oft what Devaſtations they wrought, what Deſolations left behind them, eaſie to be imagin'd. In Sum, the next Year they afflicted *Dorſetſhire*, *Hamſhire*, and the Iſle of *Wight*; by the *Engliſh* many Reſolutions were taken, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the Falſhood, or diſcourag'd by the Weakneſs of their Leaders, they were put to rout, or diſbanded themſelves. For Soldiers moſt commonly are as their Commanders, without much odds of Valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or leſs wiſely diſciplin'd and conducted. The following Year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and beſieg'd *Rochefter*; but the *Kentiſh* Men aſſembling, gave them a ſharp Encounter, yet that ſuffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other Places. Againſt theſe Depopulations, the King leavied an Army; but the unſkilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burthening and impoveriſhing the People, conſuming the publick Treafure, and more emboldening the Enemy, than if they had ſat quiet at home. What Cauſe mov'd the *Danes* next Year to paſs into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outrageous than before. Mean while the King, to make ſome Diſverſion, undertakes an Expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were moſt planted; there and in the Iſle of *Man*, or as *Cambden* ſaith, *Angleſey*, imitating his Enemies in ſpoiling and unpeopling; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in the River *Ex*, laid ſiege to *Exeter*; but the Citizens, as thoſe of *London*, valourouſly defending themſelves, they wreck'd their Anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Country People of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* aſſembling themſelves at *Penbo*, ſhew'd their readineſs, but wanted a Head; and beſides, being then but few in number, were eaſily put to flight; the Enemy plundering all at Will, with loaded Spoils paſs'd into the Iſle of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, felt again their Fury. The *Saxon* Annals write, that before their coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamſhire* Men had a bickering with them, wherein *Ethelward* the King's General was ſlain, adding other things hardly to be underſtood, and in one ancient Co-

py; ſo end. *Ethelred*, whom no Adverſity could awake from his ſoft and ſluggiſh Life, ſtill coming by the worſe at fighting, by the Advice of his Peers not unlike himſelf, ſends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loſtily, to ſtoop baſely and propoſe a third Tribute to the *Danes*: They willingly kearken, but the Sum is enhanc'd now to twenty four thouſand Pound, and paid; the *Danes* thereupon abſtaining from Hoſtility. But the King to ſtrengthen his Houſe by ſome Potent Affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had War or no good Correſpondence, as appears by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15th, who made Peace between them about eleven Years before; puſt up now with his ſuppos'd acceſs of Strength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes* all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one Day perfidiouſly to be maſſacred, both Men, Women and Children; ſending private Letters to every Town and City, whereby they might be ready all at the ſame Hour; which till the appointed time (being the 9th of *July*) was conceal'd with great Silence, and perform'd with much Unanimity; ſo generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. Weſt.* writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes* was ten Years after; that *Huna* one of *Ethelred's* Chief Captains, complaining of the *Daniſh* Infolencies in time of Peace, their Pride, their raviſhing of Matrons and Virgins, incited the King to this Maſſacre, which in the Madneſs of Rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among theſe, *Gumbildis* the Siſter of *Swane* was not ſpar'd, though much deſerving not Pity only, but all Protection: She with her Huſband *Earl Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receiving Chriſtianity, had her Huſband and young Son ſlain before her Face, her ſelf then beheaded; foretelling and denouncing that her Blood would coſt *England* dear. Some ſay this was done by the Traytor *Edric*, to whoſe Cuſtody ſhe was committed; but the Maſſacre was ſome Years before *Edric's* Advancement; and if it were done by him afterward, it ſeems to contradict the private Correſpondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing Revenge, haſted the next Year into *England*, and by the Treason or Negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonſhire*, ſack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from Eaſt to Weſt-gate, broken down: After this waſting *Wiltſhire*, the People of that County, and of *Hamſhire*, came together in great Numbers with Reſolution ſtoutly to oppoſe him, but *Alfric* their General, whoſe Son's Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himſelf on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he ſhould have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, feign'd himſelf taken with a Vomiting; whereby his Army in great Diſcontent, deſtitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy; who ſtreight took *Wilton* and *Salisbury*, carrying the Pillage thereof to his Ships. Thence the next Year landing on the Coaſt of *Norfolk*, he waſted the Country, and ſet *Norwich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, a Man of great Valour, not having ſpace to gather his Forces, after Conſultation had, thought it beſt to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three Weeks, iſſued ſilently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, ſtaid there a Night, and in the Mor-

^a Pen in *Somerſetſhire*, on the Borders of *Dorſetſhire*.

^b Old *Sarum*; for *Salisbury*, or *New Sarum*, was not built till the Reign of *Henry* the 3^d above 200 Years afterwards.

^c He came with his Fleet to *Norwich* up the River *Tare*, which was then Navigable.

A. D. 1004. ning left it flaming. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded some to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the mean while with what Secrecy and Speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a fierce Onset retreating to their Ships; but much inferior in number, many of the chief *East-Angles*, there lost their Lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great Slaughter of their own; confessing that they never met in *England* with so rough a Charge. The next Year, whom War could not, a great Famine drove *Swane* out of the Land. But the Summer following, another great Fleet of *Danes* enter'd the Port of *Sandwich*, thence pour'd out over all *Kent* and *Sussex*, made Prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *West-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; but they who held it safer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from Place to Place, frustrated the slow Motions of a heavy Camp, following their wonted Course of Robbery, then running to their Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the King's Army, which gone home to winter, they carried all their Pillage to the Isle of *Wight*, and there staid till *Christmas*; at which time the King being in *Shropshire*, and but ill employ'd (for by the Procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alfhelm* a Noble Duke, treacherously to be slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: Thence to *Abdune*, and other Places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable Pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making their way through, they got safe with vast Booty to their Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with their last Summer's jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpose, which by Proof they found too toilsome for their soft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourse to their last and only Remedy, their Coffers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable Peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty six thousand Pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk such easie Kine) in Name of Tribute and Expences: Which out of the People over all *England*, already half begger'd, was extorted and paid. About the same time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, surnam'd *Streon*, from obscure Condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the King's Daughter. The Cause of his Advancement, *Florent* of *Worster*, and *Mat. West*, attribute to his great Wealth, gotten by fine Policies and a plausible Tongue: He prov'd a main Accessory to the Ruine of *England*, as his Actions will soon declare. *Ethelred* the next Year somewhat rousing himself, ordain'd that every three hundred and ten Hides (a Hide is so much Land as one Plow can sufficiently till) should set out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corset and Head-piece: New Ships in every Port were builded, victual'd, fraught with stout Mariners and Soldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A Man might now think that all would go well, when suddenly a new Mischiefe sprung up, Dissention among the great ones; which brought all this Diligence to as little Success as at other times before. *Bitbric* the Brother of *Edric*, falsely accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer set over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the Potency of his Enemies, with twenty Ships got to Sea, and practis'd Piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a Place where he might be easily surpriz'd, *Bitbric* sets forth with eighty Ships, all which driven back by a Tempest, and wrack'd upon the Shoar, were burnt soon after by *Wulnoth*. Dishearten'd with this Misfortune, the King returns to *London*; the rest of his Navy after him; and all this great Preparation to nothing. Whereupon *Turkill*, a *Danish* Earl, came with a Navy to the Isle of *Tanet*, and in *August* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* joyn'd with him. Thence coasting to *Sandwich*, and landed, they went onward and began to assault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and *East Kentish* Men, coming to Composition with them for three thousand Pound, they departed thence to the Isle of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in several Quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the *Danes* were not thereby hinder'd from exercising their wonted Robberies. It happen'd that the *Danes* one Day were gone up into the Country, far from their Ships, the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his Men were resolute to overcome or die, Time and Place advantageous; but where Courage and Fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with subtle Arguments that had a shew of deep Policy, disputed and perswaded the Simplicity of his Fellow Counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the *Danes* pass without Ambush or Interception. The *Danes* where they expected Danger, finding none, pass'd on with great Joy and Booty to their Ships. After this, sailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Essex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls'd as oft to their great Loss. Spring begun, leaving their Ships, they pass'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided Forces wait'd on both sides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army from *London* was march'd out against them, they on the North-side, passing the River at *Stanes*, join'd with them on the South into one Body, and, enrich'd with great Spoils, came back through *Surrey* to their Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Easter*, sailing to the *East-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipswich*, and came to a Place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketel* with his Forces lay, who with a sharp Encounter soon entertain'd them; but his Men at length giving back, through the Subtlety of a *Danish* Servant among them who began the Flight, lost the Field, though the Men of *Cambridge* stood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelstan* the King's Son-in-Law, with many other Noblemen, was slain; whereby the *Danes* without more Resistance, three Months together had the spoiling of those Countries and all the Fens, burnt *Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a Hilly Place not far off, called by *Huntingdon* *Balesham*, by *Cambden* *Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages thereabout they turn'd their Fury, slaying all they met save one Man, who getting up into a Steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole *Danish* Army. They therefore so leaving him, their Foot by Sea, their Horse by Land through *Essex*, return'd back laden to their Ships left in the

• The Hill Country of *Hertfordshire*, *Bucks*, and *Oxfordshire*; so call'd from *Chilt* or *Cyle*, in *Saxon* Chalk.

A. D. *Thames*. But many Days pass'd not between,
 1010. when falling again out of their Ships as out of
 ~~~~~ Savage Dens, they plunder'd over again all Ox-  
 Huntingd. fordshire, and added to their Prey *Buckingham*,  
*Bedford*, and *Hertfordshire*; then like wild Beasts  
 glutt'd, returning to their Caves. A third Ex-  
 cursion they made into *Northamptonshire*, burnt  
*Northampton*, ransacking the Country round;  
 then as to fresh Pasture betook them to the *West-*  
*Saxons*, and in like sort harra'sing all *Wiltshire*,  
 return'd, as I said before, like wild Beasts, or  
 rather Sea-monsters to their Water-stables, ac-  
 complishing by *Christmas* the Circuit of their  
 whole Years good Deeds; an unjust and inhu-  
 mane Nation, who receiving or not receiving  
 Tribute where none was owing them, made such  
 Destruction of Mankind, and Rapine of their  
 1011. Livelihood, as is a Misery to read. Yet here  
 Sim. Dun. they ceas'd not, for the next Year repeating the  
 same Cruelties on both sides the *Thames*, one  
 way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as  
*Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, sollicit'd again by  
 the King for Peace, and receiving their De-  
 mands both of Tribute and Contribution, they  
 slighted their Faith; and in the beginning of *Sep-*  
*tember* laid siege to *Canterbury*. On the 20th Day,  
 by the Treachery of *Almere* the Arch-deacon,  
 they took part of it and burnt it, committing  
 all sorts of Massacre as a Sport: Some they threw  
 over the Wall, others into the Fire, hung some  
 by the privy Members, Infants pulled from their  
 Mothers Breasts, were either to's'd on Spears, or  
 Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins  
 by the Hair dragg'd and ravi'sh'd. *Alfage* the  
 Eadmer. grave Arch-bishop, above others hated of the  
 Malm'b. *Danes*, as in all Counsels and Actions to his  
 Eadmer. Might their known Opposer, taken, wounded,  
 imprison'd in a noisome Ship; the Multitude are  
 1012. tith'd, and every tenth only spar'd. Early the  
 Sim. Dun. next Year before *Easter*, while *Ethelred* and his  
 Eadmer. Peers were assembl'd at *London*, to raise now the  
 fifth Tribute amounting to forty eight thousand  
 Pound, the *Danes* at *Canterbury* propose to the  
 Arch-bishop, who had been now seven Months  
 their Prisoner, Life and Liberty, if he pay  
 them three thousand Pound; which he refusing  
 as not able of himself, and not willing to extort  
 it from his Tenants, is permitted till the next  
*Sunday* to consider; then hal'd before their Coun-  
 cil, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and still refus-  
 ing, they rise most of them being drunk, and  
 beat him with the blunt side of their Axes, then  
 thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with Stones;  
 till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pitying him  
 half dead, to put him out of Pain, with a pi-  
 ous Impiety, at one Stroke of his Ax on the  
 Head dispatch'd him\*. His Body was carried to  
*London*, and there buried, thence afterward re-  
 mov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time the Tribute  
 paid and Peace so often violated sworn again by  
 the *Danes*, they dispers'd their Fleet; forty five  
 of them, and *Turkill* their Chief staid at *London*  
 with the King, swore him Allegiance to defend  
 his Land against all Strangers, on condition on-  
 ly to be fed and cloath'd by him. But this vo-  
 luntary Friendship of *Turkill* was thought to be  
 deceitful, that staying under this Pretence he  
 gave Intelligence to *Swane*, when it would be  
 1013. most seasonable to come. In *July* therefore of  
 Sim. Dun.

the next Year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sand-* A. D.  
*wich*, made no stay there, but sailing first to 1012.  
*Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landing and en-  
 camp'd at *Gainsborough*: Whither without delay  
 repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Urbred*  
 their Earl; those of *Lindsey* also, then those of  
*Fisburg*, and lastly all on the North of *Watling-*  
*street* (which is a High-way from East to West  
 Sea) gave Oath and Hostages to obey him.  
 From whom he commanded Horses and Provi-  
 sion for his Army, taking with him besides  
 Bands and Companies of their choicest Men;  
 and committing to his Son *Canute* the Care of  
 his Fleet and Hostages; he marches towards the  
*South Mercians*, commanding his Soldiers to ex-  
 ercise all Acts of Hostility; with the Terrour  
 whereof fully executed, he took in few Days  
 the City of *Oxford*, then *Winchester*; thence  
 tending to *London*, in his hasty Passage over the  
*Thames*, without seeking Bridge or Ford, lost  
 many of his Men. Nor was his Expedition  
 against *London* prosperous; for assaying all means  
 by Force or Wile to take the City, wherein the  
 King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he  
 was stoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence  
 back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his  
 Course, after usual Havock made, he sat a  
 while and refresh'd his Army. There *Ethelm*  
 an Earl of *Devonshire*, and other great Officers  
 in the West yielded him Subjection. These things  
 flowing to his Wish, he betook him to his Na-  
 vy, from that time stil'd and accounted King  
 of *England*, if a Tyrant, faith *Simeon*, may be  
 call'd a King. The *Londoners* also sent him Ho-  
 stages, and made their Peace, for they fear'd  
 his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc'd to narrow Com-  
 pass, sent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons  
 had by her, and all his Treasure to *Richard II.*  
 her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himself with  
 the *Danish* Fleet abode some while at *Greenwich*,  
 then sailing to the Isle of *Wight*, pass'd after *Ethelred*  
*Christmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honou-  
 rably receiv'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though  
 known to have born himself churlishly and  
 proudly towards *Emma* his Sister, besides his  
 dissolute Company with other Women. Mean  
 while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almost insup-  
 portable Tribute of the People, spoiling them  
 when he list'd; besides, the like did *Turkill* at  
*Greenwich*. The next Year beginning, *Swane* 1044.  
 sickens and dies<sup>b</sup>; some say terrifi'd by an ap-  
 pear'g Shape of *St. Edmund* arm'd, whose Church  
 at *Bury* he had threaten'd to demolish; but the  
 Authority hereof relies only upon the Legend  
 of *St. Edmund*. After his Death the *Danish* Ar-  
 my and Fleet made his Son *Canute* their King;  
 but the Nobility and States of *England* sent  
 Messengers to *Ethelred*, declaring that they pre-  
 ferr'd none before their Native Sovereign, if he  
 would promise to govern them better than he  
 had done, and with more Clemency. Whereat  
 the King rejoicing, sends over his Son *Edward*  
 with Embassadors to court both high and low,  
 and win their Love, promising largely to be  
 their mild and devoted Lord, to consent in all  
 things to their Will, follow their Counsel, and  
 whatever had been done or spoken by any Man  
 against him freely to pardon; if they would  
 Loyally restore him to be their King. To this

\* *Alfage* was kill'd not at *Canterbury*, but at *Greenwich*; to which Place, the Station of their Ships, they had brought him Pri-  
 soner. And therefore in the present Church of *Greenwich*, on the top of the Partition Wall, between the Nave of the Church  
 and the Chancel is this Inscription, *This Church was Erected and Dedicated to the Glory of God, and the Memory of S. Alphage,*  
*Arch-bishop of Canterbury, here slain by the Danes; because he would not ransom his Life by an unreasonable Sum of Money,*  
 An. 1012.

<sup>b</sup> At *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*.

<sup>c</sup> The Wife and Chief Men as well of the Clergy as the Laity.



A. D. 1014. the People cheerfully answer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both sides. An Embassy of Lords is sent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent* and is joyfully receiv'd of the People, marches with a strong Army against *Canute*; who having got Horses, and joyn'd with the Men of *Lindsey*, was preparing to make spoil in the Countries adjoining; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driven to his Ships, and his Confederates of *Lindsey* left to the Anger of their Countrymen, executed without Mercy by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all hast sailing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hostages given to his Father from all Parts of *England*, and with slit Noses, Ears crop'd, and Hands chop'd off, setting them ashore, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not disburthen'd, for the King rais'd out of them thirty thousand Pound to pay his Fleet of Danes at *Greenwich*. To these Evils the Sea in *October* pass'd his Bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of their Inhabitants many thousands. The Year following, an Assembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigefert* and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Searburg* to his Lodging, secretly murder'd them: The King, for what Cause is unknown, seiz'd their Estates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigefert* to be kept at *Malden*, now *Malmesbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married against his Father's Mind, then went and possess'd their Lands, making the People there subject to him. *Mat. West.* saith, that these two were of the Danes, who had seated themselves in *Northumberland*, slain by *Edric* under colour of Treason laid to their Charge. They who attended them without, tumulding at the Death of their Masters, were beaten back; and driven into a Church, and defending themselves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, two hundred Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms, and all Provision; and, which *Encomium Emme* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lackman* of *Sweden*, *Olaf* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and as the same Author then living writes, sent out Spies to discover what Resistance on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain Report, that a great Army of *English* was in readiness to oppose them. *Turkill*, who upon the Arrival of those *Danish* Powers, kept Faith no longer with the *English*, but joyning now with *Canute*, as it were to reingratiate himself after his Revolt, whether real or complotted, counsell'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the Management of this first Battel; the King assented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of those which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to their Wish encounter'd the *English*, though double in number, at a Place call'd *Scorastan*, and was at first beaten back with much Loss. But at length animating his Men with Rage only and Despair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great Reward and Possessions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other Writer makes mention: From *Sandwich* therefore sailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing over all *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Wiltshire*, he spread wastful Hostility. The King lay

then sick at *Casham* in this County; though it A. D. may seem strange how he could lie sick there in 1015. the midst of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd *Wiltshire*. Forces by themselves; but so soon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice against the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great Advantage. *Edric* easily enticing the forty Ships of Danes to side with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *West-Saxons* also gave Pledges and furnished him with Horses. By 1016. which means the Year ensuing, he with *Edric* Sim. Dun. the Traytor, passing the *Thames* at *Creclad*, about Twelftide, enter'd into *Mercia*, and especially *Warwickshire*, depopulating all Places in their way. Against these, Prince *Edmund*, for his Hardiness call'd *Ironside*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unless *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and so every Man return'd home. After the Festival, *Edmund* gathering another Army, besought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what Force besides he was able; they came with great Strength gotten together, but being come, and in a hopeful way of good Success, it was told the King, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning Whisper of the Enemy, disbanded his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as some thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with *Earl Urbred* on the one side, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little else but waste the Provinces; *Canute* to conquer them, *Edmund* to punish them who stood neuter; for which cause *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, and *Lestershire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruining the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing dismiss'd his Forces, and came to *London*. *Urbred* the Earl hasted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other Remedy, submitted himself with all the *Northumbrians*, giving Hostages to *Canute*. Nevertheless by his Command or Connivance, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a *Danish* Lord; *Urbred* was slain, and *Iric* another Dane made Earl in his stead. This *Urbred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his Treatise of the Siege of *Durham*, in his Youth obtain'd a great Victory against *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdom was fallen into *Northumberland*, and laid siege to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to resist, had secur'd himself in *Bebbanburg*, a strong Town, but *Urbred* gathering an Army rais'd the Siege, slew most of the *Scots*, their King narrowly escaping, and with the Heads of their slain, fixt upon Poles, beset round the Walls of *Durham*. The Year of this Exploit *Simeon* clears not, for in 969, and in the Reign of *Ethelred* as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyful of his Success, before *Easter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the \* end \* 23<sup>d</sup> of April ensuing, *Ethelred* after a long, trouble-some, and ill-govern'd Reign, ended his Days at *London*, and was buried in the Church of *St. Paul*.

\* The Saxon Annals tell us 'twas on the Vigil of *St. Michael* in September.

† The same Annals call the Place *Seafenburghs*, i. e. Seven Towns, but where they lay we know not.

‡ *Sherston* in *Wiltshire*. See the Addit. to that County in the English Edition of *Cambden*. The Battel of *Scorstan* in the Saxon Annals, comes under the Year 1016. and after *Ethelred's* Death. This *Scorstan* is suppos'd by others to be the Place where Four Stones call'd *Skirestones* part the four Counties of *Oxford*, *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Warwick*.



## EDMUND Ironside.

A. D.  
1016.Florent.  
Æthelred in  
the Life of  
Ed. Conf.  
Rieuall de  
Geneal.  
Reg. Ang.Florent.  
Sim. Dun.

After the decease of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens, chose *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a former Wife the Daughter of *Earl Thorel*) in his Father's room; but the Arch-bishops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles assembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Suthampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and swore him Fidelity: He also swore to them, in Matters both Religious and Secular, to be their faithful Lord. But *Edmund* with all speed going to the *West-Saxons*, was joyfully receiv'd of them as their King, and of many other Provinces by their Example. Mean while *Canute* about mid May came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then causing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* side, turn'd the Stream and drew his Ships thither West of the Bridge; then begirt the City with a broad and deep Trench, assail'd it on every side; but repuls'd as before by the valourous Defendants, and in Despair of Success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the Defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the *West-Saxons*, e're *Edmund* could have time to assemble all his Powers: Who yet with such as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the *Danes* at *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, and put him to flight. After Midsummer, increas'd with new Forces, he met with him again at a Place call'd *Sberastan*, now *Sbarstan*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hamshire* and *Wiltshire* Men, then siding with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the Fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till Night and Weariness parted them. Day-light returning renew'd the Conflict; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to dishearten the *English*, cuts off the Head of one *Osmer*, in Countenance and Hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the *English*, That *Edmund being slain and this his Head, it was time for them to flee*; which Fallacy *Edmund* perceiving, and openly shewing himself to his Soldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that missing him yet slew one next him, and through him another behind, they recover'd Heart, and lay fore upon the *Danes* till Night parted them as before: For e're the third Morn, *Canute* sensible of his Loss, march'd away by Stealth to his Ships at *London*, renewing there his League. Some would have this Battel at *Sberastan* the same with that at *Scorastan* before mention'd, but the Circumstance of Time permits not that, having been before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the Process of things appears: From *Sberastan*, or *Sbarstan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *West-Saxons*, whose Valour *Edric* fearing, left it might prevail against the *Danes*, fought

Pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it swore A. D. Loyalty to the King, who now the third time 1016. coming with an Army from the *West-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Siege, chasing *Canute* and his *Danes* to their Ships. Then after two Days passing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and so coming on their Backs, kept them so turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: Then returns again to his *West-Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Siege, but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd *Arenne*; and from the Banks thereof wast'd *Mercia*; thence their Horse by Land, their Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while, with multiplied Forces out of many Shires, crossing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, seeking *Canute*; encounter'd him at *Oxford*, and so defeated, that of his Horse, they who escap'd fled to the Isle of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* still the Traytor by some Wile or other detain'd his Pursuit: And *Edmund* who never wanted Courage, here wanted Prudence to be so milled, ever after forsaken of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* crossing with his Army into *Essex*, thence wast'd *Mercia* worse than before, and with heavy Prey return'd to his Ships: Then *Edmund* with a collected Army pursuing, overtook at a Place call'd *Affandune*, or *Affeshill*,<sup>Ashington.</sup> now *Ashdown* in *Essex*; the Battel on either side<sup>Camden.</sup> was fought with great Vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceiving the Victory to encline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match'd with Numbers: By which Desertion the *English* were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *East-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the *English* of a long time had not receiv'd a greater Blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not absurdly call'd *Ironside*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another Field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his Faction, advising him to make Peace and divide the Kingdom with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* over-ru'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually given, both Kings met together at a Place call'd *Deorbirst* in *Gloucestershire*; *Edmund* on the West-side of *Severn*, *Canute* on the East with their Armies, then both in Person wast'd into an Island, at that time call'd *Olaneg*,<sup>Camden.</sup> now *Alney* in the midst of the River; swearing Amity and Brother-hood, they parted the Kingdom between them. Then interchanging Arms and the Habit they wore, assailing also what Pay should be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this Interview, and the Cause thereof, others write otherwise; *Malmfbury*, that *Edmund* grieving at the Loss of so much Blood spilt for the Ambition only of two Men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to *Canute*, offering him single Combat, to prevent in their own Cause the Effusion of more blood than their own; that *Canute* though of Courage enough, yet not unwisely doubting

<sup>a</sup> Pen is in *Somersetshire*.<sup>b</sup> *Canute* was then at the Siege of *London*, and according to the Annals we have often mention'd, did not command the *Danes* in the Fight at *Pen*, nor at *Sberstan*.<sup>c</sup> *Sberstan* in *Wiltshire*, *Camden*. Thought by others to be *Shirestones* on the Borders of *Oxfordshire*.<sup>d</sup> Mr. *Milton* owns, That no other Writer, but the Author of *Encomium Emmae*, mentions the first Battel of *Scorastan*: And 'tis much to be doubted, whether there was any such Action.<sup>e</sup> Mr. *Gibson*, the Editor of the *Saxon Annals*, supposes there is a Mistake in the Copy; and that it should be read to *Warin* or *Ware*, on the River *Lee*: Or else, that this *Arenne* is the River we now call *Orwell*, which divides *Essex* from *Suffolk*.<sup>f</sup> Rather *Affington*, in that County; for the *Saxon Annals* have it *Affandun*: Whereas the Old *Ætelsun* is the Word always turn'd by the Moderns into *Ashdown*.<sup>g</sup> The *Magesatons* suppos'd by *Camden*. to be the *Radnorshire* Men.<sup>h</sup> *Bromton's Chronicle* says, their Commissioners only met.<sup>i</sup> *Camden* writes it was call'd *Alney* by the *Saxons*: It now bears the Name of the *Eight*, i. e. *Eight*; others say this Island was betwixt *Oversbridge* and *Maymore*. *Brit. last Edit.* p. 245.



A. D. 1016. to adventure his Body of finall Timber, against a Man of Iron sides, refus'd the Combat, offering to divide the Kingdom; this Offer pleasing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to consent; and the Decision was, that he as his Hereditary Kingdom should rule the *West-Saxons*, and all the *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. West.* relates, That the Peers on every side wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to affirm openly, that they two who expected to reign singly, had most Reason to fight singly, the Kings were content; the Island was their Lists, the Combat Knightly; till *Knute* finding himself too weak, began to parle, which ended as is said before. After which the *Londoners* bought their Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the Feast of *St. Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried near to *Edgar* his Grand-father at *Glaston*. The Cause of his so sudden Death is uncertain; common Fame, saith *Malmfbury*, lays the Guilt thereof upon *Edric*, who to please *Canute*, allur'd with Promise of Reward two of the King's Privy-Chamber, though at first abhorring the Fact, to assassinate him at the Stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder Parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. West.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and something vary in the manner, <sup>a</sup> not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to reign sole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Bishops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were Witnesses what Agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *West-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? They who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his Anger, timorously answer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part thereof to his Sons or Brethren, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* should be their Guardian, till they came to Age of reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for Fear or Hope of Reward they attested what was not true: Notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

### CANUTE, or KNUTE.

1017. *Sim. Dun.*  
*Sax. An.*  
The first  
Danish  
King of  
England  
570 Years  
after the  
Saxon Inva-  
sion.  
*Canute* having thus founded the Nobility, and by them understood, receiv'd their Oath of Fealty, they the Pledge of his bare Hand, and Oath from the *Danish* Nobles; whereupon the House of *Edmund* was renounc'd, and *Canute* crown'd. Then they enacted, That *Edwi*, Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great Hope, should be banish'd the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himself secure while *Edwi* liv'd, consulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, like-liest to do the Work. *Ethelward* sent for, and tempted by the King in private, with largest Rewards, but abhorring in his Mind the Deed, promis'd to do it when he saw his Opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards,

receiv'd into Favour as a Snare, was by him A. D. 1017. or some other of his false Friends, *Canute* contriving it, the same Year slain. *Edric* also counsel'd him to dispatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of *Ironside*; but the King doubting that the Fact would seem too foul done in *England*, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he disdaining the Office, sent them for better Safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the German Emperour. A Digression in the Laws of *Edward* Confessor under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* saith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Malefclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receiv'd him honourably, and of that Country gave him a Wife. *Canute* settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four parts; the *West-Saxons* to himself, the *East-Angles* to *Earl Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made Peace with all Princes round about him, and his former Wife being dead, in *July* married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Christmas* following was an ill Feast to *Edric*, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the Head of *Edric* fix'd on a Pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of *London*, as in a double Sence he had promis'd him, for the Murder of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmfbury*, and *Mat. West.* write, that suspecting the King's Intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the Room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the King's Command struck off his Head. Other great Men though without Fault, as Duke *Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, <sup>c</sup> he put to death at the same time, jealous of their Power or Familiarity with *Edric*: And notwithstanding Peace, kept still his Army; to maintain which, the next Year he squees'd out of the *English*, though now 1018. his Subjects, not his Enemies, seventy two, some say, eighty two thousand Pound, besides fifteen thousand out of *London*. Mean while great War arose at *Carr*, between *Urbred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But here *Simeon* the Relater seems to have committed some Mistake, having slain *Urbred* by *Canute* two Years before, and set *Eric* in his Place: *Eric* therefore it must needs be, not *Urbred*, who manag'd this War against the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* <sup>d</sup> at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. West.* saith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next Year *Canute* sail'd into *Denmark*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. West.* say, he went thither to repress the *Swedes*, and that the Night before a Battel to be fought with them, *Godwin* stealing out of the Camp with his *English*, assaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the

<sup>a</sup> No mention made of the North or South by the Authors that speak of the Combat.

<sup>b</sup> He stab'd him with a long Knife in the same Parts.

<sup>c</sup> *William of Malmfbury* writes, that this Prince having been long toss'd about by Sea and Land, return'd at last to *England*, where he lay conceal'd to his Death, and was then bury'd at *Tavistock*.

<sup>d</sup> By *Algothe*, Widow of *Sigeforth* the Dane.

<sup>e</sup> And *Brithno*, Son to *Elfger*, Earl of *Defenanshire* or *Devonshire*.

<sup>f</sup> In the *Annals* the Tax is but 82000 Pounds in all; 11000 Pound for *London*, and 71000 Pound for the rest of *England*.

<sup>g</sup> And *English*. *Bromton* says, 'twas done in a great Council or Parliament.



A. D. 1020. Victory e're *Canute* in the Morning knew of any Fight. For which bold Enterprize, though against Discipline, he had the *English* in more Esteem ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of *Easter* a great Assembly at \* *Chirchester*, and the same Year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by them built at *Affendune* †, in the Place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But suspecting his Greatness, the Year following banish'd him the Realm, and found occasion to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the same Jealousie \*. Nor yet content with his Conquest of *England*, though now above ten Years enjoy'd, he pass'd with fifty Ships into *Norway*, dispossest *Olave* their King, and subdu'd the Land, first with great Sums of Money sent the Year before to gain him a Party, then coming with an Army to compel the rest †.

1029. Thence returning King of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, yet not secure in his Mind, under colour of an Embassy he sent into Banishment \* *Gunilda* his Niece. Daughter of his Sister *Gunildis*, having conceiv'd some Suspicion of his Practices against him: But such Courte was taken, that he never came back; either perishing at Sea, or slain by Contrivance the next Year in *Orkney*. *Canute* therefore having thus establish'd himself by Bloodshed and Oppression, to walk away, as he thought, the Guilt thereof, sailing again into *Denmark*, went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to *St. Peter* great Gifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; besides the usual Tribute of *Romscot*, giving great Alms by the way, both thither and back again, freeing many Places of Custom and Toll with great Expence, where Strangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great Amendment of Life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole People in a large Letter written from *Rome* yet extant. At his return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to *St. Edmund* at *Bury* †, whom his Ancestors had slain, threw out the Secular Priests who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in their stead; then going into *Scotland*, subdu'd and receiv'd Homage of *Malcolm*, and two other Kings there, *Melbeath*, and *Jermare*. Three Years after having made \* *Swane* his suppos'd Son by *Algiua* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alfelm's* Daughter (for others say the Son of a Priest whom *Algiua*, barren, had got ready at the time of her feigned Labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma*, King of *Denmark*, and design'd *Harold* his Son † by *Algiua* of *Northampton*, King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester* in the old Monastery. This King, as appears, ended better than he began, for tho' he seems to have had no hand in the Death of *Ironside*, but detested the Fact, and bringing the Murtherers, who came to him in hope of great Reward, forth among his Courtiers, as it were to receive Thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, deliver'd them to deserved Punishment, yet he spar'd *Edric* whom

he knew to be the prime Author of that detestable Fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the Confidence of his Merits, and upbraided by him that he had first relinquisht, then extinguish'd *Edmund* for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, therefore said he with a chang'd Countenance, *Traitor to God and to me, thou shalt die; thine own Mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed*. Whereupon although present and private Execution was in Rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himself in cool Blood scrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Children of *Edmund*, who had better Right to be the Lord's Anointed here than himself. When he had obtain'd in *England* what he desir'd, no wonder if he fought the Love of his conquer'd Subjects for the Love of his own Quiet, the Maintainers of his Wealth and State, for his own Profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the less care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to be observ'd the Ancient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from *Rome* professes, if he had done aught amiss in his Youth, through Negligence or want of due Temper, full Resolution with the Help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Viscounts, that neither for Fear of him, or Favour of any Person, or to enrich the King, they suffer Injustice to be done in the Land; commands his Treasurers to pay all his Debts e're his return home, which was by *Denmark*, to compose Matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his Life after. But it is a fond Conceit in many great ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no Violence till they have attain'd the utmost of their Ambitions and Desires; then to think God appeas'd by their seeking to bribe him with a Share however large of their ill-gotten Spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing Right, when they have no longer need to do Wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was Famous through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour then at *Rome*, with rich Gifts and many Grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of Passages from Toll and Custom. I must not omit one remarkable Action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of Circumstance, and emphatical Expression, to shew the small Power of Kings in respect of God; which, unless to Court-Parasites, needed no such laborious Demonstration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be set on the Shoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the State that Royalty could put into his Countenance, said thus to the Sea: *Thou Sea belong'st to me, and the Land whereon I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunish'd resist'd my Commands: I charge thee come no farther upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord*. But the Sea, as before,

\* In the Year before, *Canute* founded the Monastery of *St. Edmundsbury*, in Honour of *St. Edmund* the King, and two Years afterwards remov'd the Reliques of *St. Alpbage*, whom his Countrymen had murder'd; both which were Popular Acts. The Body of *Alpbage* was translated to *Canterbury*.

† *Bromton* writes, That he was in a manner expell'd by his own Subjects, for his Weakness and Effeminacy: And returning a Year afterwards, the People rose upon him and slew him. He was canoniz'd under the Title of *King Olaf the Martyr*.

\* This Letter was sent into *England* by *Living* Abbot of *Tavistock*. 'Twas address'd thus; To *Aethelnoth* Bishop of *Canterbury*, to *Alfric* of *York*, with all the Bishops and Primates; and to the whole English Nation, as well Noblemen as Plebeians, Health, &c. is very Kind and Particular. 'Tis at large in *William* of *Malmsh.* Hist.

† This was done Eleven Years before, as appears by an old Manuscript belonging to *St. Edmundsbury*; also by the Lord *Coke*, in the Preface to the 8th Book of his Reports.

\* *Swyne* is suppos'd to be his Son by some other Woman, probably a *Dane*, before he was King of *England*: For 'tis not likely that *Algiua*, who 'tis said was barren, should be able to impose two Sons upon him.



A. D. 1035. came rowling on, and without Reverence both wet and dath'd him. Whereat the King quickly rising, with'd all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deserv'd the Name of a King, but he whose Eternal Laws both Heaven, Earth, and Sea obey. A Truth so evident of it self, as I said before, that unless to thame his Court Flatterers, who would not else be convinc'd, Canute needed not to have gone wet-shod home: The best is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, esteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

## HAROLD.

*Parent.* **H**arold for his Swiftness surnam'd Harefoot, the Son of Canute by *Algiva* of Northampton (though some speak doubtfully as if he bore him not, but had him of a Shoemaker's Wife, as *Swane* before of a Priest; others of a Maid-servant, to conceal her Barrenness) in a great Assembly at Oxford, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Father's Testament elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Al-*  
*Encom. Em.* *not* the Arch-bishop having in his Custody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to infer) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him, stood for *Hardecnute*. *Malm-*  
*bury* saith, that the Contest was between *Dane* and *Englsh*; that the *Danes* and *Londoners* grown now in a manner *Danish*, were all for *Hardecnute*; but he being then in *Denmark*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet so as that the Kingdom should be divided between them; the West and South part reserv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc'd into the Throne, banish'd *Emma* his Mother-in-Law, seiz'd on his Father's Treasure at *Winchester*, and there remain'd. *Em-*  
*1036.* *Sim. Dun.* *ma* not holding it safe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Bastard was yet under Age, retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Alfred* and *Edmund* Sons of *Ethel-*  
*Hunting.* *red*, accompanied with a small number of *Norman* Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to visit their Mother *Emma* not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to see how the People were inclin'd to restore them their Right; *Alfred* was sent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all seeming Friendship entertain'd him, was in the Night surpriz'd and made Prisoner, most of his Company put to various sorts of cruel Death, decimated twice over, then brought to *London*, was by the King sent bound to *Eely*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd soon after in their Custody. *Malm-*  
*bury* gives little Credit to this Story of *Alfred*, as not chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, sent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all speed into *Normandy*. But the Author of *Encomium Emmae*, who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same Year when these things were done; by his Relation differing from all others, much aggravates the

Cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have A. D. practis'd in secret (for openly he durst not) 1036. against the Life of *Emma*, sought many treacherous ways to get her Son within his Power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the Name of their Mother, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces written to this purpose.

*Emma* in Name only Queen, to her Sons Ed- *Encom. Em.*  
*ward* and *Alfrid* imparts Motherly Salutation. While we severally bewail the Death of our Lord the King, most dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counsel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthening to the Reign of your Usurper, who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his Party, either by Gifts, Prayers, or Threats. But they had much rather one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the Power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat therefore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately; to receive from me wholesome Counsel, and to know how the Business which I intend shall be accomplish'd. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewel, as dear both as my own Heart.

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by express Messengers, with Presents also as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the Time and Place. *Al-*  
*1039.* *Sim. Dun.* *frid* therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about him appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the Snare of Earl *Godwin*, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly forrowing for the Loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediately with some of the Nobles her faithfullest Adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling assign'd at *Burges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two Years, she was visit-  
*1040.* *Sim. Dun.* *ed* out of *Denmark* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with here there, when *Harold* in *England*, having done nothing the *Hunting.* while worth Memory, save the Taxing of every Port at eight Marks of Silver to sixteen Ships, dy'd at *London*, some say at *Oxford*, and was bu-  
*Malm.* *ried* at *Winchester*. After which, most of the Nobility, both *Danes* and *Englsh* now agreeing, send Embassadors to *Hardecnute* still at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to come and receive as his Right the Scepter, who before Midsummer came with sixty Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmark*.

## HARDECNUTE.

*Hardecnute* receiv'd with Acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind the Injuries done to him or his Mother *Emma* in the time of *Harold*; sent *Alfric* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner to *London*, commanding them to dig up the Body of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a second Order into the

\* Radulph de diceto, who wrote in the Reign of King John, says he was a Shoemaker's Son.

b The Annals call them the Seamen of London, whose Citizens as William of Malmbury observes, by their long Conversation with the Danes, were become wholly Danish in their Inclinations.

c The Saxon Annals place her Flight to Earl Baldwin, under the Year 1037.



A. D. 1040. *Thames*. Whence taken up by a Fisherman, and convey'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the *Danes*, it was interr'd again with honour. This done, he levied a fore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet, should be paid throughout *England*; by which time they who were so forward to call him over, had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Bishop of *Worcester*, about the Death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Archbishop laid to their Charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Bishoprick, and gave it to his Accuser: But the Year following, pacify'd with a round Sum, restor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a sumptuous Present, a Gally with a gilded Stem bravely rigg'd, and eighty Soldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing sixteen Ounces, Helmet, Corset, and Hilts of his Swords gilded; a *Danish* Curtax list'd with Gold or Silver hung on his left Shoulder, a Shield with Bofs and Nails gilded in his left Hand, in his right a Lance: Besides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own Counsel or Will, but by the Command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfred's* Eyes. The like Oath took most of the Nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. The next Year, *Hardecnute* sending his Housecarles<sup>b</sup>, so they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them, rigorous in their Office, were slain at *Worcester* by the People; whereat the King enrag'd, sent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and Commission to slay the Citizens, rifle and burn the City, waste the whole Province. Affrighted with such News, all the People fled; the Countrymen whither they could, the Citizens to a small Island in *Severn*, call'd *Beve-rege*, which they fortify'd and defended stoutly, till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their City they found sack'd and burnt; wherewith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half Brethren, tho' Rivals of his Crown, he shew'd himself always tenderly affection'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindness receiv'd, remain'd safely and honourably in his Court<sup>c</sup>. But *Hardecnute* the Year following, at a Feast wherein *Osgod*, a great *Danish* Lord, gave his Daughter in Marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon*, another potent *Dane*; in the midst of his Mirth, found and healthful to fight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at *Winchester* beside his Father. He was it seems a great lover of good Cheer; sitting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Dishes, and superfluity to all Comers. Whereas, faith *Huntingdon*, in our time Princes in their Houses made but one Meal a day<sup>d</sup>. He gave his Sister *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in Marriage to *Henry* the *Alman* Emperor; and to send her forth pompously, all the Nobility contributed their Jewels and richest Ornaments. But it may seem a Wonder, that our Historians, if they deserve that Name, should, in a Matter so re-

markable, and so near their own time, so much differ. *Huntingdon* relates, against the Credit of all other Records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the *English* rejoycing at this unexpected riddance of the *Danish* Yoke, sent over to *Elfrid* the Eldest Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Prisoner at *Ely*, sent thither by *Harold* six Years before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of Men, to receive the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England*, by marrying her to *Edward* a simple Youth, for he thought *Elfrid* of a higher Spirit than to accept her, perswaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many *Normans*, had promis'd them Lands here, that it was not safe to suffer a Warlike and subtil Nation to take root in the Land, that these were to be so handled as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King; thereupon, by common consent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with Hostages to be left there of their faithful Intentions to make him King, and their desires not to bring over with him many *Normans*; that *Edward*, at their call, came then first out of *Normandy*; whereas all others agree, that he came voluntarily over to visit *Hardecnute*, as is before said, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his death. For *Hardecnute* dead, faith *Malmfbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the Advice and Favour of Earl *Godwin*; desiring therefore by Messengers to have private Speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: At last assenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fallen at his Feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him some whither out of the Land. *Godwin* soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Elgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying, but of reigning, which might easily be brought about, if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it should be all his to set him on his Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his Friend, to preserve the Honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his necessity then was, contented easily, and swore to whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Assembly of States thereupon met at *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his Right; and by the powerful Influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability, write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and submitted himself to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd openly with the Death of *Elfred*, and, not without much ado, by the intercession of *Leofric*, and other Peers, receiv'd at length into favour.

1042.  
Tis 1041  
in the Sax.  
Annals.  
Sim. Dun.

<sup>a</sup> Also 29029 Pounds, and 11048 Pounds for 32 Sail of Ships. This Tax was the same as *Danegelt*, which was become a Prerogative.

<sup>b</sup> Housecarles, in *English* Servants of the Household.

<sup>c</sup> Earl *Godwin* went with them.

<sup>d</sup> The *Saxon Annals* tell us, he came into *England* the Year before, 1040.

<sup>e</sup> *John Rouse* of *Warwick*, in his *Treatise De Regibus Ang.* relates, That the Day of King *Hardecnute's* Death was kept by the *English* as a Holy-day in his Time, 400 Years afterwards, and was call'd *Holt Wednesday*.



EDWARD the Confessor.

The Saxon  
Line re-  
stor'd.

The *Saxon*  
Line re-  
stor'd.

**G**LAD were the *English* deliver'd so unex-  
pectedly from their *Danish* Masters<sup>a</sup>, and  
little thought how near another Conquest was  
hanging over them. *Edward*, the *Easter* follow-  
ing, Crown'd<sup>b</sup> at *Winchester*, the same Year ac-  
companied with *Earl Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*,  
came again thither on a sudden, and by their  
Counsel seiz'd on the Treasure of his Mother  
*Emma*. The Cause alledg'd is, that she was hard  
to him in the time of his Banishment; and in-  
deed she is said not much to have lov'd *Ethel-  
red* her former Husband, and thereafter the  
Children by him; she was moreover noted to  
be very covetous, hard to the Poor, and pro-  
fuse to Monasteries. About this time also King  
*Edward*, according to promise, took to Wife *Edith*  
or *Egith*, *Earl Godwin*'s Daughter, commended  
much for Beauty, Modesty, and, beyond what  
is requisite in a Woman, Learning. *Ingulph*, then  
a Youth, lodging in the Court with his Father,  
saw her oft, and coming from the School, was  
sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Gram-  
mer only, but in Logick. *Edward*, the next Year  
but one, made ready a strong Navy at *Sandwich*  
against *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who threaten'd  
an Invasion; had not *Swane* King of *Denmark*  
diverted him by a War at home to defend his  
own Land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as  
may be suppos'd, who at the same time ex-  
press'd none to the *Danes*, banishing *Gunildis*  
the Niece of *Canute* with her two Sons, and  
*Osgod*, by surname *Clapa*, out of the Realm.  
*Swane* overpower'd by *Magnus*, sent the next  
Year to entreat Aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin*  
gave counsel to send him fifty Ships fraught  
with Soldiers; but *Leofric* and the general Voice  
gain saying, none were sent<sup>c</sup>. The next Year  
*Harold Hareager* King of *Norway* sending Am-  
bassadors, made Peace with King *Edward*; but  
an Earthquake at *Worcester* and *Darby*, Pestilence  
and Famine in many places, much lessen'd the  
Enjoyment thereof. The next Year *Henry* the  
Emperor displeas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flan-  
ders*, had straiten'd him with a great Army by  
Land; and sending to King *Edward*, desir'd him  
with his Ships to hinder what he might, his  
escape by Sea. The King therefore with a great  
Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there staid till the  
Emperor came to an agreement with Earl *Bald-  
win*. Mean while, *Swane* Son of Earl *Godwin*,  
who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbess  
of *Chester*, by him deflower'd, had left the Land,  
came out of *Denmark* with eight Ships, feigning  
a desire to return into the King's Favour; and  
*Beorn* his Cousin German, who commanded part  
of the King's Navy, promis'd to intercede that  
his Earldom might be restor'd him. *Godwin*  
therefore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the rest  
of the Fleet gone home, coming to *Pevensey*,  
(but *Godwin* soon departing thence in pursuit of  
twenty nine *Danish* Ships, who had got much  
Booty on the Coast of *Effex*, and perish'd by

Tempest in their return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevensey*, guilefully requests him to sail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* mistrusting no Evil where he intended Good, went with him in his Ship, attended by three only of his Servants: But *Swane* set upon barbarous Cruelty, not Reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn*, now in his power, and bound him; then coming to *Dartmouth*, slew and bury'd him in a deep Ditch. After which, the Men of *Hastings* took six of his Ships, and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he escap'd into *Flanders*, there remaining, till *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester*, by earnest mediation, wrought his Peace with the King. About this time King *Ed-*  
*ward* sent to Pope *Leo*, desiring Absolution from a Vow, which he had made in his younger Years, to take a Journey to *Rome*, if God vouchsaf'd him to Reign in *England*; the Pope dispens'd with his Vow, but not without the Expence of his Journey given to the Poor, and a Monastery built or re-edify'd to *St. Peter*; who in a Vision  
 to a Monk, as is said, chose *Westminster*, which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large Privileges and Revenues. The same Year, saith *Florent* of *Worcester*, certain *Irish* Pirates with thirty six Ships enter'd the Mouth of *Severn*, and with the Aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did some hurt in those parts: Then passing the River *Wey*, burnt *Dunelham*, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester*, with a few out of *Gloucester* and *Herefordshire*, went out in haste: But *Griffin*, to whom the *Welsh* and *Irish* had privately sent Messengers, came down upon the *English* with his whole Power by Night, and early in the Morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next Year but one, King *Edward* remitted the *Danish* Tax, which had continu'd thirty eight Years heavy upon the Land, since *Ethelred* first paid it to the *Danes*, and what remain'd thereof in his Treasury he sent back to the Owners: But through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse  
 Mischief to the *English*; while studying Gratitude to those *Normans*, who to him in Exile had been helpful; he call'd them over to publick Offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private Purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the *Norman* Conquest. *Robert*, a Monk of that Country, who had been serviceable to him there in time of need, he made Bishop, first of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William* his Chaplain Bishop of *Dorchester*. Then began the *English* to lay aside their own Ancient Customs, and in many things to imitate *French* Manners, the great Peers to speak *French* in their Houses, in *French* to write their Bills and Letters, as a great piece of Gentility, asham'd of their own: A presage of their Subjection shortly to that People, whose Fashions and Language they affected so slavishly: But that which gave beginning to many Troubles ensuing, happen'd this Year, and upon this Occasion. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous

\* *Bromton* in his *Chronicle* tells us, That the Great Council, who elected *Edward King*, unanimously agreed and swore, That no *Dane* should Reign over them any more. The *Danes* Infolerance being become intolerable; an *Englishman* not daring to pass a Bridge if he met a *Dane*, till the latter first pass'd it; and if he did not salute him, he was sure to be well beaten.

<sup>b</sup> By Archbishop *Eadfige*, who preach'd on this Occasion; which is the first Coronation-Sermon mention'd in History.

<sup>c</sup> The same Author, *Simeon of Durham*, writes, That the King of Norway dying soon after, *Swane* recover'd his Kingdom.

<sup>d</sup> By Archbishop *Eadfige*, who preach'd on this Occasion; which is the first Coronation-Sermon mention'd in History.

Godfrey,



A. D. 1051. *Godfrey* who won *Jerusalem* from the *Saracens*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Sister, having been to visit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers insolently seeking to lodge by Force in a House there, provok'd to the Master thereof, as by chance or Heat of Anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the House where his Servant had been kill'd, slew both the Slayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townsmen running to Arms, requited him with the Slaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded most of the rest; he himself with one or two hardly escaping, ran back with Clamour to the King; whom seconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he stirr'd up to great Anger against the Citizens of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* in haste is sent for, the Cause related and much aggravated by the King against that City, the Earl commanded to raise Forces, and use the Citizens thereof as Enemies. *Godwin*, sorry to see Strangers more favour'd of the King than his Native People, answer'd, That it were better to summon first the Chief Men of the Town into the King's Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwise, by Fine or Loss of Life might satisfy the King whose Peace they had broken, and the Count whom they had injur'd: Till this were done refusing to prosecute with hostile Punishment them of his own Country unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King displeased with his Refusal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an Assembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloster*, where the Matter might be fully try'd; the Assembly was full and frequent according to Summons; but *Godwin* mistrusting his own Cause, or the Violence of his Adversaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gathered out of his own and his Son's Earldoms, which contain'd most of the South-East and West Parts of *England*, came no farther than *Beverston* in *Gloucestershire*, giving out that their Forces were to go against the *Welsh*, who intended an Irruption into *Herefordshire*; and *Swane* under that Pretence lay with part of his Army thereabout. The *Welsh* understanding this Device, and with all Diligence clearing themselves before the King, left *Godwin* detected of false Accusation in great Hatred to all the Assembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Siward* Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all Parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithful to the King, send privily with speed to raise the Forces of their Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, sent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Eustace* and his Followers, together with those *Bolignians*, who as *Simeon* writes, held a Castle in the Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with Treaties and Delays, till his summon'd Army drew nigh, then rejected his Demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin Fight against the King; begun with, not to give ground. The King's Forces were the Flower of those Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on: But *Leofric* and the wiser sort detesting Civil War, brought the Matter to this Accord, That Hostages given on either side, the whole Cause should be again de-

bated at *London*. Thither the King and Lords coming with their Army, sent to *Godwin* and his Son (who with their Powers were come as far as *Southwark*) commanding their Appearance unarm'd with only twelve Attendants, and that the rest of their Souldiers they should deliver over to the King. They to appear without Pledges before an adverse Faction deny'd; but to dismiss their Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought else to obey the King as far as might stand with Honour and the just regard of their Safety. This Answer not pleasing the King, an Edict was presently issu'd forth, That *Godwin* and his Sons within five Days depart the Land. He who perceiv'd now his Numbers to diminish, readily obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Tosti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much Treasure as their Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, sail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith Tosti* had married: For *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then Hostage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Bristol*, in a Vessel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, pass'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* pursuing his Displeasure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter, sending her despoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid, to be kept in Custody by his Sister the Abbess there. His Reason of so doing was as harsh as his Act, that she only, while her nearest Relations were in Banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy Ease at home. After this, *William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honourably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Castles, as it were to shew him what ere long was to be his own (though at that time, faith *Ingulf*, no mention thereof pass'd between them) then after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismiss'd, he return'd home. The next Year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried at *Winchester*. The Chronicle attributed to *John Bromton* a *Yorkshire* Abbot, but rather of some nameless Author living under *Edward* the Third, or later, reports that the Year before, by *Robert* the Arch-bishop she was accus'd both of consenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and of preparing Poyson for *Edward* also; lastly, of too much Familiarity with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*; that to approve her Innocence, praying over-night to St. *Swithun*, she offer'd to pass blind-fold between certain Plow-shares red hot, according to the *Ordalian* Law, which without harm she perform'd; that the King thereupon receiv'd her to Honour, and from her and the Bishop, Penance for his Credulity; that the Arch-bishop asham'd of his Accusation fled out of *England*: Which besides the Silence of Ancient Authors (for the Bishop fled not till a Year after) brings the whole Story into Suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in the Memory of this Deliverance from the Nine burning Plow-shares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of St. *Swithun* nine Mannors, and Bishop *Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales* wasted *Herefordshire*; to oppose whom the People of that Country with many *Normans*, garrison'd in the Castle of *Hereford*, went out in Arms, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much Booty driven away by the *Welsh*. Soon after which, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in the Confines of *So-*

\* The Annals say *Bosenharn* in *Suffex*.

<sup>b</sup> According to the *Saxon Annals*, Mr. *Milton* is out in his Chronology; for the Events of the last three Years, the latest of them Earl *Godwin*'s Banishment, happen'd Anno 1048.

<sup>c</sup> *Henry* of *Knightham* also mentions it in his History.



A. D. 1052. *merzet and Dorsetshire*, spoiled many Villages, and resisted by those of *Somerset and Devonshire*, slew in Fight more than thirty of their principal Men, many of the common sort, and return'd with much Booty to their Fleet. King *Edward* on the other side made ready above sixty Ships at *Sandwich* well stor'd with Men and Provision, under the Conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his Norman Kindred, enjoying them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quicken them, he himself lay on Ship-board, oft-times watch'd and sail'd up and down in search of those Pirates. But *Godwin*, whether in a Mist, or by other Accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of *Kent*, and dispersing secret Messengers abroad, by fair Words allured the Chief Men of *Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex* to his Party; which News coming to the King's Fleet at *Sandwich*, they hastened to find him out; but missing of him again, came up without Effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertis'd of this, forthwith sail'd to the Isle of *Wight*; where at length his two Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with their united Navy lay on the Coast, forbearing other Hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh Victual from Land as they needed\*. Thence as one Fleet they set forward to *Sandwich*, using all fair means, by the way to encrease their Numbers both of Mariners, and Souldiers. The King then at *London*, startl'd at these Tidings, gave speedy Order to raise Forces in all Parts, which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for *Godwin* within a few Days after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southmark*, and till the Tide return'd had Conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair Speeches, for he was held a good Speaker in those times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring, he row'd up in his Gallies along the South Bank; where his Land-army, now come to him, in array of Battel stood on the Shore, then turning toward the North-side of the River, where the King's Gallies lay in some Readiness, and Land-forces also not far off, he made shew as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the Souldiers on either side soon declar'd their Resolution not to fight *Englisch* against *Englisch*. Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies were dissolv'd, *Godwin* and his Sons restor'd to their former Dignities, except *Swane*, who touch'd in Conscience for the Slaughter of *Beorn* his Kinsman, was gone barefoot to *Jerusalem*, and returning home, dy'd by Sicknells or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin's* Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjust things under the King's Authority, and given him ill Counsel against his People, banish'd the Realm, some of them not blameable permitted to stay. *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly escaping with their Followers, got to Sea. The Archbishop went with his Complaint to *Rome*; but returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the same Monastery from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* surrender'd their Castles, and by Permission of *Leofric* pass'd through his Countries with their *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The Year following *Rbese* Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who by Inrodes had done much Damage to the *Englisch*, taken at *Bu-lenden*, was put to Death by the King's Appointment, and his Head brought to him at *Gloster*.

1053.  
Sim. Dun.

The same Year at *Winchester* on the second holy-day of *Easter*, Earl *Godwin* sitting with the King at Table, sunk down suddenly in his Seat as dead: His three Sons *Harold*, *Tofti*, and *Gytha*, forthwith carried him into the King's Chamber, hoping he might revive: But the Malady had so seiz'd him, that the 5th Day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, faith *Malmfbury*, that mention happening to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking sowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himself, utter'd these Words, Thou O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'st frowningly upon me: But let God not suffer me to swallow this Morsel, if I be guilty of ought done against his Life or thy Advantage; that after these words, choak'd with the Morsel taken, he sunk down and recover'd not. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, a Woman of much Infamy for the Trade she drove of buying up *Englisch* Youths and Maids to sell in *Denmark*, whereof she made great Gain; but ere long was struck with Thunder, and dy'd. The Year ensuing, *Seward* Earl of *Northumberland*, with a great number of Horse and Foot, attended also by a strong Fleet at the King's Appointment, made an Expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish'd the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of *Scots*, with those *Normans* that went thither, and plac'd *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both *Englisch* and *Danes*. Told of his Son's Death, he ask'd whether he receiv'd his Death's Wound before or behind? When it was answer'd before, *I am glad*, faith he; and should not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the meanwhile King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Winchester* with great Presents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironside*, might be sent into *England*. *Seward* but one Year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *Tork*; report- ed by *Huntingdon* a Man of Giant-like Stature, and by his own Demeanour at point of Death manifested, of a rough and meer souldierly Mind. For much disdainning to die in Bed by a Disease, not in the Field fighting with his Enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly armed, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and Shield to be set in a Chair, whether to fight with Death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other Weapons and Preparations were needful) in a Martial Bravery; but true Fortitude glories not in Feats of War, as they are such, but as they serve to end War soonest by a victorious Peace. His Earldom the King bestow'd on *Tofti* the Son of Earl *Eodwin*: And soon after in a Convention held at *London*, banish'd without visible Cause, *Huntingdon* faith for Treason, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*; who passing into *Ireland*, soon return'd with eighteen Ships to *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, requesting his Aid against King *Edward*. He assembling his Powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordshire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous Captain, Son to the King's Sister, not by *Eustace*, but a former Husband, met two Miles distant from *Hereford*; and having horsed the *Englisch* who knew better to fight on Foot, without stroke he with his *French* and *Normans*, beginning to flie, taught the *Englisch* by his Example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the Chase, slew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, slew seven Canons defending the Minster, burnt the Monastery and Reliques, then the City; killing some, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with

1074.  
Sim. Dun.

1055.  
Sim. Dun.

Sim. Dun.

\* The Annals tell us *Godwin* plunder'd it, and *Harold* kill'd all before him at *Porlock* in *Somersetshire*.  
\* *Mat. Westminster* writes, King *Edward* bestow'd the Kingdom of *Scotland* on *Malcolm*, to be held of himself.



A. D. 1055. great Spoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloster* under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who strenuously pursuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*\*. But the Enemy flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offer'd, with the rest he return'd, and fortify'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while, *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the diligence of *Harold*, after many Messages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* discharging his Fleet with pay at *Westchester*, came to the King, and was restor'd to his Earldom. But *Griffin*, with breach of Faith, the next Year set upon *Leofgar*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, and his Clerks, then at a place call'd *Glastbrig*, with *Agelnoth* Viscount of the Shire, and slew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward*, by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduc'd him to Peace.

1056. The next Year, *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironside*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had sent to the Emperor, came out of *Hungary*, design'd Successor to the Crown; but within a few Days after his coming, dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Elgar* Ateling his Son, *Margaret* and *Christina* his Daughters. About the same time also dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old Age, a Man of no less Virtue than Power in his time, Religious, Prudent and Faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva*†, a Woman of great Praise. His Son *Algar* found less favour with King *Edward*, again banish'd after his Father's Death; but he again, by the Aid of *Griffin*, and Fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, soon recover'd his Earldom.

1059. The next Year *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to visit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Tosti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he swore Brotherhood: Yet the next Year but one, while *Tosti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* for his Pall, this sworn Brother taking advantage of his absence, roughly harra's'd *Northumberland*. The Year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent Inrodes and Robberies of *Griffin*, whom no Bonds of Faith could restrain, King *Edward* sent against him after *Christmas*, *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons*, with no great Body of Horse from *Gloster*, where he then kept his Court; whose coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap'd hardly by Sea, e're *Harold* coming to *Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloster* the same Day: But by the middle of *May* setting out with a Fleet from *Bristol*, he sail'd about the most part of *Wales*, and met by his Brother *Tosti* with many Troops of Horse, as the King had appointed, began to waste the Country; but the *Welsh* giving Pledges, yielded themselves, promis'd to become tributary, and banish *Griffin* their Prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next Year taken and slain by *Griffin* Prince of *North-Wales*; his Head, with the Head and Tackle of his Ship, sent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his Gentleness made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon*, his two Brothers, Princes in his stead; they to *Harold*, in behalf of the King, swore Fealty and Tribute‡. Yet the next Year, *Harold*

having built a fair House at a place call'd *Portaf-cith* in *Monmouthshire*, and stor'd it with Provision, that the King might lodge there in time of Hunting; *Carabec* the Son of *Griffin*, slain the Year before, came with a number of Men, slew all he found there, and took away the Provision. Soon after which, the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beset the Palace of *Tosti* their Earl, slew more than two hundred of his Soldiers and Servants, pillaged his Treasure, and put him to flee for his Life. The Cause of this Insurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Tosti*'s behalf, *Gespatrie* a Nobleman of that Country to be treacherously slain in the King's Court; and that *Tosti* himself the Year before with like treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf*, two other of their Noblemen, besides his intolerable Exactions and Oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Country coming up to complain of their Grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Tosti*'s request had sent to pacify the *Northumbrians*; but they laying open the Cruelty of his Government, and their own Birthright of Freedom, not to endure the Tyranny of any Governor whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing Reason, all the Accomplices of *Tosti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself banish'd the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcarr* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead. *Huntingdon* tells another Cause of *Tosti*'s Banishment, that one Day at *Windsor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Tosti* envying to see his younger Brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his Hair; the Scuffle was soon parted by other Attendants rushing between, and *Tosti* forbidden the Court. He with continu'd Fury riding to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an Entertainment for the King, came to the House and set upon them with his Followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of some, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath or Ale, which were laid in for the King's drinking: And at his going away charg'd them to send him this word, that of other fresh Meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Souse he should find plenty provided ready for him; that for his barbarous Act the King pronounc'd him banish'd; that the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at the King's displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be reveng'd of his Cruelties done to themselves; but this no way agrees, for why then should *Harold* or the King so much labour with the *Northumbrians* to re-admit him, if he were a banish'd Man for his Crimes done before? About this time it happen'd, that *Harold* putting to Sea one Day for his pleasure, in a Fisher-Boat, from his Mannor at *Bosham* in *Sussex*, caught with a Tempest too far off Land, was carry'd into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontieu*, on whose Coast he was driven, at his own request brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining him with great Courtesie, so far won him, as to promise the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Castle of *Dover*, then in his tenure, but the Kingdom also after King *Edward*'s Death to his utmost endeavour; thereupon be-

\* The Lady who is Famous in Story for riding Naked through *Coventry*, to gain some Immunities for the Citizens: The Story is at large in *Bromton's Chronicle*. The Pictures of Earl *Leofric*, and his Countess *Godiva*, were set up in the Windows of *Trinity Church*, with this Inscription:  
Lurick, for the Love of thee,  
Do set *Coventry* Toll-free.

† By the Agreement of the Sound, and the Nearness of the Place to *Gloster*, it shou'd be *Ragland* in *Monmouthshire*, which stands near the little River *Usk*; but the Ships he burnt must be very small, or the River more Navigable than 'tis at present.

‡ Florence of Worcester says, they swore Fealty to Earl *Harold* also.

§ William of Malmesbury gives us the Reason for which the *Northumbrians* declar'd they took Arms, viz. That they were Free-men born, and as freely educated, and that they would not endure the Insolence of an Earl; for they had learnt from their Ancestors to choose either Liberty or Death.



A. D. 1065. trothing the Duke's Daughter, then too young for Marriage, and departing richly presented.

Others say, that King Edward himself, after the Death of Edward his Nephew, sent Harold thither, on purpose to acquaint Duke William with his Intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: But Malm-  
bury accounts the former Story to be the truer.

*Agas Ed.  
Conf. Tit.  
Lex Noric.*

Ingulf writes, that King Edward now grown old, and perceiving Edgar his Nephew both in Body and Mind unfit to Govern, especially against the Pride and Insolence of Godwin's Sons, who would never obey him; Duke William on the other side of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent Robert Archbishop of Canterbury to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that King Edward upon such Considerations had sent one or other; but Archbishop Robert was fled the Land, and dead many Years before. Ead-  
mer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the King's Permission or Connivance, to get free his Brother Wulnod and Nephew Hacun the Son of Swane, whom the King had taken Hostages of Godwin and sent into Nor-  
mandy; that King Edward foretold Harold, his Journey thither would be to the detriment of all England, and his own Reproach; that Duke Wil-  
liam then acquainted Harold, how Edward e're his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if he ever at-  
tain'd it, to leave Duke William Successor after him. Last of these Matthew Paris writes, that Harold to get free of Duke William, affirm'd his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of Tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret Con-  
federacy: So variously are these things reported.

*1066.  
Sim. Dun.*

After this King Edward grew sickly, yet as he was able kept his Christmas at London, and was at the Dedication of St. Peter's Church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of Epiphany, or Twelfthide, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entomb'd. That he was harmless and simple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peasant, who had cross'd his Game, (for with Hunting and Hawking he was much delighted) By God and Gods Mother, said he, I shall do you as shew'd a turn, if I can: Observing that Law-Maxim the best of all his Successors, That the King of Eng-  
land can do no wrong. The softness of his Nature gave growth to Factions of those about him, Nor-  
mans especially and English; these complaining, that Robert the Archbishop was a Sower of Dif-  
fention between the King and his People, a Tra-  
ducer of the English; the other side, that Godwin and his Sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, usurping to themselves equal share in the Government; oft-times making sport with his Simplicity, that thro' their Power in the Land they made no scruple to kill Men, of whose Inheritance they took a likeing, and so to take possession. The truth is, that Godwin and his Sons did many things boisterously and violently, much against the King's mind; which not able to resist, he had, as some say, his Wife Edith, God-  
win's Daughter, in such averfation, as in Bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this Cause, or mistaken Chastity, not commendable; to enquire farther, is not material. His Laws held good and just, and long after desir'd by the English of their Norman Kings, are yet extant. He is said to be at Table not excessive, at Festivals nothing puffed up with the costly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Almshouses, and exhorted the Monks to

*Huntingd.*

like Charity. He is said to be the first of English Kings that cur'd the Disease, call'd thence the King's Evil; yet Malmbury blames them who at-  
tribute that Cure to his Royalty, not to his San-  
ctity; said also to have cur'd certain Blind Men with the Water wherein he had wash'd his Hands. A little before his Death, lying Speechless two Days, the third Day, after a deep Sleep, he was heard to pray, That if it were a true Vision, not an Illusion which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout Monks, whom he knew in Normandy, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing, told him they were sent Messen-  
gers from God to foretel, that because the Great Ones of England, Dukes, Lords, Bishops, and Ab-  
bots, were not Ministers of God, but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to their Enemies; and when he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd, They neither will repent, neither will God pardon them. At this relation others trembling, Stigand the Simonious Archbishop, whom Edward much to blame had suffer'd many Years to sit Primate of the Church, is said to have laugh'd, as at the feavourish Dream of a doting Old Man; but the event prov'd it true.

### HAROLD, Son of Earl Godwin.

Harold, whether by King Edward a little be-  
fore his Death ordain'd Successor to the Crown, as Simeon of Durham, and others affirm; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding Edgar the right Heir, Grandchild to Edmund Iron-  
side, as Malmbury and Huntingdon agree; no sooner was the Funeral of King Edward ended, but on the same Day was Elected and Crown'd King: And no sooner plac'd in the Throne, but began to frame himself by all manner of Compliances to gain Affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Churchmen, courteous and affable to all re-  
puted Good, a hater of Evil-doers, charg'd all his Officers to punish Thieves, Robbers, and all Dis-  
turbers of the Peace, while he himself by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Country: So good an Actor is Ambition. In the mean while a Blazing Star, seven Mornings together, about the end of April, was seen to stream terribly, not only over England, but other parts of the World; foretelling here, as was thought, the great Changes approaching: Plainlyest prognosticated by Elmer a Monk of Malmbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for soaring too high. He in his Youth strangely aspiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with these on the top of a Tower, spread out to gather Air, he flew more than a Furlong; but the Wind being too high, came flut-  
tering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet so conceited of his Art, that he attributed the Cause of his Fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This Story, tho' seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad Narration, yet for the Strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough the placing as I found it plac'd in my Author. But to digress no farther, Tofti the King's Brother coming from Flanders, full of Envy at his younger Brother's Advancement to the Crown, resolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing there-  
fore them of Wigbt Isle to Contribution, he sail'd

\* The Annals say, He succeeded, as King Edward appointed. William of Malmbury affirms, He extorted an Oath of Fidelity from the Chief Men—All the Bishops were for Harold.



A. D. 1066. thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coast between. *Harold* then residing at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horse Troops by Land, prepares in Person for *Sandwich*: Whereof *Tosti* having notice, directs his Course with sixty Ships towards *Lindsey*, taking with him all the Seamen he found, willing or unwilling: Where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with their Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Country. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the *Scottish* King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke *William* sending Embassadors to admonish *Harold* of his Promise and Oath, to assist him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answer, That by the Death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that Condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath, or not dead, he could not take her now an Outlandish Woman, without consent of the Realm; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted in, if without Consent or Knowledge of the States, he had sworn away the Right of the Kingdom; that what he swore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdom, conferr'd upon him with universal Favour and Acclamation of the People: To this flat Denial he added Contempt, sending the Messengers back, saith *Matthew Paris*, on main'd Horses. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his Cause, which *Harold*, whether through Haughtiness of Mind, or Distrust, or that the ways to *Rome* were stop'd, sought not to do. Duke *William*, besides the Promise and Oath of *Harold*, alledg'd that King *Edward* by the Advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himself, and *Stigand* the Arch-bishop, had given him the Right of Succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, Pledges of the Gift; the Pope \* sent Duke *William*, after this Demonstration of his Right, a consecrated Banner. Whereupon he having with great Care and Choice got an Army of tall and stout Soldiers, under Captains of great Skill and mature Age, came in *August* to the Port of *St. Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy; which also coming, he sails to the *Isle of Wight*; and having heard of Duke *William's* Preparations and Readiness to invade him, kept good Watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit Places to guard the Shoar. But e'er the middle of *September*, Provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more than five hundred great Ships, (others lessen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the Mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Tosti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed, and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouse*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *Tork* by Assault. At these Tidings *Harold* with all his Power hastes thitherward; but e'er his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *Tork*, on the North-side of *Ouse*, about the Feast of *St. Matthew* had given them *Battel*; successfully at first, but over-born at length with Numbers; and forc'd to turn their backs, more of them perish'd in the River, than in the Fight. The *Norwegians* taking with them five hundred Hostages out of *Tork*, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retir'd to their Ships. But the fifth Day after King *Harold* with a great and well

appointed Army, coming to *Tork*, and at *Stamford Bridge*, or *Battel Bridge* on *Darwent*, assailing the *Norwegians*, after much Blood-shed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with *Harfager* their King, and *Tosti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the King's Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Soldiers to guard the Ships, surrendering themselves with Hostages, and Oath given never to return as Enemies, he suffer'd freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the small Remnant of their Army. One Man of the *Norwegians* is not to be forgotten, who with incredible Valour keeping the Bridge a long Hour against the whole *English* Army, with his single Resistance delay'd their Victory; and scorn'd offer'd Life, till in the end no Man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall open'd the Passage of pursuit to a compleat Victory. Wherewith *Harold* lifted up in Mind, and forgetting now his former shews of Popularity, defrauded his Soldiers of their due and well deserved Share of the Spoils. While these things thus pass'd in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay still at *St. Valerie*; his Ships were ready, but the Wind serv'd not for many Days; which put the Soldiery into much Discouragement and Murmur, taking this for an unlucky Sign of their Success; at last the Wind came favourable, the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of nine hundred Ships, with a prosperous Gale arriv'd at *Hastings*. At his going out of the Boat by a slip falling on his Hands, to correct the Omen, a Soldier standing by said aloud, that their Duke had taken Seisin of *England*. Landed, he restrain'd his Army from Waste and Spoil, saying, that they ought to spare what was their own. But these are things related of *Alexander* and *Cesar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay their Story. The Duke for fifteen Days after landing kept his Men quiet within the Camp, having taken the Castle of *Hastings*, or built a Fortrefs there. *Harold* secure the while, and proud of his new Victory, thought all his Enemies now under foot: But sitting jollily at Dinner, News is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great Multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries which he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevensey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the Year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminish'd after two sore Conflicts, and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for Supplies which were on their way towards him, hurries into *Sussex* (for he was always in haste since the Day of his Coronation) and e'er the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about nine Mile from *Hastings*, and now drawing nigh, sent Spies before him to survey the Strength and Number of his Enemies: Them, discover'd such, the Duke causing to be led about, and after well fill'd with Meat and Drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Duke's Army were most of them Priests; for they saw their Faces all over shaven; the *English* then using to let grow on their upper-lip large Mustachios, as did anciently the *Britains*. The King laughing, answer'd, That they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Soldiers. Therefore said *Girtha* his Brother, a Youth of noble Courage and Understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy self to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unsworn undergo the Hazard of

Vol. I.

M

Battel,

A. D. 1066.

Camden.

Malmsh.

Sim. Dun.  
† William  
the Norman  
lands at  
Pevensey near  
Hastings.\* Alexander  
the 2d.In Nor-  
mandy.Malmsh.  
Mat. Paris.



A. D. 1066. *Battel, who may justly fight in the Defence of our Country; thou reserved to fitter time, mayst either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead.* The King not hearkning to this, lest it might seem to argue Fear in him, or a bad Cause, with like Resolution rejected the Offers of Duke William sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only Answer hastily deliver'd, *Let God judge between us.* The Offers were these, *That Harold would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by single Combat in the Sight of both Armies, or refer it to the Pope.* These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next Morning, the *English* from singing and drinking all Night, the *Normans* from Confession of their Sins, and Communion of the Host. The *English* were in a strait disadvantageous Place<sup>a</sup>, so that many discourag'd with their ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the Onset, the rest in close order with their Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: The King himself with his Brothers on foot stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the Figure of a Man fighting was inwoven with Gold and precious Stones. The *Norman* Foot, most Bowmen, made the foremost Front, on either side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke arming, and his Corset given him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *The Strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army singing the Song of *Rowland*, the Remembrance of whose Exploits might hearten them, imploring lastly Divine Help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side; but the main Body of *English* Foot by no means would be broken, till the Duke causing his Men to feign Flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into open Disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought their Overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but turning off upon their Enemies, by the Advantage of an upper Ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with their Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the third Hour of Day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the Fight with unspeakable Courage and Personal Valour, shot into the Head with an Arrow, fell at length, and left his Soldiers without Heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell also his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girthea*, with them the greatest part of the *English* Nobility. His Body lying dead, a Knight or Soldier wounding on the Thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of Military Service. Of *Normans* and *French* were slain no small Number; the Duke himself also that Day not a little hazarded his Person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the *English* also by Permission, he sent the Body of *Harold* to his Mother without Ransom, though she offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receiv'd, she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*<sup>b</sup>. In the mean

The 14th  
of October,  
1066.

while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Harold*, hearing of his Death, came to *London*; sending *Aldgit* the Queen their Sister with all speed to *West-Chester*. *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners*, would have set up *Edgar* the Right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not liking the Choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their Forces and returned home. Duke William contrary to his former Resolution, if *Florent* of *Worster*, and they who follow him say true, wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way, or rather, as saith *Malmesbury*, not in a Hostile but in Regal manner came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave Hostages, and swore Fidelity, he to them promis'd Peace and Defence; yet permitted his Men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Christmas* Day solemnly crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, having first given his Oath at the Altar in Presence of all the People, to defend the Church, well govern the People, maintain Right Law; prohibit Rapine and unjust Judgment. Thus the *English*, while they agreed not about the Choice of their Native King, were constrain'd to take the Yoke of an Outlandish Conquerour. With what Minds, and by what Course of Life they had fitted themselves for this Servitude, *William* of *Malmesbury* spares not to lay open. Not a few Years before the *Normans* came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessor's Days, had lost all good Literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand their Latin Service: He was a Miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which though in it self no fault, yet to their Consciences was irreligious. The great Men given to Gluttony and dissolute Life, made a Prey of the Common People, abusing their Daughters whom they had in Service, then turning them off to the Stews; the meaner sort tipling together Night and Day, spent all they had in Drunkenness, attended with other Vices which effeminate Mens Minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with Fury and Rashness more than any true Fortitude or Skill of War, they gave to *William* their Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the Generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad Men to enjoy prosperous Days with the good, so his Severity oft-times exempts not good Men from their Share in evil Times with the bad.

If these were the Causes of such Misery and Thralldom to those our Ancestors, with what better Close can be concluded, than here in fit Season to remember this Age in the midst of her Security, to fear from like Vices without Amendment the Revolution of like Calamities.

<sup>a</sup> The Battel was fought near *Heathfield* in *Suffex*, at the Place where now stands the Town of *Battel*, so call'd from this Day's Action.

<sup>b</sup> *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *Henry de Knighton* say, he was not slain in the Battel; but retiring privately out of it, liv'd and dy'd an Anchorit in a Cell near *St. John's* Church in *Chester*. — Which is against the Report of all other Authentick Historians.

Many other Corrections and Additions might be made to *Mr. Milton's* History, if collated with *Mr. Sheringham's* de Gente Anglorum, *Mr. Langhorn's* Antiquitates Albionenses, and other Industrious and Learned Writers: But we have noted what is most remarkable in them, wherein they differ from *Mr. Milton*, or be falls short of them.



A  
COLLECTION  
OF THE  
History of England:  
CONTAINING  
*A Brief ACCOUNT of the most Remarkable*  
AFFAIRS of STATE.

Compos'd by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of the Grooms of the  
Privy Chamber to Queen ANNE, Consort to K. James I.

*The Subject  
of the fol-  
lowing Hi-  
story fix'd.*

WHEN I first entertain'd the settled Thoughts of Collecting the Principal Affairs of this Kingdom of England into One Body, I design'd to have taken my Beginning at the first British Kings, and have proceeded according to the common List of their Succession, relating the things which happen'd most Remarkable in their several Reigns; but not finding any authentic Proof of their Descent, I laid aside these Resolutions, upon these Considerations, That a far less compass of Time, and better known to us, (*viz.* From William the First, surnam'd the Bastard) would better suit my Abilities, if not overmatch them; that it is vain Curiosity to search farther into Antiquity, than we can get any good Information of, and of which we can have no Proof, and consequently can reap no real Advantage by it. For the Beginnings of all People and Kingdoms are as difficult to be found out as the Heads of great Rivers; and if they could be known, would promote but very little either our Virtue or Reputation; since it is evident, that most of them owe their Original to Poverty, Robbery, and Oppression; though Fabulous Writers (to magnifie their own Nations) have obtruded upon the Credulity of after-Ages strange Relations of Heroical and Miraculous Beginnings: So that great States, as well as Men, are best worth seeing, when they are in their most flourishing Condition, as they are, and not as they first were. Besides, it seems good to Divine Providence to

check our over-inquisitive Dispositions, by leaving all things, of very great Antiquity, under irrecoverable Uncertainty, and so to bound our Searches within the compass of a few Ages; as if that were sufficient, both for Example and Instruction. For had we indeed the particular Occurrences of all former Ages and Nations, they would rather burthen our Memories, than better our Understandings: The Actions and Manners of Men receiving little alteration by Time; Virtues and Vices being the same, though more or less in practice and vogue, according to the Goodness or Viciousness of Governours: The Changes and Ruins of States proceeding from the same Causes, and the Methods of Affairs being carry'd on much in the same Course.

But yet since the History of those Ages, which I have chosen for the Subject of this Collection, <sup>Britain first</sup> cannot be well understood without some know-<sup>discover'd</sup> ledge of the Affairs of the precedent, I shall take <sup>by the Ro-</sup> a brief View of the State of this Nation from the time it became a Tributary Province to the Roman Empire, which is as far as the most Ancient Records we have can give us light; for before that time, England was not more remote in Situation, than it was from the Knowledge of the World. And from hence it was that Julius Caesar, being but on the opposite Continent in Gaul, could get no perfect Information of the State of Britain by all the means he could use, unless by some Merchants (of whom he summon'd as many as he could) who inform'd him of some of

\* Jeffrey of Monmouth's List of the Regal Succession from Brutus is very distinct and plain; but it hath so many Marks of pure Invention, either of himself, or the Authors from whom he pretends to transcribe them, that it is long since given up for a meer Romance by all our Learned Criticks in English History; and particularly the Bishop of St. Asaph is of opinion, that the Grand Lye of all, which is the Story of Brutus, is nothing but a Forgery to make the English Kings as Nobly descended as the Kings of other Nations, by drawing them from the Trojans, according to the Humour of the Age he liv'd in. This Story of Brutus is reckon'd Fabulous by Sir William Temple, in his Introduction to the History of England, p. 19.



the Coasts, but were ignorant of the State and Condition of the Inhabitants that dwelt in the Inland parts of the Isle, either being regardless of what concern'd not their Trade, or else being kept from any farther knowledge of it by the *Britains*, who were cautious of discovering their Condition to Strangers: However *Cæsar*, rather than want a Pretence of invading, accus'd them of aiding his Enemies the *Gauls* secretly against him; and entering their Country, subdu'd some parts of it in the South; yet made so little progress towards an absolute Conquest, that he may rather be said to have shew'd it, than won it to the *Roman* Empire.

The most  
ancient  
state of  
Britain.

What the State and Form of Government was among the *Britains* before this Invasion, the first and best Relation is from *Cæsar* himself, who tells us, That the *Britains* were divided into many petty Kingdoms, and names four Kings of *Kent*: That perceiving themselves in great danger by the *Romans*, they by common consent chose *Cassivellaun*, or *Cassibolin*, to be their King, and have not only the Administration of all publick Affairs, but the supreme Command, as General in the War: That having receiv'd some Defeats, they yielded their Cities up to him, and sent Hostages in Confirmation of it. By which it appears, that the Government of the ancient *Britains* was not Monarchical, as some have asserted; but like the *Gauls* (with whom they held a great Similitude, as well in Religion, as in their Manners and Language) was divided into many small Princedoms, without any Combination under one Head: After the same manner, as we have lately discover'd the People of *America* to be rul'd, and as most Countrys were at first govern'd, till either Ambition and Power forc'd, or Interest and Policy taught them to introduce new Modes and arbitrary Ways of ordering Nations. And this was the form of Government in *Britain*, *Gaul* or *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and all the West parts of *Europe*; till the *Romans*, having first subdu'd all *Italy* through the Divisions among themselves, which made them a Prey to their Enemies, became potent enough to ravish the Liberties of the other adjacent Nations from them: For the Kings of those times were no better than Generals in Wars, and had no other Jurisdiction over their People, but to conduct them for their Safety. So that this Assertion, That there was a Monarchy establish'd among the *Britains* long before other Nations, will never pass for truth, but with such Persons as understand little of true Antiquity, but model their Notion of it by the Constitutions of this present time. For had there indeed been an Absolute Monarch in these parts, under whose Conduct the *Britains* could have united their Forces against the common Invader, it is very probable they had never been conquer'd; since we find the *Romans* to have been sometimes very strangely foil'd by some petty Princes; and 'tis plain, that though the *Britains* had not the Im-

provement of Letters, yet they wanted not many great Souls, who had a quick Sense of Honour and Greatness, and delighted in the boldest and bravest Attempts. But not being united in their publick Danger, they expos'd themselves to the common Enemy; who, often more by the Divisions of others, than by his own Power, became Master of the World.

So that with what probability the long Succession of Absolute Monarchs from *Brutus* to *Cassivellaun* can be maintain'd, I am to seek; and therefore shall leave it to those, who are of more easie Faith: Adding only thus much to justify my own Diffidence, That I cannot imagine how the Memory of those ancient Times could be preserv'd to Posterity, when it is almost certain, that they had not the Use of Letters in this Nation till the *Romans* brought them in. Indeed some report, That not only the Greek Tongue, but Schools of Learning were settled here long before the *Romans* arrival; which, had it been true, we should have had some mention of it in *Cæsar's*, or others Writings: Whereas now, on the contrary, we find that the *Druids*, who were the Ministers of Justice and Religion among the *Britains*, and the admired Philosophers of those Ages, committed not their Mysteries to Writing, but deliver'd them by Tradition; which sure they would not have done, had they had more certain ways of imparting them to their Nation. And *Cornelius Tacitus* tells us, That *Agricola*, Prefect of this Province under *Domitian*, caus'd the principal Men's Sons to be taught the Liberal Sciences; which the *Britains* could not have been ignorant of, had the Greek Learning been settled among them so many Ages before. Wherefore 'tis clear, that there was no other way of conveying the Transactions of former Ages but by Tradition; and how little that can be depended upon, all wise Men know.

As to the State of the *Britains* during their Subjection to the *Romans*, we find that they were govern'd by the *Roman* Prefects; or if they had any Kings of their own, they were tributary, and had no other Authority than what they had from the Emperor's Will, who, as *Tacitus* relates, made Kings but Instruments of more heavy Bondage and Slavery, speaking of *Cogedunus*, to whom *Claudius* gave certain Cities in *Britain*, under the Title of King. For when *Cæsar* had once got footing among them, and made part of their Country tributary, they would not venture to withstand the *Roman* Arms for the future, and recover their ancient Freedom; for tho' during the time of the Civil Wars at *Rome*, by which the Government there was chang'd from a Commonwealth to a Monarchy, they had twenty Years space given them to rid themselves of their Enemies, yet they patiently submitted; and as soon as *Augustus* had gotten the absolute Sovereignty, all the Princes and Cities of *Britain* came voluntarily with their Gifts and Tributes to profess their Subjection to him, and gain his

The State  
of the Bri-  
tains under  
the Ro-  
mans.

\* The *British* Pearls, which were then of great Esteem in the World, were no small Motive to *Cæsar* to invade *Britain*. Dry Honour, without Gain, was not always the Inducement of the *Roman* Heroes to conquer the World. *Rome* her self lov'd a full Treasury, and her Great Men a full Purse.

<sup>b</sup> *Ptolomy* gives the Names of the several People and Kingdoms among the Old *Britains* before the *Romans* Invasion, which are exactly set down to us in the late Edition of Mr. *Cambden's* *Britannia*.

<sup>c</sup> The most probable Account of the first Original of the People of this Island, is, That they were some Colonies of *Gauls*, who transplanted themselves into *Britain*, when their own Country grew over-populous, which was usual in the long-liv'd Ages of Men, near the Creation and Flood.

<sup>d</sup> The *Britains*, through the continual Wars they had among themselves, were such expert Soldiers for those early Times, that *Cæsar* himself confesses, he learnt many Stratagems of War from them: So that had they had Union among themselves, *Cæsar* might have return'd without success.

<sup>e</sup> The Story of *Brutus*, which seems nothing but an Invention of the *Britains* to be even with the rest of the World in the Antiquity of their Descent; for 'twas then the Humour of the World to draw their Pedigree from the *Trojans*, is now utterly exploded.



Favour, fearing lest a new Governour should make their Yoke heavier than it hath hitherto been; which consisted only in a very tolerable Tribute, which they were contented to bear with their Neighbours. After *Augustus's* Death, when the Corruptions of the Empire had caused miserable Distractions in all Parts of the World, the *Britains* also falling into Factions among themselves, and Discontents with their *Roman* Governours, with-held their Obedience, till *Claudius* obtain'd the Empire; who being an ambitious Prince, and desirous of Glory, cast his Eye upon *Britain*, as the most probable Place for him to gain his first Triumph in. Hither therefore he sends *P. Ostorius Scapula*, a great Warriour, to be Proprætor; who tho' he met with various Distractions, and a resolute People hardly to be forc'd into Subjection, yet as an experienc'd Commander, who knew how much the first Attempts do usually either daunt, or encourage an Enemy, contriv'd to fall upon them by Surprise, and where he had any Advantages, to use an affrighting Severity against them: But these Stratagems did not produce the wished Effect; for *Caradocus* (one of the *British* Kings) maintain'd War against him for nine Years together, and could not be mastered by this brave General, till being betray'd by his own Nation, he came into his hands, and was with his Wife and Children carried to *Rome* to be led in Triumph.

Claudius's  
Conquest of  
Britain,  
and their  
Revolt soon  
after.

*Claudius* after this, pass'd at *Rome* for the Conqueror of *Britain*, tho' that Island was not perfectly reduc'd to their Obedience, till a long time after: For the *Britains*, finding that their Divisions were likely to betray them to the *Romans*, who would prove cruel Masters, enter'd into a defensive League against them upon this Occasion. *Prasutagus*, King of the *Iceni*, a Rich and Potent Prince, dying, left *Nero* his Heir, with the Care of his Wife and his two Daughters; hoping by this Gift, to secure his Family and Nation from any Injury from the *Romans*, but it happen'd clear otherwise after his Death: For he was no sooner dead, but the *Roman* Captains, as if his Kingdom had been left a Prey to them, ravag'd and plunder'd it; his Wife *Boodicea* was whipp'd, his Daughters ravish'd, his Kindred treated as Captives, and his rich Subjects depriv'd of their Paternal Inheritance and Estates. This inhumane Usage exasperated the *Britains* so much against them, that they conspired with the *Trinobantes*, and others, to recover their Liberty, and free themselves from such cruel Oppressors. *Boodicea*, the injured Queen, animated them in this Resolution, and led them forward in their Design. And first they set upon the Veteran Soldiers, who lay in Garrison at *London*, *Verulam* and *Camalodunum*, and having put them to flight, with their Captain *Cerealis*, they slew Seventy Thousand of them. *Suetonius*, Governour of the Province, not discourag'd by this Loss from maintaining his Station, rally'd all the Forces he could together, and hasten'd to engage them. The *Britains* were

an hundred and twenty thousand, under the Conduct of *Boodicea*, who together with their Wives, encourag'd them manfully to pursue the advantage, and rather die, than come under the *Romans* Tyranny. *Suetonius* on the other side was not wanting with the like advice: And so much the more, because his Army was much inferiour in Number to the *Britains*, tho' of experienc'd old Soldiers. This Battel was very sharp, but the Victory in the issue fell to the *Romans*, who slew Eighty Thousand *Britains* in the gaining of it. *Boodicea* escap'd their Fury, but poison'd her self; choos'ing to die, rather than see the miserable Calamities which would certainly come upon her Country. After this Victory the *Romans* grievously oppress'd the *Britains*, who, tho' they often revolted, and upon every advantage that they could spy, struggled to shake off their uneasie Yoke; yet being over-power'd with Numbers, which were sent against them almost from all parts of the Empire, were at last forc'd to yield, and undergo an unwilling Subjection, being under the curb of Fourteen Garrisons, and a standing Army of near Thirty Thousand Foot and Horse.

In this lamentable Condition of Slavery and Oppression did the *Britains* remain, as long as the *Romans* had the Government of them; who, not contented to rob them of their Estates and Possessions at home, and involve them in cruel Bondage, constrain'd them to engage in their ambitious Quarrels abroad, and purchase them Glory with the loss of their own Blood and Lives: And not only so, but being left to the arbitrary Power of their Governours, they were forc'd to assist them in their Rebellions: For after the Election of the Emperor fell into the hands of their Army, many Governours here having great Forces under their Command, were proclaim'd *Cæsars*, and set up for the whole Empire. Thus did *Caracallus* first, and after him *Alexander*, whom *Constantine*, who was Copartner with *Maximianus* in the Imperial Dignity, at his first coming into *Britain* conquer'd, by the auspicious Arms of *Asclepiodorus* Captain of his Life-guard. After this the *Caledonians* and *Picts* made their Inroads into the Northern parts of *Britain*, and much infested the Inhabitants, disturbing their Peace, and wasting their Lands; *Constantine*, who then was sole Emperor of the West, compassionating the Miseries of his Subjects, as well as desirous to secure his Dominions from the Spoil of these Barbarians, undertook a second Journey into *Britain*, and had the good fortune to be Victorious against them, and drive them out of his Dominions; though he liv'd not to see the Peace that follow'd thereupon, dying soon after at *York*. *Constantine* his Son (afterwards surnamed the Great) was present at his Death, being upon notice of his Father's Sicknefs lately come out of *Illyria*, where he had been with *Galerius* warring against the *Sarmatians*. As soon as *Constantine* was dead, *Constantine* was immediately saluted Emperor of the *Britains*, which he so kindly

The Mis-  
eries of the  
Britains  
under the  
Romans.

<sup>a</sup> *Carallacus*, or *Caradocus*, the valiant Champion for the *British* Liberties, was betray'd to the *Romans* by the treacherous Woman *Cartesmandua*, Queen of the *Brigantes*.

<sup>b</sup> *Viz.* Not much above Ten Thousand.

<sup>c</sup> *Agricola's* good Temper and mild Government made their Subjection so tolerable, that by his Direction and Encouragement they were willing almost to turn *Romans*; learning their Oratory, Building, Gardening, and all other Arts of Peace and Quietness. But this was but a short Breathing from their Miseries; all their Comforts being remov'd with him by *Domitian*.

<sup>d</sup> The *Caledonians*, from *Ciliddion*, which signifies Borderers, were those People that dwelt in the more Southern part of *North-Britain*, now call'd *Scotland*; and so border'd upon the *Roman-Britain*, now call'd *England*.

<sup>e</sup> The *Picts* seem to have been a ruder sort of *Britains*, that would never yield to the *Romans*, but still kept up their ancient Manners and Liberties; and were call'd *Pictæ* (about Three Hundred Years after Christ) by the *Romans*, because they continu'd the old *British* Custom of painting their Bodies. They dwelt in the North parts of *North-Britain*, and in probability are the Ancestors of the Highlanders in *Scotland*.

resented;



resented, that he ever after had a particular Esteem for them; and before he left them, put their Government into such a new Model, as was more easie and pleasant to them. After this we have no certain Information in what posture Affairs were among the *Britains*, till the Reign of *Valentinian* the Elder, who sent *Theodosius* (the Father of the Emperor of that Name) a Person eminent for his Heroick Exploits and good Fortune, into *Britain* to oppose the Incurfions of the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti*, who like a destroying Deluge over-run the Country; *Theodosius's* Army was compos'd chiefly of *Bataxians* and *Herulians*, hardy and stout Soldiers, who by the prudent conduct of their General, soon vanquish'd the rude Barbarians, and restor'd the miserable Inhabitants to their Properties and Ease: Which done, *Theodosius* left *Britain*, *Civilis* being sent to govern the Province, and *Dulcitius* the Army, Men both of great Name and Experience.

Maximus, General of the Roman Army in Britain, claims the Empire.

In these Wars with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, but educated at *Rome*, by which he became so accomplish'd a Person, that he was made in the time of *Valentinian* the Younger the supreme Commander of the Army in *Britain*. This Man taking it ill, that *Gratian* had declar'd *Theodosius* Emperor, revolted from his Allegiance, and got himself proclaim'd *Cæsar*; and to establish himself in the Imperial Throne, transported the Flower of the *Britains* into *Gaul*, where by their help he brought over *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Germany* to his Party; and at length grew so powerful, that he in a set Battel conquer'd *Gratian*, and after by subtilty slew him, and forc'd *Valentinian*, his Brother and Copartner, to fly to *Theodosius* Emperor of the *East* for help, by whose assistance *Valentinian* recover'd his Right; *Maximus*, and great part of his Forces, being destroy'd at *Aquileia*. This Rebellious Expedition much dispeopled *Britain*, their ablest Youth and strongest Garrisons being taken out of it, which were all either slain with *Maximus*, or, as some relate, seated themselves in *Armorica* (now call'd *Britain* in *France*) which retains the *British* Language to this Day.

Marcus set up for Emperor by the Britains, after him others.

But this unfortunate Blow did not allay the factious Humour then got in among the *Britains*; for in the time of *Honorius* the Emperor, the Colony of *Veterans*, fearing the Invasion of the *Vandals*, revolted, and chose one *Marcus* Emperor, who not answering their Expectation, was slain by them, and one *Gratian* a *Britain* put in his place; but neither had he the luck to please them above four Months; wherefore, putting him to Death, they pitch'd upon *Constantine*, whose very Name seem'd to them to portend Good Fortune, though his Merit was not extraordinary. This *Constantine* following *Maximus's* steps, and gathering together all the remaining Forces of *Britain*, invaded several parts of the *Western Empire*, gave his Son *Constans* (a Monk) the Name of *Augustus*; and after many Rencontres with *Honorius's* Forces, was at length

conquer'd; his whole Army brought out of *Britain*, being destroy'd, and himself executed at *Arles*. The *British* Nation being thus almost exhausted of its Strength, lay open to the Ravages of the Barbarians of the North, who observing this advantage, came down upon them in great Numbers, and by their Incurfions reduc'd them to great Straights and Calamities; so that they were forc'd to implore the Aid of *Aetius*, then Praefect of the *Gauls* under *Valentinian III.* by all the Arts of moving Commiseration they could invent; sending their Ambassadors with torn Garments, and Dust on their Heads. *Aetius*, mov'd with their Petitions, did send them such Succours as soon routed their Enemy; and to secure them for the future, helped them to raise a Wall upon the Trench, which *Adrian* had cast up before from Sea to Sea; and so he left them. This Relief prov'd but of little worth; for the Barbarians no sooner heard of *Aetius's* departure, but they again assaulted the *Britains* afresh, beat down their Wall, and haras'd the Country much worse than before. The *Britains* repeat their Suit to *Aetius*, but all in vain. The Emperors, and his own Safety requir'd of them a more vigorous defence than before, the Empire it self being in as great Hazard, and under as great Distractions as their Island. Wherefore being left to themselves to fall into the Hands of the Barbarians, and so the Government of the *Romans*, being unable to support it self, expir'd wholly in *Britain*, after they had held it Four Hundred Seventy Six Years, from the time that *Julius Cæsar* invaded it: In all which time we find only these seven *British* Kings to have reign'd, viz. *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Arviragus*, *Marius*, *Coel*; and lastly *Lucius*, who is highly celebrated by our Historians for bringing in the Christian Religion into this Nation. All the rest to *Vortigern* were *Roman* Governours.

*Britain* being thus first weaken'd, and at last deserted by the *Romans*, was left to provide for its own defence against its Invaders. The Inhabitants were in miserable Distractions among themselves, what to do in this sad Juncture. Many Kings they chose, but soon deposted them. *Vortigern*, a Noble *Britain*, and Earl of *Cornwall*, was at last fix'd upon as their General against their Enemies; who either fearing<sup>a</sup> his own Deposition from the Government he had newly gotten, and desir'd the continuance of, or finding the Nation unable to grapple with its fierce and cruel Enemies, the *Scots* and *Picts*, sent for the *Saxons* out of *Germany* to assist him.

The *Saxons* at this time possess'd the third part of *Germany*, and held all the Country between the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elb*, having on the North the *Baltick-Sea* and Ocean, on the South the *Hyrcinian-Wood*; and divided into two parts by the River *Weser*, viz. *Eastphalia* (as the Country on the East of the River *Weser* was anciently call'd) and *Westphalia*. They were govern'd by an Aristocracy of twelve Princes, who in times of War chose a General to lead and con-

The Roman Government expir'd in Britain.

A. C. 443.

450.

The Description of the Saxons; their Inhabitation in Britain, and obtaining of it.

<sup>a</sup> *Scots* were Inhabitants of *Ireland*, who came to assist the *Picts* against the *Romans* and *Britains*, their Subjects.

<sup>b</sup> *Attacotti* are not certainly known by Antiquaries: Some think them a Party of the *Scots*, who came out of *Ireland*; others, among whom is the Learned Bishop of *Worcester*, that they were the *Wild-Britains*, from *Jerome*, who says, they were a *British* People.

<sup>c</sup> Some of these Kings are fabulous; the Bishop of *Worcester* proves *Arviragus*, and so his two Sons, *Marius* and *Coillus*, to be the Invention of *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, who tells very pleasant Stories of the former of them, and thinks that none are certainly reckon'd such, but *Prasutagus*, *Cogidunnus*, *Caradacus*, *Togodunnus*, and *Galgacus*, who are mention'd in the *Roman History*; his Conjecture of *Lucius* is set down before, *Orig. Brit.* p. 32, 34.

<sup>d</sup> By the Party of *Aurelius Ambrosius*; for whom, the *Romans* left in the Province stood very zealously to have him their Governour, and not a *Britain*, as *Vortigern* was.

<sup>e</sup> The *Saxons* were a very Warlike People, who dwelt on the nearest *German-Shore*, had kept the *Romans* themselves always upon their Guard, and had sometimes attack'd them in this Isle, which made *Vortigern* think these People most fit for his Assistants against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

duft



duct their Army. Their Country was large, very Populous and Rich, furnish'd with Shipping, (which at that time the Britains had not;) all which things, as they fitted them for any foreign Expedition, so they made them readily embrace *Vortigern's* Invitation; which they had no sooner receiv'd, but they dispatch'd away a considerable Body of Men into *Britain*, under the Command of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, two Brethren of the chiefest Blood and Nobility of the Saxons. The Saxons at first served the Britains as Stipendiaries, and did them so good service, that within a little time *Britain* was wholly freed from their troublesome Enemies, and liv'd at peace: *Vortigern* allowing them the Isle of *Thanet* for their Residence, kept them still near him; which gave them an opportunity of better understanding the Nature of the English Soil, and Strength of the British People. Some time these two Nations liv'd in Amity and Friendship, but at length the Saxons seeing their Country large, their Soil fruitful, and the Inhabitants weak and unable to make any considerable Resistance, first quarrel with *Vortigern* about their Pay, afterward get the whole Country of *Kent* made over to them by Covenant; with which not content, *Hengist* marries his Sister to *Vortigern*, and under the shews of Friendship desired all the Country beyond *Humber*, under this pretence, That the Saxons being well seated in those parts, would secure the Britains against the Invasions of the Scots and Picts. *Vortigern* easily granted this Petition, and *Hengist* immediately sent for his Brother *Otha* and Son *Ebusa*, with great Supplies, out of *Saxony* to people those parts; who, glad to exchange their own Country for a much better, soon arriv'd; and so the Saxons became absolute Masters of all *Kent* and *Northumberland*, which then contain'd all the Country from *Humber* to *Scotland*.

And now the Saxons growing strong and potent, by continual Accesses of their Countrymen to those parts where they were seated, began to contemn their Masters and Entertainers, and commit many Insolencies upon them. The British Nobility, not able to bear their domineering Carriage, combined together against them; and first deposing *Vortigern*, who had been the Cause of their Admission, elected *Vortimer* his Son to be their King and Leader against them. This brave and valiant Prince maintain'd many Battels with them, and whilst he liv'd (which was not long) protected his Country much from them; and after his Death *Ambrosius* the last of the Romans, and *Arthur* the Noblest of Britains, (who is said in twelve set Battels to have encounter'd them, and either vanquish'd, or come off with an equal loss in them all) kept them from their intended and desired Usurpation of the Britains Country and Estate. But at last, partly by the Politick Management of *Hengist*, who liv'd forty Years in Wars, and partly by Treachery, the Saxons prevail'd, and forc'd the Britains, almost consum'd with long Wars, to fly into the Mountains and remote Desarts of the Western part of the Isle, leaving the whole Nation almost in the power and sole disposal of their Conquerors.

The Saxons being thus become Masters of this Island, soon canton'd it out among themselves; and other their Countrymen, who having news of their success, came over to possess themselves of the Britains Lands and Estates. *Hengist* retain'd his Kingdom of *Kent*, and *Otha* and *Ebusa* still held the Country between *Humber* and *Scotland*; *Ella* and his Sons conquer'd the South-East

parts, and began the Kingdom of the South-Saxons, containing *Sussex* and part of *Surrey*: *Cerdick*, and his Sons, landed at *Portsmouth*, and invaded the South and West parts, and began the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, which after contain'd the Countries of *Hampshire*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*. Near the same time *Uffa* invaded the North-East parts, and began the Kingdom of the East-Angles, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*: *Erkenwin* began the Kingdom of the East-Saxons, containing *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hertfordshire*. The Outparts of the Isle being thus distributed among the unjust Invaders, *Cridla* began the Kingdom of *Mercia*, or *Middle-Angles*, containing *Lincolnshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with part of the Shires of *Hereford* and *Hertford*, *Warwickshire*, *Shropshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Glocesteshire*. But these Settlements were made not without great difficulty, and in no small compass of time: The Britains making such a vigorous Opposition to their Establishment, that tho' indeed they were vanquish'd wholly at last, yet they enjoy'd little of the Britains Estates, but naked Land. For in these bloody Contests between the Proprietors and Invaders, all the Noble Buildings, Baths, Aqueducts, High-ways, and other Ornaments of Convenience or Delight, which either the Romans, or the Britains in imitation of them, had built and rais'd, were utterly demolish'd, so that not the least mark or footsteps of them is now left; but instead of them we find very frequent Entrenchments, Mounts, and Burroughs rais'd for Tombs and Defences upon all the wide Champions and high Hills almost of this Isle, the indelible Proofs of the many Hazards and bloody Conflicts the Saxons underwent to get a peaceable Possession of their Conquests in this Island; which at last they obtain'd, but with the Ruine and Destruction of the old Inhabitants.

Nor was it the peculiar fate of *Britain* at this time to change its old Proprietors for new Lords; but this Nation only sympathiz'd with the rest of the World in the great Changes which Providence had then began to make, and soon after compleated. For there was scarcely any one Country or Province in the World, which did not about this time change its Bounds, Inhabitants, Customs, Language and Name. The Empire being first divided into two Parts, and those broken into many Parties and Factions, which call'd in other Nations to their assistance, made way to the innumerable Changes that soon after follow'd. For the French and Burgundians dispossest the Gauls, and gave the Name of France and Burgundy to their Province: The Gauls transplanted themselves to the Coasts of Spain, and fix'd their Habitation, not for Convenience but Necessity, in such places as they could by force obtain, which from them was after call'd *Gallicia* and *Portugal*: The Huns and Avari seiz'd upon *Pannonia*, and gave it the Name of Hungary: The Longobards, a People of Germany, who border'd upon the Saxons, enter'd Italy, got the greatest part thereof, which after their own Name they call'd by the Name of Lombardy, as it remains to this Day: The Goths and Vandals miserably harass'd the rest of the Empire, sack'd Rome it self; and after subdu'd, peopl'd and possess'd Spain. So that Britain was not ruin'd alone, but suffer'd in the common Deluge.

Britain being thus furnish'd with new Inhabi-

\* In slaying the British Nobility at *Salisbury*-plain.

Wales and Cornwall.



Saxons Al-  
teration of  
Things in  
Britain.

tants, puts on a new Face of Things: With its new Lords, it had new Laws and Government. Nothing was retain'd of the *British* Customs or Usages, as tho' they were resolv'd to have no marks left of so troublesome an Enemy as the *Britains* had been. Their Cities and Towns, Rivers, Hills and Mountains, because they could not demolish them, they gave them new Names. *Britain* it self was forbidden to be call'd by its ancient Name, but *New-Saxony*; and shortly after, either from the *Angles*, the greatest part of the Invaders, or from *Hengist*, their most eminent Commander call'd *Engist-land*, or *England*. The whole Nation at first they divided into Eight<sup>a</sup> Kingdoms, which continu'd till the *Britains* were quite expell'd their Country, under *Caretius* their King, who was driven over the *Severn* an Hundred Thirty Six Years after *Hengist* first came into *England*. But as soon as their common Enemy was remov'd, their Ambition stirring them up to enlarge their Dominions, they fell into Dissentions among themselves; and the strongest soon usurping the Dominions of the weaker, they were reduc'd to Seven Kingdoms, the *Northumbrians* enlarging themselves to the utmost bounds of their next Neighbours, so made one Kingdom of two. Nor did this Settlement hold long; for the *West-Saxons* took the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons* to their Dominion, and so they became Six, as they continu'd about Two Hundred and Fifty Years.

Saxon Government.

At their first Settlement, the *Saxons*, for an Hundred and Fifty Years, were govern'd by their own Laws, without any mixture of those of the *Britains*, or any other Nations. But when *Augustine* the Monk, commonly call'd the *English Apostle*, arriv'd here with forty others his Companions, sent hither by Pope *Gregory* the Great, and had converted *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and some other Persons of note; they soon after embrac'd the Christian Faith unanimously, and suffer'd their Laws and Rites to be modell'd according to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions. Their Kings, laying aside their warlike and rough Tempers, became humble and pious, conformable to the Genius of that Religion they had submitted themselves to; and their only Ambition was, who should raise the noblest and most numerous Monuments of Piety, which soon became visible in all parts of the Land: Divers of their Kings left their Temporal Dignities and Worldly Grandeur, to embrace an holy Retirement, and live a Monastick Life; as *Ethelred* and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercia*; *Offa*, King of the *East-Saxons*; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the *West-Saxons*; *Eadbert*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and many others.

The Hierarchy reduc'd at last to two Kingdoms.

As to the Civil State of the Kingdom, tho' the Six Kingdoms held their own some Ages, yet at length the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *West-Saxons* so far over-power'd the rest, that it lay between them, who should govern all. For *Ina*, a martial, wife, and religious Prince, governing the *West-Saxons*, advanc'd that Kingdom, by his Conquest of *Kent* and the *South-Saxons*, to so great

an Eminency, that he was able to contend for a Supremacy with the King of *Mercia*, and that with doubtful Victory. But *Offa*, afterward King of *Mercia*, was in a fair way to have swallow'd up both the *West-Saxons*, and all the other Kingdoms: For while he liv'd, which was in the time of *Charles* the Great, (with whom he was Confederate) he was accounted the most potent King of the Nation: But the many Injuries he did to others, especially that barbarous Cruelty and Perfidiousness, which he was guilty of, in murdering *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*, in his own House, when he came to him upon the publick Faith to court his Daughter, were so closely pursu'd by the Hand of Divine Justice, that tho' he dy'd in Peace, yet his Posterity never flourish'd, but every Day declin'd, till in the end they lost all. For *Egbert*, the Son of *Iwegild*, or *Ingil*, the Brother of *Ina*, having obtain'd the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, laid the foundation of the Conquest of the rest; being a Prince, who from a private Station, wherein he had learned much Moderation, and inur'd himself to much Hardship, was rais'd to that Dignity by these means: *Ina*, his Great Uncle, having left the World and Kingdom, and dying without Issue, left the Succession involv'd in Troubles, and out of the direct Line, as he found it; and tho' we find a Succession of four Kings inheriting his Throne, viz. *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenwulf*, and *Brithric*; yet they got it either by Election or Force, not by any Right of Descent. *Brithric*, the last of them, was sensible of the weakness of his Title, and therefore seeing the promising and towardly Disposition of *Egbert*, who by Blood was nearly related to the former Kings, he us'd all the Arts he could to destroy him; but *Egbert* perceiving his bloody Design, he fled to *Offa* King of *Mercia*, where finding his abode hazardous, because *Brithric* to strengthen himself had marry'd the Daughter of that King, he made his escape into *France*, and there remain'd till the Death of *Brithric*; and then returning, obtain'd the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and subdu'd *Cornwall*, then inhabited by the *Britains*; and after invades *Bernulph*, who was newly possess'd of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, a State at that time, through the Interruption of the Royal Line, in a wavering condition. For *Egfride*, the Son of *Offa*, enjoy'd his Kingdom but four Months; the Hand of Providence cutting him off for his Father's Cruelty, and left his Kingdom to *Kenwolfe*, a Kinsman in the sixth Descent, whose Son *Kenelm*, a Child of six Years old, was soon depriv'd of it by *Quindred* his Sister, who murder'd him to get into his Throne, but mis'd of her aim, the People electing *Ceolulph* her Uncle to it. *Ceolulph* enjoy'd not the Kingdom long, being expell'd out of it by *Bernulph*, who met with the same fortune from *Egbert*, who seizing on it made his Kingdom tributary to that of the *West-Saxons*, as he did afterwards those of the *South* and *East-Saxons* with the Kingdom of *Northumberland*: So that *Egbert* in a manner became an absolute Monarch of the whole Country; tho' his Power

Egbert first  
Monarch of  
England.

A. D  
800.

<sup>a</sup> We generally account the first Settlement of the *Saxons* to be in an Heptarchy, or Seven Kingdoms, viz. The Kingdoms of *Kent*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *West-Saxons*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*; but those that count Eight, divided this last into the Kingdom of *Deira*, which lies on this side *Humber*, and *Bernicia*, which lies beyond *Humber*, between that River and *Scotland*.

<sup>b</sup> *Charles* the Great was then King of *France*, and finding *Egbert* dextrous and ingenious, he employ'd him in his Wars, and many other Affairs of his Government, whereby he was made a very accomplish'd Prince.

<sup>c</sup> *Brithric* was poison'd by *Ethelberg* his Wife; a Woman of that malicious Temper, that all she could not remove by Accusations, though false, she would poison; which designing to do to one of the King's Friends, the King himself drank of the Potion, and dy'd.

<sup>d</sup> But they are said to have held out so long against his Arms, viz. Fourteen Years, that he made a Law, that it should be Death for any *Britain* to pass over *Offa's* Ditch; thinking by this means to prevent any disturbance from them.

<sup>e</sup> *Egbert* was thus far an absolute Monarch of *Britain*, that all the Seven Kingdoms were either subdu'd by him, or tributary to him. The *Danes* disquieted his Reign indeed, but had no part of *England* their own.

was



was never compleat, nor his Peace firm, because of the *Danes*, who having got footing in this Nation in the Reign of *Brithric*, could never be driven out again, but created continual Troubles in the Reigns of himself and Successors; till at length they ravish'd the Sovereignty from the *Saxons*, and took it into their own hands.

An Account  
of the Ori-  
ginal of the  
Danes.

The *Danes* were a People of *Germany*, near Neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of a Language and Manners not much differing from them, possessing besides the *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (now call'd *Denmark*) all the Isles adjoining, lying in the *Baltick* Sea, and some time the Kingdom of *Norway*. A strong, hardy and warlike Nation, having plenty of Shipping, and great numbers of People. These Men perceiving the success the *Saxons* had here, and how much better a Soil they inhabited than their own, were very desirous to put in for a share with them; to which Attempt they were encourag'd, not only from the Nakedness of the Coasts, which every where almost lay open to Invasion, but chiefly by the many Divisions and Quarrels between their several Princes and Nations, which they foresaw would much facilitate their entrance. The *Saxons* therefore had scarcely ended their troublesome Wars with the *Britains*, and began to settle themselves under a Monarchy, when the *Danes*, as if they were sent to revenge the Cruelties they had done to the *Britains*, began to assault them with the same Disturbances. It would be both uneasy and tedious to the Reader, as well as difficult for me, to give a particular account of the many bloody Battels and Rencontres which happen'd between these two fierce Nations, while they scuffled for the absolute Mastery of this Kingdom, because they are so confusedly and disorderly deliver'd by Writers; and therefore I shall spare my self the pains, and the Reader the trouble of reading of them.

Ethelwolfe  
his Gifts to  
the Church  
and Rome.

After the Death of *Egbert*, *Ethelwolfe* his Son succeeded him in his Kingdom, under the Title of King of the *West-Saxons* only. He was a Prince more addicted to Devotion than Action; as is evident by his *Donation* of the Tenth part of his whole Kingdom to the Service of God, and an Exemption of all Lands belonging to the Church from all Tribute and Regal Services: Besides, he gave an Annuity of *three hundred Marks* to be expended in pious Uses at *Rome*, whither he went twice in Person, with his youngest Son *Alfred*, who was the chief Object of his Love, whom *Pope Leo IV.* anointed King at eleven Years old, as presaging his future Greatness and Fortune. In his last Journey, and whole Year's stay at *Rome*, *Ethelwald* his eldest Son conspir'd with the Nobility of the *West-Saxons* to keep him out of his Kingdom, and deprive him utterly of his Government; which he so craftily manag'd, that notwithstanding his People lov'd him extremely well, yet he was brought to yield up the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* to *Ethelwald*, and retain only the Kingdom of the *East-Angles* (a small Principality

of far less Dignity) to himself. After this he liv'd two Years, and left his whole Kingdom to *Ethelwald*, who to his eternal Infamy marry'd his Father's Wife *Judith*, Daughter of *Charles* the Bald King of *France*. He enjoy'd his ill-gotten Honour but two Years and a half; and then left it to his Brother *Ethelred*, who held it indeed five Years, but in *continual War* with the *Danes*, and dy'd of the Plague, and was bury'd at *Winburn*. After whom

**A**LFRED, or ELFRED<sup>b</sup>, a most incomparable A. D. Prince, who was made a King before he had a Kingdom, or any apparent Succession to it, began Alfred's his troublesome Reign at two and twenty Years of Age, and in a Year wherein there were eight several Battels fought between the *Saxons* and *Danes*; which was ominous to him, for his Reign was but as it were one continu'd War, either with his Enemies, or his Peoples Vices. In the beginning of his Reign he was so powerfully assaulted by the *Danes*, that he had almost lost all, and was forc'd to yield up a part of his Kingdom (*viz.* the Country of the *East-Angles* and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum* or *Gurmund*, the Commander of the *Danes*; whom, upon his Conversion to Christianity and Baptism, he made his Confederate, and by free Gift confirm'd to him the Possession of those Dominions, which before he only usurped.

But notwithstanding his continual Engagements in War against his Enemies, yet he was not wanting to provide all things that were necessary for the well-being of his Nation; for he first of all collected the Laws of his Predecessors, and the other Kings of the *Saxons*, especially those of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, and *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of the *English*, into one Body; and by the advice and consent of his States then assembled, made choice of the best, abrogated the useless, and added others according to the necessity of the time. Then he provided for the Security of his People against the Robberies and Riots, to which the War with Foreigners had expos'd them, (for certain Men combining together to plunder both sides, so infested the High-ways, that no Man could travel about his business without a Convoy, or Guard against them.) *Alfred* to remedy this great Disorder, made a Division of his Kingdom into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings, that every *Englishman* (for so the *Saxons* now generally call'd themselves) living orderly, might be of some Hundred, or Tything, from which he was not to remove without Security; and out of which, if he were accused of any Crime, he was likewise to produce Sureties for his good Behaviour for the future; which if he could not find, he was forced to suffer the Penalty of the Law. If any Malefactor, before or after he had put in Sureties, escaped, all the Tything or Hundred were oblig'd to pay a Fine to the King, by which means he secured Travellers, and soon settled the Peace of the Country.

The great Admiration and Love which he had

<sup>a</sup> They landed three times in four Years, *viz.* at *Landisfern*, now *Holy Island*, *Cornwall*, and the Isle of *Shepey* in *Kent*; were very hardly driven off by *Egbert* and the *English*.

<sup>b</sup> *Ethelwolf* was bred a Monk, and had entred into Deacons Orders at *Winchester*, but by *Pope Leo's* permission was made King. He marry'd his Cupbearer's Daughter, nam'd *Egburga*, by whom he had four Sons, *Ethelwald*, *Ethelbert*, *Ethelred*, and *Alfred*, who Reign'd successively; but rebell'd all against their Father, but *Alfred*.

<sup>c</sup> The Original Instrument is in *Fuller's Church-History*, ad A. C. 817.

<sup>d</sup> This Sum was afterwards charg'd by the Pope on the Bishops, in what proportion Mr. Fox relates, *Ant. and Mon.* p. 340.

<sup>e</sup> It is said, that he put away his Mother upon the Admonition of *S. Swithun* Bishop of *Winchester*, and ever after rul'd his Kingdom in Peace and Justice, as a sign of his Repentance for that Crime. *Radb. Hist. Wint.* p. 204.

<sup>f</sup> *Ethelbert* his Elder Brother reign'd five Years before the Kingdom came to *Ethelred*. He had Troubles by the *Danes*, but eas'd himself by giving them Money.

<sup>g</sup> It is related, that this King in one Year fought nine Battels with the *Danes*, and in most came off Victor, slaying one of their Kings, and several of their Great Men.

<sup>h</sup> He had his Education under the Tuition of *Swithun* Bishop of *Winchester*.

<sup>i</sup> *Rollo* the Dane, and first Duke of that *Norman* Race, from which *William* the Conqueror was descended, landed with ten Ships; but being forc'd from Shoar, invaded *Neustria* in *France*, afterward from thence call'd *Normandy*.



This King's  
Provision  
for Learn-  
ing.

for Learning, made him much lament the want of it in himself; accounting it one of his greatest Misfortunes to be bred up in the ignorance of it, and to have his Kingdom so utterly destitute of Learned Men, as it was, through the long continuance of the War with the Barbarians. To repair this defect, and raise the esteem of good Letters among his People, he sent into several parts for such as were grown famous for their Learning; whom, upon their arrival, he highly preferred, encouraged them to teach others, and had them himself in great veneration: Rareness then setting a greater value upon lesser Attainments, than after Plenty did upon the greatest Perfections. *Grimbald* and *Scotus* were invited hither out of France, and *Afferius Menevensis* (who wrote his Life) out of Wales, and others came from other parts. All the time he could spare from the important Concerns of a confused State, he spent in his Studies; by which he made no small progress in Learning, and deservedly bears the Honour of the first Learned Prince we had in England.

His Compo-  
sures, and  
good Ma-  
nagement of  
his Time  
and Expen-  
ses.

His own illiterate Education made him the more careful of that of his Children, for whom he provided the best and most diligent Masters; and by their Example encouraged almost all the Nobility of the Kingdom to train up their Children in the same way. For the completing of which Rudiments, he either raised or revived publick Schools in several of the chief Cities of the Land. The Learning, which by his great diligence he had gained in his riper Years, he employed not for shew, or his own honour, but for the publick advantage, in translating the best Authors into the vulgar Language; which it seems he laboured much to adorn, and especially affected the Saxon Verses, which he was so elegant a Composer of, that he gained the Name of a Poet to that of a King. The Natural Day, consisting of twenty four Hours, he divided into three parts, whereof he allotted eight to Prayer, Study and Writing, eight to the Care of his Body, in Eating, Exercise and Sleep, and the other eight to the Affairs of State; which spaces of Time, because he had no better Instrument to measure them by, he marked out by the burning of a great Wax Taper, distinguished into so many parts, which as soon as they were each of them burned, he had a Person who attended it to give him notice. His Revenues also he proportioned into as good an Order, making his Liberality equal to all his other Expences; in which, that he might not be over-lavish, he took an exact account of all his Income, caused a general Survey of his Kingdom to be made, and had all the Branches of his Revenue to be registered in a Book, which he kept in his Treasury at Winchester. In this regular course did he live, notwithstanding the various Changes of his Fortune, and the weak Habit of Body he lay under, and reigned twenty seven Years; leaving his Son *Edward*, a noble and worthy Prince, his Successor.

**E**DWARD, [Surnamed the Elder] tho' he was much inferior to his Father in Learning, much excelled him in Power, being a warlike, courageous and fortunate Prince: For he was absolute King of *Mercia*, and had the actual Possession of it, for which *Afred* received only a certain Homage; and, as some Writers assure us, ruled over the *East-Angles* and People of *Northumberland*; tho' we find by the Laws that he and *Guthrum* made by joint-consent, that they held the same Correspondence as his Father had. He conquered the *Britains* in *Wales*, and fortified and furnished with strong Garrisons divers Towns in England, whose Situation made them fit to prevent the Incurfions of the *Danes*, and was the whole twenty three Years that he reigned in continual Wars, and in them very fortunate. And indeed his Father himself, and many of his Successors, during the Wars with the *Danes*, tho' they lost their Ease, yet made a much more valuable Purchase of Honour by it: For this National Calamity kept them in such continual Exercise, that they had no time to indulge themselves in Ease and Luxury; but were obliged thereby to be more pious, just and careful in their Government: For otherwise it had been impossible for them to have held out so long against the *Danes* as they did, being a People of that Vigour and undaunted Courage, as no adverse Fortune could deter them, so as to let go the hold that they had gotten upon this Nation, who, if they had met with an unactive Prince for their Enemy, would soon have wrought themselves into the whole. And this was the Reason that the Succession of the Saxon Monarchy is something broken, the People being forced to choose a more able Prince, where the direct Line imposed a Minor, or unfit Person upon them; as in

**A**THELSTAN, or ETHELSTAN, who tho' he was an Illegitimate Son of King *Edward*, was yet preferred before his Lawful Son *Edmund*, who was under Age, and so unfit for a Kingdom in those difficult times, because he was grown to Man's Estate, and promised no small Advantages to the Nation from his Courage and Prudence. He was therefore Crowned with as great Solemnity and Joy as any of his Ancestors, and by an unanimous Election made their King. His Conduct in his Government answered the Expectation the People had of him. He proved Courageous against his Enemies, just to his People, and Zealous for Religion; in which Noble Actions, having spent a Reign of sixteen Years, he dyed as honourably as he lived, but without Issue.

**E**DMUND his Brother succeeded him: A Prince equal to any of his Predecessors in his Valour and Virtues, had he lived to have given a full proof of them. In the five Years he reigned, so

<sup>a</sup> It is said, that on the South-side of the Thames, the People of England were so illiterate, that few or none could read.

<sup>b</sup> He also made a Law, that all Freemen that had two Hides of Land should keep their Sons at School till fifteen Years old.

<sup>c</sup> Viz. *Neoth*, *John* of *S. Davids*, and *Joannes Monachus*, whom he placed in his School at *Oxford*, now *University-College*, as he did *Scotus* and *Grimbald* in another, now part of *Brazen-nose College*.

<sup>d</sup> He founded the University of *Oxford*, a School at *Crikelade* in *Wiltshire* for Greek, and *Lechlade* in *Glostershire* for Latin. He built three Monasteries, viz. *Etheling*, *Winchester* and *Shaftsbury*, in one of which he was buried, viz. *Winchester*.

<sup>e</sup> *Gregory's* Pastoral, *David's* Psalms, *Boethius*, *Bede's* History, &c.

<sup>f</sup> He was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, and is the first of our English Kings whom we read to have been Anointed at his Coronation, according to the Custom of the Jewish Kings.

<sup>g</sup> He erected *Hereford-Castle*, to curb the rebellious Temper of the *Welshmen*, and *Chester*, *Hereford*, &c.

<sup>h</sup> An Instance of his pious Care was in repairing the University of *Cambridge*, burnt by the *Danes*, and restoring it to its Lustre.

<sup>i</sup> He conquered the *Scots*, and by the Prayers of *John* of *Beverley*, is said to have obtained a Sign, that the *Scots* ought to be subject to the *English*, which was this: He struck a Rock with his Sword, and cut a Yard deep into it; which is to be seen near the Castle of *Dunbar* at this Day, *Radb. Hist. Wint.* p. 211. He, among many other Victories over the *Danes*, in one more signal slew five Kings, twelve Captains, and almost all their Army; and so brought them to yield him a quiet Reign over all England. At the Conclusion of which Agreement, the single Combat of the famous *Guy* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Colbrand* the Danish Giant, is said to have decided all Differences, the Victory falling to the English Champion. Tho' this Story is suspected of Falshood.

<sup>k</sup> He is said to have recovered *Lincoln*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Leicester*, from the *Danes*, and converted them to the Christian Faith.

fortunate



fortunate were his Arms, that none of his Enemies could stand before him; but tho' he escaped in the midst of Dangers, yet he met with his Death in his own Palace, being slain at a Feast in his own House, by the hand of a base Assassin, in the midst of his Nobles and People, who admir'd and lov'd him. He left two Sons, but being both too young to enter upon a Kingdom so full of Troubles,

EDRED his Brother was preferr'd before them both, who inheriting the Virtues and Bravery of his Ancestors, maintain'd his Kingdom stoutly against the continual Inrodes of the Danes all his Reign, which lasted but ten Years; when dying, he left his Kingdom to

A. D. 955. EDWIN, or EDWY, his Nephew, the eldest Son of his Brother Edmund, (a vicious and extravagant Youth) who declining from the excellent Qualities of his Ancestors, was an Happiness to his People in nothing but his short Reign of four Years; after which dying, he left his Kingdom to

959. EDGAR, his Brother, a Prince of great Worth: He was indeed very Young when he came to his Throne, being but sixteen Years old; but being of a pliable Disposition, and willing to admit of Counsel, was, by the grave advice of his Bishops, (who in those Religious times had an absolute sway over the Hearts and Affections of most Men) so instructed in all the Methods and Rules of a good Government and Religion, that he became a most Heroical Prince, and admirable Governour.

His Navy built against the Pirates.

Among other his excellent Acts of Government, he provided a mighty Navy to secure his Coasts from Invasion, which as he gather'd from lamentable Examples (tho' late) would be the best way to keep the like Calamities out of this Nation for the future; which for some Ages past, and at that time did greatly disturb and afflict it, not being expert in Sea-affairs. For when the Romans first conquer'd it, the Britains had no Shipping, but a few small Boats made of Wicker, or Osiers, cover'd with Hides; with which they could make no Opposition to the Romans, nor after to the Danes, who had very strong Ships, as the Times then were, and therefore easily found a secure place to land on so naked Coasts. Egbert indeed is said to have provided a strong Navy about the Year 840. and Alfred thirty or forty Years after is reported to have done the like: But their Ships being either consum'd by the Enemy, or decay'd and lost by disuse and neglect, Edgar builds a fresh Navy, and set out a Fleet of sixteen hundred Sail, as some write, and others say \* more; he divided it into four parts, appointing them their several Points to cruize at, thereby to secure his Coasts from Pirates, and all foreign Enemies, himself every Year in part of his Navy, sailing round the Isle, of which he stil'd himself King.

\* Three thousand.

He was absolute Monarch of England.

And that he might compleatly reduce the Nation to one Monarchy and Name, he stil'd himself King of Albion, as appears from the Charter granted by him to the Abby of Malmsbury in these words, *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimum, seu Insularum Regum circum-habitan-tium, &c. i. e. 'I Edgar King of all Albion, and of*

the Kings inhabiting the Isles, and Sea-coasts thereof, &c. For having first of all the Saxon Kings made Peace with the Danes, and granted them a quiet Settlement among his own People in all his Dominions, he had a Sovereign Rule over them: And Kenneth King of Scots did him homage, whether for Cumberland and Westmorland, given to that Crown by King Edmund his Father, or for his whole Kingdom, I cannot affirm; and five Kings of Wales did the like for their Country, coming all to him at his Court at Cardiffe: So that he seems the first absolute Monarch of this Land.

The general Peace which he enjoy'd through his whole Reign, procur'd him the honourable Title of *Pacificus*, and made his Kingdom, always a stranger before to so great a Blessing, very flourishing and prosperous during his time, which was sixteen Years. But it lasted little longer than his Reign; and, as if it had been made for him, as it was by him, was almost bury'd in his Grave. He dy'd young, viz. in the 32<sup>d</sup> Year of his Age, and left his Son Edward, a Child, to inherit his Throne; who, not being able to avoid the cruel designs which his Mother-in-law Elfrida had form'd to raise her Son Ethelred to his Dignity, fell a Sacrifice to her Ambition; and being so robb'd of his Earthly, was untimely translated to a Celestial Crown: He was murder'd by her own Hand in her House (Corfe-Castle) in the Isle of Purbeck, as he was hunting, having lost his Company, and coming thither to visit her, and refresh himself, tir'd with the Chase.

973. ETHELRED, the Son of King Edgar, by his second Wife Elfrida, having gotten the Crown by his Mother's Cruelty from his elder Brother, was put into the full Possession of it by St. Dunstan, who against his Will crown'd him King of England. It is said, that the Holy Man preaching the Sermon before his Coronation, prophetically foretold the Miseries which should follow his unjust Acquisition, in these words; *Quoniam aspirasti ad regnum per mortem fratris tui, &c. i. e. "Because thou hast aspired to the Crown by the Death of thy Brother, whom thy wicked Mother hath slain, Thus saith the Lord, The Sword shall never depart from thy House, raging against thee all the Days of thy Life; destroying thy Posterity, till thy Kingdom be translated to another Nation, whose Customs and Language thy People know not: Nor shall thy Sin, and that of thy cruel Mother, and her Accomplices in that bloody Fact, be expiated but by long Punishment. Whether this Speech were thus deliver'd or no, may perhaps be doubted by some: But 'tis certain, it was verified by the Event. For the new erected Monarchy thro' a Divine Curse upon the Governour, fell immediately in pieces, and two Conquests by foreign Nations, within the space of fifty Years followed.*

St. Dunstan's Re-proof of his Usurpation.

The Danes, in the first place, being multiplied among themselves, and having much strengthen'd their Interests by marrying with the English in the late Peace, which they enjoyed twenty Years together, found themselves in a better Condition to oppose them with good Success than they had ever been; especially observing that the English were unsatisfied with their King, disaffected to

Assaults and Success against the English.

\* He hated the Monks, and is said to have banish'd Dunstan for reproving his Excesses: But we must beware how we believe Monkish Writers, when they write of their Enemies.

† In all his Reign no foreign Army disquieted the Peace of this Nation.

‡ But in this Peace the English are said to have learn'd such excessive Drinking, that Edgar was forc'd to make a severe Law against Drinking, That no Man should drink beyond certain Nicks or Marks made in their Pots for that end.

§ S. Dunstan would have had Edgith, the Sister of Edward the Martyr, crown'd Queen.



his Government, and divided among themselves, so that 'twas very improbable they could or would make any tolerable Resistance. Wherefore that they might effect an absolute Conquest of the Land, which they had so long attempted in vain, they invited their Country-men out of *Denmark* to come with all the Assistance they could possibly make for them; who thereupon came in such great Multitudes, that they assaulted most of the Coasts and parts of the Nation at once: So that the State was at a loss how to suppress their Insolencies. *Ethelred* encountered them with small Forces once, and again, but to no purpose; and therefore was forced to buy his Peace at the Price of 10000*l*. The *Danes* gladly accepted the Money, but never let the poor *English* enjoy their Purchase: For this Composition being too manifest a Proof of the *English* Weakness, and the *Danes* Strength, they every Year renewed their Invasion on purpose to sell their Peace; which they always did at a dearer Rate every Year than other. This produced the first Tax that was ever laid upon the *English*, then known by the Name of *Dane-gelt*; which tho' it was very grievous to the People, yet was continued for many Ages after the Occasion ceased: And in the end (tho' under other Names) became the usual way of Supply for Princes Wants in time of War and Danger.

The first Tax which the *English* have called *Dane-gelt*.

*Ethelred*, by his Gifts, was so far from easing his People of their Troubles, that he rather procured greater Expences. The *Danes* desires of Money growing greater by their Receipts, inasmuch that *Swain* King of *Denmark*, and *Aulase*, or *Anlase* King of *Norway*, thought it worth their while to go in Person upon an Expedition into *England* to return loaden with Treasure, which accordingly they had: And *Aulase*, who was a Prince of a milder Disposition, was converted to Christianity and baptized. These heavy Burthens, and grievous Calamities, which the *English* suffer'd from Foreigners, were much increased by the Disloyalties and Unfaithfulness of *Ethelred's* own Subjects; his principal Men, who were intrusted in the Defence of the Nation, proving the Betrayers of it, as it usually happens to broken Fortunes, very few are faithful Friends to them. For when after the Example of *Edgar* his Father, he had provided a great Navy; *Elfrick*, the Admiral, is said to have given Intelligence of their Strength and Design to the *Danes*, and so disappointed the whole Intent of it. The Earls *Fran*, *Fritbigist*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle*, the Chief Commanders of the Army by Land, being secret Friends to the *Danes*, discourag'd their Men by Flight from the Battel they had begun, and so caused their Defeat. *Edric*, Duke of *Mercia*, who after these was created General of all the King's Forces; was so much the more infamous for his Disloyalty, by how much the King reposed the greater Trust in him: For when he came to engage the Enemy, he feigned himself sick, and left his Army to shift for themselves; who fell into the *Danes* hands, and left the Country to be their Prey, for which he bore the Name of *False*.

The Unfaithfulness of his Officers.

*Wolnod*, or *Wilmot*, a Nobleman of *Suffex*; who was for his Misdemeanour out-lawed and banished by the King, infested the Coasts with continual Robberies, having twenty Ships mann'd with Thieves and Pirates. The King sent eighty Sail of his Ships to take him, which being first lamentably torn with a Tempest, were set upon by *Wilmot*, and being unable to resist were all by him set on fire. This Perfidiousness of the Nobility, tho' it might proceed from their Discontents, Emulations, or disloyal Affections, yet is charged upon *Ethelred's* Pride and Vice, whom yet we find to have been more unfortunate than really weak; and had he had faithful Ministers of his Affairs, might have gone in the foremost Rank of our *English* Worthies: For he neglected no Occasion to make a brave Resistance against his Enemies, and to that end made great Preparations both by Land and Sea, brought his Affairs many times to a great Ripeness; but thro' an unlucky Fate, that lay upon him, he never proved successful. So that tho' indeed he was a Prince of good Designs and Arms, yet being unfortunate in his Actions, he bears a Name of Ignominy and Reproach, which all the desperate Battels he fought<sup>b</sup>, the good Constitutions of Government he made, and the great Provisions which he on all occasions made for his Kingdoms Safety, can never rescue him from.

*Ethelred* of himself no bad Prince.

To the former Calamities were joyned Famine, and a great Mortality, with unusual Inundations of the Rivers and Seas, as if God and Man had conspired together to make this Nation as miserable as the Sins of the Prince and People deserved; and nothing would satisfy, but their utter Destruction.

While the Nation was struggling with these heavy Judgments, *Swain* King of *Denmark*, to greaten the Load of their Afflictions, comes with a strong Navy to raise new Sums of Money upon the *English*, oppressing the poor distressed People till he had a Sum of 48000*l*. granted in an Assembly of the States at *London*, paid to him; by which means a Peace, or rather a Bargain of Slavery, was made between the two Nations; That they should dwell quietly together, and enjoy their own Liberties and Properties without any Molestation, which was confirmed by solemn Oaths on both sides, and Hostages delivered by the *English*. The *Danes* in this Agreement laid aside open Hostilities indeed, but could not dissemble their Thoughts, that they were Masters; and therefore behaved themselves with great Insolency to the *English*, committed many close Outrages; offered many base Abuses to the Wives and Daughters, not only of the meaner sort, but of the Nobility themselves; with many other intolerable Disorders. These things so exasperated the Spirits of the *English*, that they resolved upon a full Revenge. One *Hune*, a great Commander, and valiant Soldier of that time, being sensible of the Weakness of the Nation to right themselves of such Injuries, propounded a secret way of Revenge, by a sudden and universal Massacre of the *Danes* in all parts of the Land. *Ethelred* approved the Motion, and advanced the

The *Danes* come for *English* Money.

A Massacre of the *Danes*.

<sup>a</sup> It is said, That *Edric*, the False Duke of *Mercia*, was the Cause and Adviser of this Tax. The Peers, and among them *Siricius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were the Promoters of the Composition with the *Danes*; but *Edric* to reimburse his Master, devised the Imposition upon the People, which tho' advantageous to himself, render'd him odious to the People, especially after it was redoubled, and yet extorted from them, as it was shortly after.

<sup>b</sup> He was particularly careful of the due Execution of Justice, and made many good Laws for his Judges, injoyning them to do Justice, yet with Mercy; to accept no Man's Person, and take no Bribes: And was so strict in the Observance of them, that having found one *Walgeatus*, a Judge, whom he particularly loved, to have broken his Laws, he deposed him from his Office.

<sup>c</sup> The *Danes* every where treated the *English* no better than their Slaves; forcing them to labour, while they sat at home with their Wives, and like Drones fed on the Honey, which by their indefatigable Industry the poor *English* had gathered. Nor were they herewith contented, but as an open Reproach of their Cowardice, the *Danes* required them to call them Lords; which for more Quietness sake they yielded to.



A. D. 1002. Design by giving his Orders for the Execution of it [On the Feast of S. Brice, Nov. 13. 1002. this bloody Tragedy was acted] with so much implacable Fury and Cruelty, as evidently shewed the Rancour and inveterate Anger the *English* had conceived against them. Neither Temples, nor Altars, Supplications, nor any Bands of Alliance could save them from Slaughter; but where-ever they found the *Danes*, they immediately destroyed them. *Gunbald*, the Sister of *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who had shewed her self a continual Friend to the *English*, and by her Mediation procured them a Peace; yet being a *Dane*, could not escape their Fury, but was slain with her Husband and Son. She being a Woman of a Masculine Courage, met her Death not with Fears, but Threats; telling the Murtherers, that her Blood should cost their Nation dear, and that a severe Revenge should be taken of them for her Death, as it after happened.

Swain re-  
venges the  
Danes  
Deaths.

The News of this sad and bloody Fact was soon carried over to *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who as he repented it not with more Grief than Fury, so he made the speediest Preparations he could to revenge it; having now a just occasion to deal with the *English* with the utmost Rigour and Severity, who had first shewn him an Example of unmerciful Cruelty. The next Summer therefore (for sooner such an Expedition was not safe to be attempted) he sets forth for *England* with a great Navy, enter'd the Country in the Western Parts, and after a most barbarous manner ravaged and spoiled it. The *English* not so courageous to maintain their Fact, as they had been to commit it, yielded up the Possession of their Country to him; chusing rather to submit, than stand the Hazard of a Victory. All the Nation became *Swain's*, except the City of *London*, which being strongly fortified, *Ethelred* held out against him, and made a noble Resistance; till he left them, and fled first into the Isle of *Wight* and after into *Normandy*, whither he had sent *Emma* his Queen with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, from the Rage of this Tempest. But within two Months after, he was again invited home by his own People upon the Death of *Swain*, who just when he was ready to have been crowned King of this Island, died; leaving his Son *Canutus* to succeed him in his Fortunes, and accomplish his intended Designs.

Swain's  
Death.

Ethelred  
expels Ca-  
nutus, and  
gets to Lon-  
don.

*Ethelred* being returned home, was soon furnished with an Army; and setting upon *Canutus*, lying then at *Lindsey* with his Father's Ships, and *English* Hostages given his Father a little before, forced him to Sea: At which he being enraged, made about to *Sandwich*, where he first treated cruelly all such of *Ethelred's* Friends as he could get into his power, and then grievously mangling the Hostages, he sent them home, himself returning into his own Country with the Spoils which he and his Father had gotten, to make greater Preparations for the prosecution of his purpose the next Year. *Ethelred* in the mean time did not desist from pursuing the advantage he had got; and to weaken the *Danes* Power and Interest, he, in a General Assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danish* Nobility to be murther'd; among which was *Sigfrith* and *Morchar*, Earls of *Northumberland*, whom the false Earl *Edric* (who was never backward to be an Actor of Mischief on either side) having invited to a Banquet at his Lodgings, caused there to be kill'd,

and their Followers with them; who, having defended themselves and Master as long as they could, fled into a Church, where they were consum'd in the Flames with the Building.

*Canutus* having strengthen'd himself with all the Forces he could raise at home, or procure of his Neighbours, with whom he was in League, return'd again to *England* within the Year; and landing at *Sandwich*, had all the West parts surrender'd up to him without resistance, who gave him Pledges for their Obedience, and furnish'd him with Horse and Armour. *Ethelred* lay very dangerously sick, and not being able to oppose the fierce Invader himself, sent his Son *Edmund*, surnamed *Ironside*, with a good Army against him. *Edmund*, a Prince full of Youth and Courage, and every ways fitted to have deliver'd his Country, had he liv'd in better Times, and among faithful People, joyfully march'd against *Canute*, to try his fortune; but in the way being inform'd, that *Edric* the False had promised to betray his Father's Fleet to the Enemy, (which he soon after did, going over to them with forty Ships) and being deserted by *Utrede*, one of his chief Commanders, he was obliged to retreat to *London*, the only place which retain'd their Loyalty to their King in his Misfortunes. Hither also *Ethelred* himself, having a little recover'd his Sickness, came with such small Forces as kept their Fidelity to him; but relapsing into his Distemper soon after his arrival, and tired with Troubles, dy'd, having reign'd thirty seven Years, and was bury'd in *St. Paul's Church* at *London*, behind the Quire.

Canutus in-  
vades Eng-  
land.

*CANUTUS*, after the Death of *Ethelred*, (whose long Reign shews, that the Unfortunate often have too long time allotted them, and the Fortunate too little) was by most of the Clergy and Nobility chosen King; only the City of *London*, with some of the Nobility thereabouts, elected *Edmund*, and furnish'd him with so good an Army, that through the courageous Briskness and Vigour of his Youth, (which is generally most fierce in the first Attempts) he had much the better in three successive Battels, fought within three Months after he was made King; and had certainly gain'd a fourth at *Ashdon* or *Essendon*, had not the Disloyal *Edric* forsaken his Sovereign, and carry'd over his Party to the Enemy, who, in all probability, had receiv'd a deadly Blow without that assistance, and with it gain'd that fatal Victory, which prov'd the Conquest of *England*: For here *Edmund* lost the Flower of his Nobility, and best of his Soldiers, and among them *Ulchel* the Heroick Earl of *Essex*; who being a Man of great Worth and Courage, stood up boldly in defence of his Country in the time of *Swain*, and gave proof that there were both Hope and Possibility of keeping out the Enemy, had not there wanted Union and Loyalty among them.

A. D. 1016.  
Edmund's  
Success  
against the  
Danes.

From this Battel *Edmund* made his escape to *Glocester*, to gather new Forces; and was not so utterly forsaken by the *English* (tho' *London* by the late Victory fell into the Enemy's hand) but that in a small time he gather'd another powerful Army, and resolv'd to try his Fortune once more with *Canute*, who was swollen with the great Thoughts of this Victory. *Canutus*, on the other side, as solicitous to keep the advantage he had gotten, as he was lucky to get it, pursues after him, and overtakes him near the River *Severn*. Here, when both Armies were ready to joyn

Edmund's  
single Com-  
bat with  
Canutus for  
the King-  
dom, and  
their divi-  
sion of it.

- *Palingus*, a Noble *Dane*, of great Power and Wealth, being a Christian.
- At *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, at *Shoreham* in *Worcestershire*, at *Brantford* near *Oxford* in *Kent*.
- A little Town near *Walden* in *Essex*, where remain certain Hills cast up in Memory of this Victory; and where *Canutus* after built a Church, as a grateful Acknowledgment of God's Gift of the Kingdom to him.

Battel,



Edmund  
fraternal  
and Canu-  
tus divide  
the king-  
dom.

Battel, a Motion of Peace was made; or, in case that could not be accepted, a single Combat between the two Kings, to save Expence of Blood; for 'twas most just, that they who were to wear the Honour should decide the Quarrel, which was not likely to be ended, but with the utter extirpation of one of the Nations. A single Combat was consented to by both Kings; and in an Isle, surrounded by the *Severn* (now call'd *Alney*) in the sight of the Armies, did they fight for the Kingdom. The Combat was long and equal, but *Edmund* had the advantage both in Strength and Fortune; for he gave *Canute* a dangerous Wound, and much over-power'd him; which the *Dane* craftily concealing, made a proposition of Peace, and won *Edmund* to throw down his Arms, and come to this agreement, That they would live in perfect Love and Friendship one with another, and enjoy an equal Division of the Kingdom: To confirm which Agreement, they not only mutually swore, but chang'd Cloaths and Arms, to shew the Unity of their Minds; as tho' *Edmund* were now become *Canutus*, and *Canutus* *Edmund*. A fatal and ignominious Exchange for so free and courageous a Prince, who not only made himself half a King by this Act, but expos'd himself to that Treachery of his Enemies, which he need not have fear'd from their strongest Armies. For in a few Days after this League, he was treacherously slain at *Oxford*, some say by Duke *Eirik*, others by his Son, an Evil Egg of an Evil Bird; and so the Kingdom was wholly translated to *Canutus*; who, tho' he liked not Treason, nor approved of the Act of the Traitor, yet embraced willingly the Purchase of both. He reign'd scarce one whole Year, and left two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and one Daughter, *Margaret*, marry'd to *Melcolm* King of *Scots*.

A. D.  
1016.

Canutus the  
Dane, King  
of England.

**C**ANUTUS, the Son of *Swain* King of *Denmark*, having thus gotten the absolute Dominion of this Kingdom, govern'd it with greater Justice than he had obtain'd it; putting off his natural Roughness, and conforming to a more civil and smooth Conversation. And that the Nation might be sensible, that he resolv'd, now he was King of it, to study its advantage, he immediately sent away his Navy, and dismissed his hired Soldiers to their own home, and cast himself wholly upon his People; believing, that his Kindness to his People would be a surer way for his Establishment, than the use of Force; which so pleased the Nobles, then assembled at *London*, that they consented to give him eighty three thousand Pounds in Silver to pay them off, and discharge them.

Canutus  
puts *Eirik*  
to Death.

At his first Accession to the Crown, his Care was to rid himself as well of his false Friends, as of his avowed Enemies. *Eirik*, who first came to salute him sole Monarch of *England* (as if he had told him, that he made him so) he order'd to be beheaded, and his Head to be set upon

the highest Pinnacle in the Tower of *London*; therein making good the Promise he gave him, when he brought him *Edmund's* Head, That he would advance his Head above all the Peers of the Kingdom. This just Punishment of Treason gave a wonderful Satisfaction to all the Nation, which rejoiced to see his Perfidiousness so well rewarded. After the same manner he, not long after, dealt with the two Earls, *Turkill* and *Erick*, who being by him banish'd the Nation, and sent into *Denmark*, he caused to be Executed upon their arrival there.

But the Love of his People, and the good Opinion of Justice, which he had gotten by the former Actions, were again soon after lost by his Cruelty to the Royal Branches, *Edmund* and *Edward* the Sons, and *Edwin* the Brother of King *Edmund*; whom in his Opinion being such Impediments to his Dignity, that his Crown could never sit fast, so long as they were alive, he sent to his Brother in *Denmark* to be murder'd: By which Privacy, tho' he thought to have escaped the Infamy of so foul a Fact at home, yet Suspicion alone soon rais'd him a general Odium among the People. But these young Princes met with kinder usage abroad, than they could have hoped for at home, under *Canutus's* jealous Eye; for their tender and innocent Years moved their intended Executioner to such Compassion, that he not only spar'd them himself, but convey'd them out of danger, by sending them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, to be educated in his Court; where afterwards *Edward*, who survived his Brother, was marry'd to *Agatha*, the Sister of that Queen, and Daughter to the Emperor *Henry II.* by whom he had two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edgar*, and as many Daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*. *Alfred* and *Edward*, the Sons of King *Ethelred* by *Emma*, were preserved by *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, their Uncle, and so were out of his reach.

*Canutus* being thus rid of his Fears, tho', as he was sensible, with a little damage to his Reputation, set himself to recover his Honour again, by becoming a most eminent Benefactor to the Publick; and to that end employ'd all his Thoughts and Revenues to repair the Damages, which the Nation had suffer'd by the Wars, both in its Buildings and Laws. He erected several Churches and Monasteries, and by his Patents endow'd them with plentiful Estates and Provisions, especially in or near those places, where he had obtain'd any signal Victories; that at once he might testify his Devotion and Thankfulness to God. He made many Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws, which he publish'd in the Language of that time: They are very full of pious Admonitions; which testify not only the Piety as well as Justice of the King himself, but also that the best way in his opinion to have Laws observed, was to have them first approved in their Consciences. Among other things he inflicted severe Punishment on all Intemperances of his People, and all Offences of ill

Canutus's  
beneficial  
Acts to the  
Nation.

\* *Edmund* had for his part *Kent*, the Kingdoms of *West-Saxons*, *East-Saxons*, and *East-Angles*; and *Canutus* had *Mercia* and *Northumbria*.

† He was stab'd in the Belly by Earl *Eirik's* Son, as he was easing his Body at *Oxford*. *Radb. Hist. Wint.*

‡ At the Persuasion of Queen *Emma*, the Widow of *Ethelred*, marry'd to *Canutus*.

§ Others say, he was smother'd, and cast out of a Window into the *Thames*.

¶ *Edwin* remain'd in *Canutus's* Court awhile, that King shewing him much Favour; but being a Man of a Morose Temper, for which he was call'd the King of Churlcs, he was never lov'd in the Court, and therefore soon met with Death among his professed Enemies and false Friends; but by what Instruments, we have only Conjecture to inform us.

‡ He, by the advice of *Emma* his Queen, repair'd the old Monastery at *Winchester*, and adorn'd it with so much Gold, and Silver, and Jewels, that it was admir'd for the Riches of it. Particularly He is said to have given a Cross worth a Year's Revenue of the Crown. He built *Bennet* Abby in *Norfolk*, and *St. Edmund's* in *Suffolk*.

¶ These Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, were not so much compos'd by him, as *Edgar*; but only were more firmly establish'd: They were the *Saxon* Laws, afterwards more fully enacted by *Edward* the Confessor, and from him call'd the *Confessor's* Laws; now for the more part extant in the *Magna-Charta*.

¶ He caus'd all Clergymen guilty of Murthers, Adulteries, or other foul Crimes, to be degraded; Adulteresses to have their Noses slit, &c.

influence



influence upon good Manners. Just he was in the highest degree, but not Cruel; few of his Laws being Sanguinary, according to the Custom of those Times, which, tho' rough and warlike, yet had a way of preserving good Order in his Kingdom without the Effusion of much Blood. For no Punishments were made capital, but treasonable Conspiracies; but all other Crimes were punish'd by Fines, Banishment, Slavery, or Imprisonment. One Example of his Clemency, among many, is worthy our notice. There was a Law then in force, That *whoever had committed Theft, and the Goods were found in his House, all his Family were made Slaves, even to the Child in the Cradle.* This Law he abrogated, as most unjust; and enacted, *That only the Malefactor, and such as assisted him, should suffer the Punishment; and that the Wife (unless the stolen Goods were found in her Custody under Lock) should not be guilty, or suffer for her Husband's Offence.* By these Laws, and other his good Actions, did this King so gain the Love and Affections of the People, that he made as absolute a Conquest of their Hearts, as he had of their Country; and *England* thought it their Happiness to be his People and Subjects. Nor did he suffer their Affections to cool, but increased them daily by many popular Actions; for he not only paid a singular Reverence and Honour to the Memory of the late King *Edmund* his Confederate, but severely punish'd all those that had any share in murdering him. Then he marry'd the Wife of King *Ethelred*, *Emma*, (tho' his Bed was no great Honour to her, who had lost her former Husband by his Hands) by whose means he secured himself from any attempts of the Duke of *Normandy* for his Nephews, in regard that she might have Issue by him, who by contract of Marriage were to succeed.

Canutus's  
Clemency.

Canutus  
made King  
of Norway.

Scarce was this Monarch well establish'd in his Kingdom over the *English*, but another offer'd it self. The People of *Norway* contemning the weakness of their King, and conspiring to depose him, broke out into Factions, and revolted. *Canutus* fastens upon this opportunity, and partly by his great Strength, which he carry'd out of *England*, and partly by his Money and great Reputation, he so much prevail'd with the People as to choose him their King. And so he became the most Puissant and Renowned Prince in all these Parts of the World, being entitled, *King of England, Denmark and Norway.* With his Power he enlarged his Magnificence, especially towards the Church, which he sought all Means to advance, either to appease his own Conscience, or ingratiate himself with his People; which at that time, being addicted to Religion, were much pleased with such Acts of Devotion. And having enriched his Kingdom with many Acts of his pious Bounty, he undertakes a Journey to *Rome* to visit the Sepulchres of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: All along the Way, he did many Works of Charity, by freeing all Streights and Passages from Toll, which had usually been exacted before of Travellers that passed that way. At *Rome* he gave many large Gifts to *St. Peter's Church*, and by his Mediation obtain'd, that the *Saxon School*, founded there by his Predecessors, Kings of *England*, should be freed from all Impositions and Tributes for ever. What Entertainment he met at *Rome* from the Pope,

*Conradus* the Emperor, and divers other Christian Princes, he gives an account of to his Bishops and Nobility, in a Letter written to them from thence; wherein he earnestly exhorts them to take care in his absence, that Justice be impartially administer'd to all his Subjects, without any regard to his advantage or profit; for he would by no means have his Revenue enlarg'd by the Injuries of others. He also straitly charges them, that the Dues which are owing either to the Church at home, or the See of *Rome*, be all paid, and discharged before his Return.

Thus did this great Prince, the mightiest and most absolute Monarch that ever yet had sat on the *English* Throne, the Original of a new Line of Kings, and of a new Government, strive to lay a good Foundation of a lasting Succession in these Kingdoms, and by his good Deeds bring the Divine Favour upon his Posterity. And who would have thought, but he might have been a Root of as long a Descent, as afterward the *Norman* was, having as numerous a Male-Issue, being better Belov'd, of greater Power and Virtues than he? But it was not in his Fate. He left several Sons, viz. *Swain*, *Harold*, *Hardicanute*; of which, tho' two enter'd the *English* Succession, yet they enjoy'd it but a little while: So that the Possession, which *Canutus* had purchas'd at so great Expence of Blood and Labour, was lost in a manner with him.

Canutus's  
Greatness,  
but want of  
Succession.

**H**AROLD, the Son of *Canutus*, after his Father's Death, succeeded him in his Kingdom of *England*; being, as some say, made King by his Father's Appointment; but as others write, by the Election of the *Danish* Nobility in an Assembly at *Oxford*. *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, who was left Guardian (as he pretended) of the Queen and her Children, with most of the *English* Nobility, stood for *Hardicanute* the Son of *Emma*, or else *Alfrid* the Son of *Ethelred*, who is said to have come out of *Normandy* upon the Death of *Canutus* to claim the Crown: But *Harold*, who had gotten Possession of it, had so strengthened himself against all Pretenders, that notwithstanding this Opposition, he was proclaimed and crowned King. The first act of his Reign was to seize the Treasure of his Step-mother Queen *Emma*, whom he banished out of his Realm; then he put out the Eyes of *Alfrid* her Son, who had been a Competitor with him for the Kingdom, and committed him to a loathsome Prison, where he died. Earl *Godwin* is reported to have betrayed the young Prince into the King's hand. The Queen *Emma* fled to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, her Kinsman, where she remained to the Death of *Harold*, who reigned but four Years; and then she returned into *England* with her Son *Hardicanute*, who accidentally came out of *Denmark* to visit her at *Bruges*. *Harold* died without Children.

A. D.  
1036.

Harold chosen King by the Danes.

**H**ARDICANUTE, after the Death of *Harold*, his half Brother, was proclaimed King of *England*. The Nation promised themselves great Happiness under his Government, but they found themselves soon disappointed; for he no sooner was invested with the Royal Dignity: But he made himself odious to his People, by a piece of

1041.

Hardicanute lost the Love of his People.

\* *Denmark* was given to *Hardicanute*, and he was crown'd King of it in his Father's Life, and *Norway* to *Swain*; but *Norway* revolted.

b He paid so much for the *French* to their King, that he eased them of one half of the heavy Taxes they then lay under.

c By *Ailnothus*, or *Elnothus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho' against his Will, because he judg'd the Crown to belong to the Sons of *Emma*.

d It is said, That *Harold's* Cruelty and bad Government over the *English*, begot such an Aversion to all the *Danish* Race, that it was enacted by the *English* Nobles, That no *Dane* should ever after Reign over them.

unnatural



unnatural Revenge, in causing the Body of King Harold to be taken out of its Tomb, and having severed the Head from it, to be cast into the River Thames: Then he made a strict Enquiry after those who had been instrumental in the Death of Alfrid, his Brother by his Mother. Earl Godwin, and Livingus Bishop of Worcester, were accused of it. [Alfricus Arch-bishop of Canterbury] The Bishop was deprived of his See, but the Earl by a rich Present of a Ship of Gold, made his Protestations of Innocency to be easily credited by the King and the Nobility, among whom he had great Interest. The Bishop finding the Strength of Gold, by a Sum obtain'd his Bishoprick, and so that bloody Act was wholly imputed to the late King.

Not long after this, by the Instigation of Earl Godwin, he imposed a general Grievance on the whole Kingdom by a prodigal Gift, which he bestowed on his Fleet of Danes; ordering every Mariner to be paid eight Marks, and every Captain ten, which he raised upon the State; a Tax so heavy in those Days, that it caused a Tumult at Worcester, wherein the Collectors were killed. Thus by his Vices and ill Actions, he was a Burthen to his Nation, and only an Ease by his short Reign; for he died in the second Year of his Reign at Lambeth, where he was celebrating a Marriage. He was thought to have been poison'd. With him ended the Government of the Danes in England (having continued twenty six Years only under the three last Kings) and so the Power, which no Force could withstand in England, expired of it self, and the Nation was left to chuse a King of their own, without Competition. There being one Son of Ethelred remaining alive, viz.

Edward  
the Son of  
Ethelred,  
crowned  
King of  
England.

**E**DWARD the CONFESSOR, the Son of Ethelred, by Emma his Queen, who by the provident Care of his Mother, was sent into Normandy to secure him from the Danish Force, was immediately sent for upon the Death of Hardicanute: And being elected King by the general Consent of the Nation, was crowned at Winchester by Ed-sine Arch-bishop of Canterbury, An. 1042. being then about forty Years of Age. Godwin, Earl of Kent, was a Principal Agent in this Preferment: But for his own ends. The Kingdom (having dearly paid for the Admission of Strangers) made an Order, That he should not bring any Normans with him. The first publick Act he did, was, That he remitted the heavy Tribute called Danegelt, imposed by his Father, which amounted to 40000 l. a Year, and had been paid for forty Years past. He caused a Body of the best, and most wholesome Laws, to be collected out of those of the Mercians, West-Saxons, Danes, and Northumbrians, and to be written in Latin. He was indeed a Man very exemplary for his Piety, but fit for no time, but those peaceable and quiet Times he lived in: For having been educated with the Nuns of Juniegas in Normandy, he scarce knew himself to be a Man, when he came into England, much less a King. And of this, some give us this notable Instance, That being very an-

gry with a Country Fellow for disturbing his Game when he was a hunting; he said, I would punish thee were I able. And as if he had vowed Continency with the Nuns, with whom he was bred, he was so far from knowing other Women, that tho' he lived many Years in a formal Shew of Marriage with his Wife, yet after his Death she protested her self a Virgin.

The Easiness and Simplicity of the King was Godwin made a means of raising himself and Family to the highest pitch of Greatness by Earl Godwin; who first insinuating, that he was the chief Man that raised the King to his Crown, obtain'd that his Daughter should be accepted in Marriage by the King, by which the whole Nation in a manner came to be governed by the Earl. Syward, Earl of Northumberland, and Leofrick, Earl of Hereford, Men of Spirit and Greatness, took notice of his aspiring Ambition, and seeing him so much for himself, stood up the more for the King. This Emulation proved advantageous to the Nation; for as Godwin sought to greatness himself by the Conquest of Wales for the King; which his Son Harold, Earl of the West-Saxons, effected, by vanquishing the two Welsh Kings, Ris and Griffith; so Syward deprived Macbeth, the Scottish Usurper, of his Life and Crown, and restored Melcolm to his just Right. Robert, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, a Norman, much in Favour with the King, was also Godwin's Enemy: So that not only he missed of his present Designs, but thro' the Sagaciousness of his Enemies, his future Aims were discovered, which they made manifest to the King upon this Occasion.

Eustatbius, Earl of Bullogne, who had married A Disgrace at Dover.  
Goda the King's Sister, having been at Court to visit the King; and in his return again to France,

his Harbinger, who was sent before to provide him and his Retinue Lodgings at Dover, behaving himself rudely and insultingly to a Citizen, was slain by him. The Earl after arriving with his Company, pursues the Person and slew him, with eighteen more. The City being alarm'd at this piece of Revenge, took Arms, and slew twenty two of the Earl's Servants: At this, the Earl hastens to the King, complains of the Citizens Rudeness, and so aggravates the Matter, that Earl Godwin was immediately commanded with a sufficient Force to go down to Dover, and chastise them for this Insolency. The Earl knowing, that this Sentence proceeded from the Information of one side only, advised the King first to send for some of the Chief of the Citizens to answer the Charge, and according to their Defence, to proceed. This wholesome Counsel was interpreted by his Enemies, as if the Earl favoured the King's Enemies, and designed to make himself popular: And they so far possess'd the King of it, that he began then to have a Suspicion of his Affection to him, and at length looked upon him as aiming at his Crown; wherefore not long after, the Earl was summoned to a Parliament at Gloucester, but neither he, nor any of his Sons would appear: But suspecting, that his Enemies had some ill Designs against him, he raised some Forces,

\* One Thurstan and Feader.

\* There was a nearer Heir to the Crown alive, viz. Edward the Son of Edmund Ironside; but he having none in the Nation to solicit his Interest, lost his Inheritance, and this Edward was by Election placed in it.

\* By all the Subjects of England, except the Clergy, who thro' the Piety of those Times were exempted from all Taxes, which since have been doubled upon them.

\* These Laws are for the most part the common Laws of England, now in use; so called, because they are such Usages and Practices, as by long Experience have been found for the common Good of this Nation: Among these Laws he enacted, That no Person should be molested or troubled with any Law-suits upon certain Festivals: And that Criminals flying to the Church for Safety, should be protected and apprehended by none but the Bishop and his Ministers. With many other excellent Laws.

\* His Piety was so acceptable to God, as well as remarkable among his Subjects, that God gave him a Power of healing Diseases miraculously; and from him it is, that the miraculous Gift of healing the Disease from thence called the King's-Evil, is derived to the Christian Kings of England, tho' common to the Kings of France with them, and by as good a Title.



under a Pretence of suppressing the *Welsh*, who at that time made no Disturbance. Whereupon the Parliament removed to *London*, and there summoned him again to appear, and dismissing his Forces to come to them, with twelve Men only, he returned them this Answer, *That he should be content to dismiss his Forces, do any thing the King would command him, provided it were with Safety of his Life and Honour; but to attend upon them without a sufficient Guard, he was satisfied was for neither.* The Parliament having received this Answer, knew no other way to rid themselves of him, but to command him to depart the Realm within five Days, which he did; and with his Sons *Swain*, *Tofto*, and *Girib*, sailed into *Flanders*, where *Tofto* married the Daughter of *Earl Baldwin V.* *Harold* his eldest Son fled into *Ireland*. The King puts away his Queen, that she might share in the Disgrace of her Family, and Misfortunes of her Kindred; tho' according to the Description which is given by the Writers of those Times of her, she was most undeserving of that Punishment: For they say, she was a Lady of great Worth and rare Parts, very learned and beautiful, and of as fair a Mind as Body. *Earl Godwin*, in his Exile (while the *Normans* and his Enemies had the King's Favour) fell to Piracy; disturbed and plundered the Coasts, and ventured up to *London* by the River: Where being so popular, that no Forces would oppose him, he was admitted to such a Peace as he would make; which being such, as if not directly, yet in the end would tend to the Ruine of the *French* and his other Enemies, they thought it their best Course to forsake the Court and Kingdom, but carried with them such a true Notion of the Kingdom's Weakness, thro' the Distractions of the People, and Factions of great Men, as a little after gave them Encouragement to attempt the Conquest of it.

Earl Godwin banished.

Earl Godwin's Revenge upon the Normans.

*Earl Godwin* being again restored to his Country, and in great Credit with the King, made use of his Interest and Authority to gratify his own revengeful Temper, and injure others. *Robert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and his *Normans*, he caused to be banished, and did many Acts of Injustice to the People; which did so blacken those peaceable Times, and disaffect the People to the King, that they accounted him among the worst of Governours, who tho' he did no ill himself, yet suffered his Authority to be abused by those that did. The Queen *Emma* had her share of Trouble in this Reign, suffering much both in her Estate and good Name, thro' *Godwin's* Hatred to her. Her grand Accusation was, That she had kept Company too familiarly with *Alwynie*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and by her scandalous Behaviour disgraced the Royal Line; for which she was deprived of her Riches and Estate, and imprisoned. The Queen, to vindicate her Innocency, was contented to undergo the severe Tryal of a Fire-Ordeal (which was to pass blindfold with her bare Feet over nine Plow-shares, made red hot, and laid at even distance one by

another) which she safely performed, and by it recovered her Fame and Honour with the King and Nobles of the Land, who were all Spectators of this miraculous Act: But *Earl Godwin's* Death put an end to farther Trouble by his Means.

*Edward* having now reigned near twenty Years, and being pretty well advanced in Age, and being without Issue, began to think upon his Succession, and to secure that in his own Line, sent for his Nephew, *Edward* called the Out-law, out of *Hungary*, with his Children. They lived some time in his Court; but *Edward* died before him, leaving only one Son. *Edgar*, surnamed *Atleling*, whom he had by his Wife *Azatha*, Daughter to the Emperor *Henry II.* who being very young and bred a Stranger, which are really no just Bar to Right, was neglected at the Death of his Uncle, the pious King *Edward*, which happened *An. 1065.* when he had reigned twenty four Years. His Body was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded, and his Throne disposed out of his Line to *Harold*.

**H**AROLD, the Son of *Earl Godwin*, the next A. D. Day after *Edward's* Death, was raised to 1065, the Regal Dignity, and made King; whether by any Title he derived from the *Danish* Kings, by his Mother, (who was the Sister of *Swain*, King of *Denmark*) or by mere Election of the Nobility, it is not easy to determine: But it seems, that the Circumstances of the Times were such, as necessarily required, that the Scepter should be put into the hands of such a Person as was best able to undergo the Burthen of War, and the other great Troubles the Nation was likely to fall into, thro' the various Claims, then put in both by the *Dane* and *Norman* for the *English* Crown; and none could be fitter for it in such a Juncture than *Harold*, who was judged on all hands the most eminent Man of the Kingdom, both for his Deserts and great Alliance with the Nobility of this Kingdom, both by his own Pedigree and his Wife's; who was *Algith*, the Sister of *Edwin* and *Morchar*, the Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*. Neither did he deceive the Expectations of the Nation in electing him; for he took the best Methods to govern the Kingdom well, and made such Provisions for the Safety of the Nation, as the most active and politick Prince could do: And had he had but a favourable Fortune, and faithful and courageous Subjects to second his brave Actions, the Attempts of the Enemies of the Kingdom had been in vain; but the approaching Danger so terrified the Nation, that the Terror robbed them at once of their Courage and Diligence.

The first that gave his Reign any Disturbance was his own Brother *Tofto*; who in the time of King *Edward*, being entrusted with the Government of *Northumberland*, behaved himself with such Pride and Cruelty to the People, that he was banished the Kingdom. Being in *Normandy*, when his Brother obtain'd the Crown of *England*, with *William* Duke of that Country, whose Wife's

Harold's Conquest of his Brother Tofto, and Harold King of Norway.

<sup>a</sup> It is said, that *Edward* as soon as he came to the Throne, depriv'd *Emma* of all her Estate; only ordering her a necessary Maintenance, for her Cruelty to him in his Adversity, in denying him whatever he asked of her.

<sup>b</sup> The Sentence in such Cases was, That the Person guilty was to walk with the whole Weight of her Body and bare Feet upon the nine Plow-shares red hot, and if she were not burnt she was judged innocent; if she were, she suffer'd farther Punishment: And this was the Sentence pronounc'd upon the Queen, and Tryal she went through, though this Historian seems to understand it otherwise.

<sup>c</sup> It is said, That *Earl Godwin's* Death was thus: Being at a Banquet with the King; he suspected by some Reflection the King made on him, that he thought him guilty of the Death of his Brother *Alfred*; and to clear himself of it, he wished that the next Morfel might choak him if he was any Cause of it. The King, we are told, blessed the Morfel, and he eating was choaked.

<sup>d</sup> This makes the Story, that *Edward* gave the Crown to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, very improbable.

<sup>e</sup> Of *William* Duke of *Normandy*, who claimed by *Edward's* Will; and *Harold* Harfager King of *Norway*, who claimed it by descent from *Canutus* the *Dane*.



Sister he had marry'd, he was easily instigated through Hatred to his Brother to invade *England*; and being furnished with a Fleet and Men, he first assaults the Isle of *Wight*, and then fell upon the Coasts of *Kent*, where he plunder'd some of the Inhabitants, but was soon driven off by the King's Navy: Whereupon he withdrew from thence into the North parts, and attempting to land, was so warmly received by *Morcar* and *Edwin*, the Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*, that they forced him to fly, tho' with loss to themselves. *Tofto* seeing all his endeavours in vain, and being unwilling to return to *Normandy* with nothing but ill News, repairs to the King of *Scots*, to beg his Assistance, but received a Denial; by which he was reduced almost to Despair. In his return he met with *Harold*, surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, who having conquer'd the *Orkneys*, was coming with three hundred Ships to invade *England*, to whom *Tofto* joyn'd himself, and encourag'd the Attempt. They landed at *Tinmouth*, and breaking through the faint Opposition they met with in those parts, which were unprovided to encounter an Enemy, march'd into the heart of the Country without any loss. Near *Stamford*, *Harold* met them with a strong Army, and after a long and eager Battel obtain'd a remarkable Victory; slaying, besides the two Captains, *Harfager* and *Tofto*, the greatest part and worst Men of their Army.

The Duke of Normandy invades England, and conquers it.

*William*, Duke of *Normandy*, not discourag'd by the Misfortune of *Tofto*, was resolv'd not to give over his Claim of the Crown of *England*, which he pretended was given him by the last Will of King *Edward* his Kinsman; and therefore, notwithstanding this ill success, provided a great Navy, and strong Army, to make a second Attempt. He landed at *Pemsey*, not far from *Hastings*, in *Sussex*. *Harold* remained yet in the North; but upon the News of *William's* arrival, hasten'd with all the Forces he had into the South. At *London* he met with a Messenger from *William*, who came to demand his Kingdom. *Harold* could scarcely hear the Message with patience; but checking his Pailon, he charg'd him to depart out of his Country: And immediately mustering his Army near *London*, he march'd against the Invader. About seven Miles from *Hastings*, was the Controversie decided between *Harold* and his Competitor, *William* Duke of *Normandy*; upon whom, tho' Fortune cast the Victory, yet never Battel was more bravely fought on the part of the *English*; who, rather than fall under the Sla-

very of the *Normans*, dy'd 69074 upon the Spot, few or none escaping. Strange it is indeed, that so great a Kingdom, as *England* was at that time, should at one Blow, by so small a Nation as the *Normans* were, be quite subdu'd, so that it could never make any considerable Resistance against the Conqueror. But the Causes and Reasons are very apparent to any that consider the Circumstances of Things, and Nature of the People: For besides the Divisions that were among the Nobility at that very instant, when Danger was so near them, that nothing but the closest Union could save them, the People of the Nation in general, by living long secure from any Enemy in peaceable Times, were grown unexperienced and negligent in Arms, and generally render'd weak and effeminate by Luxury and Idleness; the Clergy grown Licentious and Illiterate; the Nobility given to Gluttony, Whoredom and Oppression; the Comunalty addicted to Drunkenness and Disorder. And 'tis said, that in the last Action of *Harold* at *Stamford*, he lost his bravest Men; and the rest were discontented, because *Harold* retained the Spoil to himself: So that he came to this Battel with many raw undisciplin'd Soldiers, and a discontented Army, which was an occasion of this lamentable Loss. Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar way of Fighting with long Bows, with which the *English* being wholly unacquainted, were chiefly overthrow'n. And yet their own Writers report, how that the main Body of the *English* Army (consisting of Bills, their chief and ancient Weapon) held so close together in one Body, that no Force could dissolve them, till the *Normans* (making a shew of Flight) drew them into Disorder, and so got the Day.

The Body of *Harold* being obtain'd of the Conqueror, by the Request of his Mother, who sent two Monks of *Waltham-Abby* to beg it of him, was after much search found among the Heaps of dead Bodies, and bury'd in the same Abby which he had himself built. He was a very unfortunate Prince; his Reign was full of Miseries and Troubles; he Ruled but little, but lost all. He left four Sons, *Godwin*, *Edmund*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*. The two Eldest fled away after this Battel into *Ireland*, and from thence made some Attempts upon the Western Coasts of *England*, but to little purpose. With this King ended the *Saxon* Line, after it had been in *England* five hundred Years, from the first coming of *Hengist*, and his Settlement here. And from the Commencement of the *Norman* Race do I intend to begin my History.

\* *Harold Harfager* claim'd the Crown of *England* as his Right by *Canutus*. He is said to have been slain by *Harold's* own hand.

\* *Harold's* Army being to pass over a Bridge, to encounter his Enemies, one *Norwegian* kept the Bridge a considerable while against his whole Army, and slew forty Men before they could get free passage over it.

\* That it was but a meer Pretence, appears from the most serious words which he spake upon his Death-Bed, concerning his Right to the *English* Crown: 'Twas not an Hereditary Right that put me in Possession of this Honour; but by a desperate Engagement, and much Bloodshed, I wrested it from the Perjur'd King, *Harold*; and having slain, or put to flight all his Abettors, made my self Master of it.

\* It seems, it was the Custom of the *English* in their Wars to give the most considerable and valuable part of their Booty to their Captains, and leave the rest to their Soldiers; which *Harold*, through Coverousness, or perhaps Necessity, at that time seizing upon, gave a Discontent to his Soldiers, when he had most use of them.

\* They are said to be *Osgod* and *Ailricke*.

\* She offer'd him its weight in Gold for the Body, which Duke *William* refus'd.



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF WILLIAM I.

A. D.  
1066.

The State  
of England  
by the Nor-  
man Con-  
quest.

**B**Y the Conquest of *England* by *William* Duke of *Normandy*, there was so great a Change made of the ancient Laws, Customs, Language, Writing, Forms of Battels, Buildings, yea every thing but Religion; that there cannot be a fitter Period of History, than to begin with his Entrance upon the Government: For with a new Race of Kings, *England* put on a new Face of Affairs, and was so much changed, as if it had been metamorphiz'd into another Kingdom. It grew more victorious abroad, and refin'd at home. The *Danes* indeed united it under one Form of Government, and made it the most terrible of all the Kingdoms of the North: For whereas before, for five Hundred Years, it was busied at home in civil Wars and Factions. *Canutus*, by his Mildness, brought it to submit to him as their Head; and employing their victorious Arms abroad, brought the Kingdom of *Norway* into Subjection to him: But the *Normans* coming upon them, enlarged their Dominions beyond the Seas, and added the goodly Provinces of the South † to their Command. Nor did they less improve things at home; for they brought in greater Civility into common Converse, antiquated their old Custom of intemperate drinking, and instead of their Roughness and Excesses, implanted Temperance and a generous Desire of Reputation and Honour. Now the *English* began to dispise their little homely Cottages, and to build themselves stately Houses, magnificent Churches and Monasteries, to provide neat and good Furniture, and to erect Castles and Towers after the *Norman* Fashion. They no longer hunt in common, as they did before, but they inclosed Parks for their private Pleasures: And in fine, they took up all the *Norman* Fashions and Habits; and tho' there was a greater Mixture of many Nations, than ever before, yet they all so eagerly complied with the *Norman* way of living, either thro' Fear or Novelty, that they immediately seemed but one. The *Saxon* Language in the general still remained; but was soon mixed so much with the *French* (all the Terms of Building, Hunting, Handicrafts, Cloathing, and War, with the Names of all such Instruments and Weapons as were used in them, being wholly in that Lan-

guage, and the Character of the Letters altered to the *Roman* and *French*) that the Tongue seemed quite changed, and exactly conformed to the new Scheme of things, and is now hardly to be known. But that we may know both the Man and the Nation which subdued us, I will look back a little upon the Original of both, and give you this Account of them.

The *Normans* were a People which came out of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and consequently of the same Manners and Fashions with those Northern Countries: Which thro' their promiscuous Use of Veneries, without any ties of lawful Marriage, produced such great Abundance of People, that they were forced frequently to arm out great Numbers of them to seek themselves such Habitations as they could by War and Violence obtain. Such a Colony was sent out in the time of King *Alfred*, under the Command of one *Rollo*, or *Roul*, a great Captain among them. These Adventurers having left their own Country, first landed in *England* (which always lay open to Invaders) and hoped to have found good Entertainment there: But contrary to their Expectation, meeting with fierce Opposition, they were content to leave them with a small Booty of Cattel, which they had got from them, and use their Forces another way. From hence *Rollo* sailed against *Rambalt*, Duke of *Friesland*, and *Reignier*, Duke of *Chaumont* and *Hainalt*, with whom he had many sharp Contests, and did much Mischief in their Country; but not being able to gain a Place of Settlement, he passed along the Coast of *France*, and entering the Mouth of the River *Seine*, ravaged the Country up as high as *Rouen*, where the People having not long before been miserably afflicted by *Hasting*, or *Hading* (another of these *Danish* Invaders) were extremely affrighted at the Approach of a new Army: In-somuch, that the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, by the Instigation of the People, offered him the Obedience of that City, and the adjoining Country thereabout, upon condition that he would defend them, and administer Justice according to the Laws of Christ, and Customs of the Country: For *Charles* the Simple, who was then King of *France*, not being able to protect them against this Invasion, because his Forces were employed

An Account  
of the Ori-  
ginal of the  
Normans.

† of Gaul.

The Nor-  
man Man-  
ners and  
Fashions  
imitated by  
the Eng-  
lish.

\* Yet our Historians say, That some Novelty in Religion came into the *English* Church by this Conquest; for the *English* before, had the Scriptures read in their Churches in a known Tongue, prefer'd the Original *Hebrew* before the *Latin* Version; had no Prayers for the dead, or for the Pardon of Sins, or the Relaxation of the Pains of such as were thought to be in Purgatory, which they believ'd not; worshipp'd not Saints, tho' they had an honourable Memory of them; had the Communion in both Kinds; the contrary to which Doctrines crept in by the *Norman* Conquest.

† North-men, being the Flower of the *Swedes*, *Danes* and *Norwegians*, Northern Nations. These People infested the Coasts of *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, and *Holland*, with Piracies so much in the Times of *Charles* the Great, that it was made a Petition in the Publick Litanyes to deliver them from the *Normans*. From the Rage of the *Normans*, Good Lord, deliver us.



The Norman Dukes  
in their  
Succession.

against the Enemies of his Crown, was obliged to suffer them to settle in that Place; and in a short time, he grew so powerful, that he attempted the Conquest of *Paris* itself, and notably foil'd the *French* Captains in several Skirmishes: So that *Charles* was forced to come to an Agreement with him, and yield up the whole Country of *Neustria* to him, which from the *Normans* was called *Normandy*. *Rollo* being thus gotten into the peaceable Possession of a Dukedom for himself, and a convenient Habitation for his *Normans*; began to establish Laws, and settle so well a formed Government, that he made his Name ever after in great Honour and Reverence among his People, and laid a Foundation of a firm Succession for his Posterity. Not long after he had thus set things in order, he was converted to Christianity; and being baptized, received the Name of *Robert* from his God-father *Robert*, Brother of *Eudes*, late King of *France*, who then was a Competitor with *Charles* for the Crown; who is said to have assisted *Rollo* underhand in his Attempts upon *France*, tho' afterward he alledged it as a Crime against *Charles*, that he had given away his Country, and favoured Strangers. From *Rollo* descended six Dukes of *Normandy* in a direct Line, who reigned an hundred and twenty Years, viz. *William I. Richard I. Richard II.* who had two Sons *Richard* and *Robert*, who ruled successively.

*Robert*, the last of them, having ruled eight Years, either out of Devotion, or to expiate some secret Sin, which lay heavy upon his Conscience, took up a Resolution to visit the Holy Sepulchre: And that he might set all things in order for his Departure, assembled all his Nobility to acquaint them with it. They dissuaded him much from it, not only because he had no Children; but because *Alain*, Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Burgundy*; were already in Contest about the Succession to his Duchy: So that upon his Death or Departure, their Country was like to become a Seat of War, and a Prey to Ambition, which they thought he was bound in Conscience by all means he could to prevent. The Duke not at all removed from his Intention, desired them to rest contented; telling them, 'That he had a Son, which tho' not begot in lawful Marriage, he did not doubt but he was his own Child, and that he would invest him in his Duchy, as his Heir before he left them; and desired, that they would acknowledge him such, and submit to him as their Prince. The Earl of *Britain*, (saith he) notwithstanding his Competition for my Throne, yet such is my Confidence in him, I will make him his Governour, and President of *Normandy*, and the King of *France* his Guardian; and so I will leave him to God and your Loyalty. Soon after the Bishops and Barons did their Homage to the young Prince, named *William*, who was the sixth Duke of *Normandy* after *Rollo*, being begotten by Duke *Robert* on *Arlet*, a beautiful Virgin, but of mean Degree, in the City of *Falaise*. After this, the Duke delivering the Child to *Henry* the First, King of *France*, with his own hand, and causing him to do him Homage for his Duchy, committed him to his Royal Faith, and so enter'd upon his intended Journey; at the end of which, as soon almost as he came, he died. *William*, his Son and Successor, being thus left at nine Years old, became subject to all the Afflictions and Calamities of Minors, the Nobles of

*William*  
made Duke  
of *Norman-*  
*dy*.

*Normandy* fell into great Factions and Quarrels; which while the chief Officers thought to allay by his Presence (having obtain'd him by much Entreaty from the King of *France*) they increased. For presently upon his coming among them, there followed the murdering and poisoning of their Governours, Intrusions into Offices, supplanting and surprizing his Person, by the Nobility, who were proud and haughty, not able to endure the Precedency and Greatness one of another.

But these Troubles about his Person, were far less than several others, which he was forced to encounter in the Defence of his Right to the Succession; which being stained with his illegitimate Blood and Birth, render'd him obnoxious to the Contests which better Claims might commence. And of these, the first that appeared against him was *Roger de Fresney*, a Person of great Worth and much Experience in Military Affairs, having been a Captain in the Wars against the *Saracens* in *Spain*: He brought a fair Pedigree from *Rollo*, to justify his Claim to the Duchy, and by feasting the Nobility of the *Normans*, got a great Interest among them. Hereupon he begins to urge it to them, That it was a great Wrong and Injury to the Posterity of *Rollo*, who had gotten the Dukedom by his Valour and Courage, to have a Bastard to be preferred before him, who was a Legitimate Descendant from him; and no less Disgrace to so brave a People as the *Normans* were, to suffer themselves to be so govern'd; especially since they had others, who in a direct Line were come from their former Dukes, *Rollo*, *William*, and *Richard*, and no less worthy of that Dignity, than their present Prince. By these means he had got a considerable Party, and being impatient of delay, brought his Claim soon to be decided in a Field Battel. *Roger de Beaumont* headed the young Prince's Forces against this Competitor, and by his Conduct gained so compleat a Victory, that all Fear from him was utterly extinguished; himself, two Brethren, and the greatest part of his Army being slain. This Action so advanced the Reputation of the Duke, that the King of *France* began to be jealous of his rising Power; and therefore (contrary to his Trust reposed in him by *Robert*) he first takes from him the Castle of *Tbuilliers* and demolished it; pretending some Wrongs and Injuries to be done by the Garrison that lay there to his Subjects, and then openly assisted his Base-born Uncle, *William Earl of Arques*, against him; lending him a powerful Army to vindicate his Claim to the Dukedom, tho' he came off in it with as great a Loss as Dishonour. For Count *Guiffard*, the Duke's General, drew the *French* into such an Ambush by a Stratagem, that he destroyed the whole Army, and left but few to relate their Misfortune at *Paris*, to the great Grief of that King; and *Arques* being conquer'd by the young Duke, not yet seventeen Years old, fled to seek his Fortune with *Eustace* Earl of *Bullogne*, where he found but cold Entertainment, Favour generally changing with Mens Fortune, and few regarding Men overthrown. These Enemies being subdued, a greater Danger succeeds by a private Conspiracy. There lived with Duke *William* a young Lord of his own Age, named *Guy* Son of *Regnault* Earl of *Burgogne*, and *Alix* Daughter to *Richard II.* Duke of *Normandy*; who being sensible of his Title to the Dukedom, was persuaded by some stirring Spirits to endeavour to obtain

\* He is said to have poison'd his Brother *Richard*, and tho' he had a Natural Affection for his illegitimate Son *William*, yet 'tis not improbable; but that his Sin, which he committed in begetting him on *Arlet* the Daughter of a Skinner of *Falaise*, might trouble his Conscience; and to expiate for these Sins, he resolv'd upon this Pilgrimage, a thing much us'd in his time.  
\* At *Nice* in *Bythinia*, Anno 1035. Du Chesne.



it, which they told him was by right his, and usurped by the Bastard. These Admonitions kindled the young Man's Ambition, which to gratifie he had a now lucky Opportunity; for having lately composed a Quarrel between two of the greatest Lords of *Normandy*, Viscount *Neel* and the Earl of *Bessin*, with much Prudence and Caution he had gain'd the Love and Friendship of both Parties, with some Disgust to Duke *William*, who seemed to disdain them by not taking notice of it. These he easily brought to joyn with him in a Conspiracy to murder the Duke suddenly, and by Surprise; which probably they had done, had they not been discovered by a Fool, who not being excluded their Consultations, because he was thought not to have Wit enough to take notice of it, went at Midnight to discover the Plot to Duke *William*; who observing the Fright the Fool was in, and considering what Prudence it was to avoid Dangers in the least suspected, immediately took Horse and fled to *Falaise*. The Conspirators not discouraged, tho' they were a little disappointed, pursue him; and tho' they could not overtake him, yet they raised so strong a Faction of all sorts of People, that he was forced to leave his own Dominions, and fly to the King of *France* to beg his Aid and Assistance against them. His Request was not easily obtained, because that King was afraid of his growing Greatness; but the Duke putting him in mind of the faithful Services his Father had done him; That he himself was his Homager, and held his Crown under him, and could fly to none so properly as him for help against his mutinous Nobility; That this Rebellion, if not repressed, would be of dangerous Consequence to his own Kingdom, with many other Arguments to shew the Importance and Necessity of a Relief, so prevailed with the King, that he was contented to go in Person with a powerful Army against the Conspirators, whom they found in the Valley of *Dunes*, ready to encounter them; and so there began a Battel with equal Resolution on both sides. In this Fight one *Guillefson*, Uncle to Viscount *Neel* by his Mother, forced his Horse into the Battallion of *French*, and struck the King from his Horse with his Lance; and tho' he himself was dismounted by Count *St. Paul*, and his Horse slain by *Castillon*, who came to rescue the King from the Danger he was in; yet he made his Escape out of the Press, and fled into *Apulia*, with divers others. The King being incensed with this Blow, spared not to avenge himself on his Enemies, and Duke *William* was not inferiour to him in any daring Attempt. The Victory was a long time wavering; till *Ralf de Tesson*, to gain the Duke's Favour, betrayed the Army of the Conspirators, and so they were conquer'd. Divers of them, whose Hearts were too great to yield, fled over the Mountains into *Italy* to *Robert Guiscard*, their Country-man, who of a private Gentleman, became Supreme Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*; and had he lived, was in a fair way to have been Emperor of *Constantinople*; but dying left his Dominion in *Italy* to *Roger* his second Son, *Beaumont* his eldest being then engaged in the Holy Wars, where he became Prince of *Antioch*. To this *Guiscard* these rebellious *Normans* were very welcome, and none more than *Guillefson*, for the late desperate Attempt he made upon the *French* King; because as he sought to increase his Army by entertaining them, so he was most plea-

sed with the bravest Men. *Guy de Burgogne* having escaped the Fight, fortified his Castles of *Briorn* and *Vernouille*, but in the end was forced to surrender them and himself to the Duke's Mercy; who dealt so favourably with him in sparing his Life, and allowing him a Pension, that many others submitted themselves to him, and thereby secured their Lordships and Estates, but he demolished their Castles to secure their Obedience.

*William* having thus settled his own Dominions in Peace, had but little Enjoyment of it before a foreign Enemy gave him a Disquiet. *Jeffrey* <sup>*William annoy'd by foreign Enemies.*</sup> *Earl of Anjou*, making War upon the People of *Poitou*, encroached upon the Neighbouring States; and among others seized upon *Alençon*, *Dampfront*, and *Paiffais*, Cities belonging to the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *William*, who was always for getting and never for losing, immediately levies an Army, and first recovers *Alençon*, where (because the besieged scornfully reproached him for his Mother and Place of Nativity; crying out, when they saw him, *La Pel, La Pel, i. e. a Skin, a Skin*, in reference to the Skinners of *Falaise*, of whom his Mother's Father was one) he used them with great Cruelty. Then he laid siege to *Dampfront*, and hearing that Count *Martel* was coming with great Forces to relieve it, he sent *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights, with this Message to the Earl; *That if he came to visit Dampfront, he should find him Porter to keep him out.* Whereunto the Duke returned this Answer; *Tell the Duke, to morrow by break of Day, he shall have me the e on a White Horse ready to give him Battel, and will enter Dampfront, if I can; and that he may know me, I shall have a Shield of Or, without any Device.* *Roger* replies, *Sir, You may spare the pains; the Duke will be here ready to meet you on a Bay Horse, with a Streamer of Taffata on the top of his Lance to wipe your Face.* And then they parted. The Earl made all the Preparations for next day he could; and in the Morning, as he was ordering his Army for Battel, News was brought him that *Dampfront* was taken: Upon which he immediately departs, and in his Passage homeward, was in a narrow Streight set upon by Viscount *Neel*, and great part of his Army cut off; by which good Service that Earl regained the Duke's Favour, and kept it ever after. *Dampfront* being taken, the Duke with his Engines and Forces removed to *Hambriers*, a Frontier Town of Count *Martel's*, and by the way (had he not discovered it himself) had been utterly destroyed by an Ambush, which cost him a great many brave Men to get himself free of; at which he was so enraged, that he rushed himself into the midst of his Enemies, and making at Count *Martel*, beat him down with a Blow of his Sword, clave his Helmet in funder, and cut off one of his Ears, and yet escaped out of the Press; and in the issue utterly defeated the *Anjovins*. While he was thus busy against his Enemies abroad, another Conspiracy was formed against him at home, by *William Guelan Earl of Mortaigne*, who was descended from *Richard* the Second, and *William Earl of Eu and Montreul*, a Branch from the Family of *William*, Brother of the said *Richard*, and *Esselin*, Countess of *Montreul*. The first was only vehemently suspected, the other was proved guilty; and being banished, his Estate was seized, his Earldom of *Mortaigne* was given to *Robert*, and that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Bishop of *Bayeux*) both his Bre-

*William begs the King of France's assistance against them.*

*Robert Guiscard, Lord of Apulia.*

*Another Conspiracy against William.*

\* *Arlet*, Duke *William's* Mother, married one *Herlain*, a *Norman* Gentleman, with Duke *Robert's* Consent; and had these two Sons by him, whom Duke *William* own'd, and prefer'd as his Brethren:

thren



thren by his Mother. These Assaults from abroad, these Scorns and Conspiracies at home, he pass'd through before he was two and twenty Years of Age; and thus his Enemies made him, whom they fought to undo. And now, having dispers'd all outward and visible signs of Enmity both at home and abroad, he dare not promise himself Safety; but to secure himself, and strengthen his Kingdom against all ill Practices for the future, he summon'd a Parliament of Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, and caused them to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, and raze their Castles; which done, he marry'd *Matilda*, Daughter of *Baldwin V.* Earl of *Flanders*; yet not without some ensuing trouble. For his Uncle *Manger*, Archbishop of *Roan*, excommunicated him for marrying within the degrees of Consanguinity, which were forbidden by the Church, *Matilda* being the Daughter of *Eleanor*, his Father's Sister: To expiate for which Offence, by a Dispensation from Pope *Victor*, he was enjoin'd to build an Hospital for blind People, and two Abbies, one for Men, and the other for Women; which he did at *Caen* in *Normandy*.

Duke William's Marriage.

The King of France's Wars against Duke William.

The success which *William* had against his Enemies on all sides, made him so formidable to the neighbouring Princes, that *France* it self began to be very jealous of his growing Power; and having naturally no Love for the *Normans* (whom in scorn they call'd *Treuwans*) incited their King, who himself was forward enough to repress a Person grown so much more powerful than the other Princes of his Dominions, to find out some pretence of Quarrel with him. This was an easie matter to do, where their Dominions had so near Confines; and therefore in the first place he accuses him of having done many Wrongs and Injuries to his Subjects bordering on his Dukedom; and particularly, he resented his late oppressing of Count *Mawel*: And that his Cause might look the more plausible, he alledged, "That it concerned him in Honour and Justice to have that Province, which held of his Crown, to be govern'd by a Prince of lawful Blood, according to the Christian Doctrine, and Laws Ecclesiastical; and therefore resolv'd to depose Duke *William*, and settle a Legitimate Prince. Hereupon he rais'd two powerful Armies, gather'd from all parts of his Kingdom, and sent them against him; the one by the River *Sein*, and the other by the Country of *Bessin*; that his Dukedom being encompassed on all sides, he might not possibly escape. The Duke in the mean time was not unmindful of his own defence against so Potent an Enemy, and having gather'd a good Army, divided it into two parts; with the one he sent out his Brother *Odo* Earl of *Eu*, *Walter Guifford* Earl of *Longueville*, and others, into the Country of *Caux*; and with the other part he went himself towards *Eureux*, intending to oppose the King of *France*, who was at *Mante*. The Cattel, and all other portable Provisions, he caused to be removed out of the flat Country into the Cities and Castles, not only to furnish themselves, but incommode the Enemy. The *French* Army march'd on towards them from *Beauvais* to *Mortimer*, where, finding the Country stor'd with all manner of Provisions, they staid that Night, and feasted themselves with plenty of Good Cheer; thinking that the *Norman* Army was with their Duke at *Eureux*. *Odo*, who commanded the Army in *Caux*, having intelligence of the *French* Army's Dissoluteness and Security, made use of that opportunity to oppress them; and marching all the Night, fell upon them about break of Day with that suddenness and fury, that they slew near three parts of them, being in all forty thousand,

The French Army defeated.

took many Prisoners, and among them several Persons of Note, and put the rest to flight, leaving their Horses and Baggage to the *Normans*. This Defeat caused the King to return home in Anger and Rage; but upon cooler Thoughts, he desist'd from Revenge: And upon the delivery of the captiv'd *French*, agreed to a Peace with the Duke, and restor'd to him the Castle of *Tbuilliers*, which in his Minority he had taken from him. Count *Martel*, tho' very much disheartned by the loss of the *French* Army, yet did not desist from making some Attempts to recover the Towns the Duke had taken from him; but found that it was to no purpose without a greater Army than he had, or could raise, the *Normans* being so powerful. Wherefore the next Spring, he went to importune the King of *France* to assist him against the Duke, telling him, That the *Normans* were grown so insolent by the Victory they had stollen, not gotten fairly of the *French*, that there was no living by them; that they made the *French* ever since the Subject of their Sports and Songs, as if the King of *France*, through the loss of a few Men, was quite retired, and had rather stick to a dishonourable Peace, than appear again in the Field against them. These Importunities, and the Relation of the Abuses and Reproaches of the *Normans*, so prevailed with the *French* King, that he rais'd another Army, much bigger than the former, in which were three Dukes, and twelve Earls; and notwithstanding he had so lately made a solemn Peace with the Duke, and confirm'd it with an Oath, yet he enter'd *Normandy* in Harvest-time, over-ran and ravag'd all the Country along the Coast to *Bessin*; from whence he march'd to *Bayeux* and *Caen*, designing to pass the River *Dive* at *Verneville*, and destroy the Countries of *Anges*, *Lyseux*, and *Roumois*, as far as *Rouen*. Coming to the River, he found the Causeway leading to it long, and the Bridge narrow; and therefore, that he might get over safely, he sent over his Van-guard first, and to secure his Rear-guard, commanded by the Duke of *Berry*, he himself stays behind at *Caen*, till his People and their Carriages were pass'd over. Duke *William* all this while was employ'd in fortifying and victualling his Towns, and particularly of *Palaise*, where he himself intended to reside. He had no Army in the Field, but a Running Camp, which he kept ready to take all Advantages. He was sensible of the Calamities of his People by the *French*, but had not Strength to oppose them, till he had some advantageous Offer, which he was resolv'd not to neglect. And long it was not before he had one: Being inform'd of the Passage of the *French* Army over the Bridge on the *Dive*, wherefore marching all Night with ten thousand Men, in the Morning early he set upon the Rear-guard with so sudden a cry and fury, that they who were on the Causeway hearing the Noise behind, thrust their Fellows forward to get over the Bridge, with so great a crowd and noise, that they broke it, and many were drowned in the River. They who were gotten over could not return to help the rest; nor the King, by reason of the Marshes on both sides, yield any Succours to his People, but was forced with Grief to behold the miserable Slaughter and Captivity of his People; among whom six Earls were taken, of which the banish'd Earl of *Eu* was one, who having gotten into the King's Favour, was created by him Count de *Soissons*. This ill success stuck so close to the *French* King's Heart, that he dy'd not long after with Grief, which render'd Duke *William* so formidable, that tho' many had Will, yet none had Courage to disturb his Peace for a long time after; which brought great Prosperity to *Normandy*.

The King of France raises another Army against Duke William.

Duke William routs the French Army.

Duke.



Duke William's Affairs in Peace.

Duke William enjoying Peace was not less active than he was in War, tho' in Works of a better nature: For now he employ'd his time in ordering his State and Government, and adorning his Country with sumptuous and beautiful Buildings, erecting Churches and Monasteries, and endowing them with large Estates. He had before built two Monasteries at Caen, and now in these peaceable times he gather'd Reliques from all parts to furnish them with, and built himself and Wife a Tomb in them. He also frequently feasted his Nobility, and those of them that he observed to be Men of Worth, and able to serve the State well, he prefer'd and rewarded; by which means he gained the Love and Affections of his Nobility, and People so generally, that they were all entirely his, and ready to do any thing he could command or desire. In this serene part of his Life and Reign he made a Journey into England, to visit his Kinsman, King Edward, who in Consideration of his Preservation and Education in Normandy by Richard the Second (Grandfather to them both) gave him most Noble and Royal Entertainment. At this interview he shewed himself to the English, and without doubt took himself a sharp aspect of the State and Affairs of England: To be sure so much was done by the King, or Harold in his Name, at this meeting, as gave the Duke ground to claim the Kingdom by the Donation of Edward, after his Death: What it was, could not be found out exactly. It is certain, that Harold going into Normandy did make some Promises to the Duke, and confirm'd them with an Oath upon the Evangelists and the sacred Reliques at Roven; and thereupon Adeliza, the Duke's Daughter was affianced or betrothed to him, and Welnot his Brother left as a Pledge for the Performance: Which shews the matter was of great Importance, and perhaps might be concerning the Kingdom; but it was never pretended otherwise to be made over to him but by Will; and therefore these Promises of Harold's are thought only to assure him of his assistance in gaining the Kingdom. But, however this be, it is against the Law and Custom of the Nation to dispose of the Kingly Power by Will; and therefore, if any such thing were, it was of no Validity. For the Crown of England is held not by a Paternal Right, but by the Law of the Realm, which allows no power of disposing the Throne to its Kings, but admits the next lineal Heir to the Possession of it: For every Successor is not said properly to be Heir of the King, but of the Kingdom, which makes him so, and can't be depriv'd by any Act of his Predecessor. Nor indeed did William afterward establish his Right upon King Edward's Will, but set up that Pretence only to make way for his Arms, by which he intended to compass his desires. As soon therefore as he heard of the Death of King Edward, and that Harold was chosen and crowned King, "he call'd together the States of Normandy, and acquaints them with the Right he had to the Crown of England; and solicited them to contribute their utmost assistance for the recovery of it, and the deposition of Harold, the perjur'd Usurper of it. And to en-

courage them in the Attempt, he represented to them how great probability there was of success; he had a numerous Party in the Nation for him already; the People were under great Distractions and Divisions, which made them weak and easie to be overcome, as he was inform'd by sure Intelligence: And what Honour, Wealth, and Greatness would it add to their Nation, to be Masters of such a rich Kingdom as England was, which they had now an opportunity put into their hands to be, if they had but that Wisdom to make use of it. These fair Speeches, tho' very plausible and encouraging, yet induced very few to like the Undertaking; and those only such as had been long Soldiers, and had no Estates to uphold them in Peace, so that they would run any hazard to better their Fortunes: All the rest were of different Opinions; some were for Peace, and thought it sufficient for them to hold and defend their own Country, without running an hazard to conquer others, and these were generally the Richest sort; others were willing to contribute toward the Charge, but yet so sparingly as would little advance his design; others were so tired with Wars, that they were loth to begin the same Troubles afresh. The Duke was a little discouraged at this opposition and faintness among his Subjects, but resolv'd to try another method before he gave it over. Having found several of his Friends very forward in the Enterprize, and seemingly willing to venture all with him, he begins with them, and asks them what they would contribute towards this Expedition? William Fitz-Auber made the first offer, promising him to furnish out forty Ships with Men and Ammunition, the Bishop of Bayeux forty, the Bishop of Mans thirty; and so several others, according to, or rather beyond their Abilities. By these Persons Examples he drew in the rest of the Bishops and Nobles, with whom he treated about it severally to joyn in the design, and caused all the Sums contributed to be register'd; by which means he at length rais'd such an Emulation among his Subjects, as that they, who a little before would do nothing, grew now ambitious who should do most. Nor was he so prevalent with his own Subjects only, but by his winning Persuasions and large Promises he engaged most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of France to venture not only their Persons but Estates with him, viz. Robert Fitz-Harveys Duke of Orleans, the Earls of Britain, Poitou, Ponthieu, Bologne, Mayne, Never, Hiefms, and Aumal, Seigneur de Tours, and even his mortal Enemy, Martel Earl of Anjou, was as forward as any. The King of France, whose Interest it had been to have crush'd this design, was a Minor, and under the care of Baldwin Earl of Flanders, whose Daughter the Duke had marry'd, and who would not hinder his design, if he could not farther it; yet to blind the young Prince and French Court, he promised to hold England, if he conquer'd it, in dependence upon the French King, as he did Normandy. The Pope, who was Alexander the II<sup>d</sup> at that time, he brought to applaud his Enterprize, by promising him to hold it of

Duke William's Preparations for the Crown of England.

Duke William visits Edward King of England his Cousin.

The Rights of the Kings of England to their Crown.

The King of France and Pope encourage him.

\* King Edward and William were Kinsmen, but not in the degree which Mr. Daniel writes: For Emma, the Mother of King Edward, was not the Daughter of Richard the Duke of Normandy, but the Sister; and so Richard the Second was not his Grandfather, but Uncle, which our Author expressly mentions in the Life of Canutus.

Some relate, that Edward, while he lived in Banishment in Normandy, made William a Promise of the next Reversion of the Crown of England; others think he did it at this Visit, being not likely to have Issue, and adopted him for his Heir. This William declared himself, as he march'd through Wallingford to London, That the Bounteous King Edward had by Adoption made him Heir to the Crown of England, and now God had by his Providence given it him. But in his Dying Speech he says, That the Royal Diadem, which none of his Predecessors wore, he got not by Right of Inheritance, but by Heavenly Grace.

Harold, being a Prisoner in Normandy, had promis'd William upon Oath, that he might gain his Liberty, to secure him the Kingdom of England, if Edward dy'd without Heirs; and hereupon was affianced to Duke William's Daughter, which Promise he not performing, was accounted Perjur'd.

That this was a meer Pretence, to procure the Concurrence of the Pope, appears from the Letter he wrote to Gregory the VII<sup>th</sup> this Pope's Successor; wherein he disowns, that he had ever any such Intention to submit his Kingdom to the Pope.

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the Apostolick See, if he was successful; whereupon the Pope sent him a Consecrated Banner, a Golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. Peter's Hairs. The Emperor Henry IV. also sent him a considerable Body of Men, under the Command of a German Prince. And thus in eight Months time having collected a very numerous Army, not out of Normandy only, but out of France, Flanders, and Germany, sufficient to proceed in his intended Expedition; he summon'd them to their Rendezvous at *St. Valery* in Normandy, from whence he transported them into England in 896 Ships, as some write; Providence ordering such a strange Concurrence of Dispositions to effect the wonderful Change it had decreed to be now made in England.

A. D. 1066. Duke William having had a victorious landing, and conquer'd Harold's Army at *Hastings*, October 14. 1066. as is before spoken of in the Life of Harold, march'd directly without any opposition to London; where *Edwin* and *Morcar*, the Earls of Northumberland and Mercia, (two Brothers of great Honour and Dignity in the Kingdom) had done their utmost to excite the People to stand up in defence of their Liberties, and make *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royal Issue, who had Right to the Crown, King, to preserve the Kingdom from Servitude and Conquest. Many of the Nobility had consented to this Proposition; but the Bishops being averse to it, and wavering, because they had heard a good Character of the Duke's Piety and Bounty to the Church, and so doubted not of his Favour to their Function, so dishearten'd the Nobility, and damped their Resolutions, fearing lest their backwardness should make them fare the worse, if through their Divisions the Duke should at last subdue them, that they also yielded to Necessity, and gave over all thoughts of Opposition; by which means the Commons being destitute of an Head, could not move but irregularly: So that all degrees of Men being either corrupted with Hopes, or transported with Fear, their poor Country was left naked to the Will of a Stranger. Wherefore at his approach to London the Gates were set open, and the Archbishop *Stigand*, with the Bishops his Brethren, the Nobility, Magistrates and People, joyfully received him with all outward Demonstrations of Subjection, and Promises of Obedience: He at the same time returning all Assurances of a mild and good Government over them, and protesting that he would rule with Justice and Equity. On *Christmass* Day next following he was crowned King of England at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Archbishop of York, because *Stigand* was not thought<sup>a</sup> Canonically invested in his See, altho' he was a great Promoter of this Alteration. At his Coronation, according to Custom, the Bishops and Barons of the Realm took their Oaths of Allegiance to him, obliging themselves to be his true and loyal Subjects; and after, he also (being required to do it by the Archbishop of York) swore solemnly, standing before the Altar of St. Peter, That he would govern all his People in his Dominion with Justice; That he would enact just Laws, and see that they be duly executed. Nor did he ever violate this his Oath by any arbitrary Actions, as an Absolute Conqueror,

His Coronation and Carriage in his Government.

but as a Regular Prince, conformed to the ancient A. D. Orders of the Realm, and was content to derive 1066. his Title to the Kingdom rather from King *Edward's* Will (tho' a weak and fictitious one) than from his Sword. And tho' he was in after-times stiled the Conqueror, yet it was rather done thro' flattery, than by his own desire, as was evident from the whole course of his Government; for he introduced none of the Alterations, which followed after, by violence, but mildly and gently, by way of Reformation, as tho' the Changes arose from Necessity, not his own Will or Design; and he would abolish or innovate nothing that might be preserved with advantage to his People.

In the Spring after his Coronation and Settlement, he found it necessary for him to go into 1067. Normandy, to settle Affairs there, and put the Government of that Country into such a frame, as might not require his Presence, or take him off from the management of his Kingdom of England, which would require all his Care. And for the better security of the Peace and Order of his new-gotten Kingdom, which he had reason to believe would not hold steady in their Subjection long, he took Hostages of the English for their Obedience, committed the Government of the Kingdom to his most trusty Friends, *Odo* his Brother Bishop of Bayeux, and his Cousin *Fitz-Auber*, whom he had lately created Earl of Hereford, and took with him into Normandy all the chief Men of England, who were the most likely to head any Revolt, viz. *Edgar Atheling*, *Stigand* Archbishop of Canterbury, the two great Earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, with many other Bishops and Noblemen. And to lighten his Charge, and empty his Court, he took along with him all the French Princes who had been Partners with him in the Adventure, and others of the Normans, who were grown now unnecessary to him, rewarding them for their Labour and Assistance, as far as his Treasure would reach, and made up the rest with fair Promises. During his absence all that Summer, nothing was attempted against the Government, only *Edric*, surnamed the Forrester, having obtained the help of the Welsh Kings, plunder'd and spoil'd the remote parts of the County of Hereford. All the other parts of the Kingdom were quiet; hoping, that since by their change of Governours they had found little or no alteration in their ancient Constitutions, their Laws and Liberties remaining the same as they were before, this Change would prove rather for the Advantage than Inconvenience of England, by the addition of a new Province, and enlarging its Dominions beyond the Seas, especially since the Normans were but a small People, and liv'd in a plentiful and fruitful Country, large enough for themselves; so that England was not, in all probability, likely much to be pester'd with them.

Having settled Affairs in Normandy, he return'd 1067. again into England towards Winter, where he met with a harder task to compose things well, than what he had finished. The Normans and others who had assisted him in the hazardous adventure of getting the English Crown, were very big with Expectations of Rewards and Preferments, which he knew must be satisfy'd in some measure; and

<sup>a</sup> Yet *Stigand*, Archbishop of Canterbury, is said by *Brompton* to have refus'd to Crown him, because he had no Title; and *Frederick* the Stout Abbot of St. Albans, a Saxon of the Royal Blood, fortify'd his Abby with Trees to resist him, as though he would have fought against so great a Conqueror alone, saying, That if others had done their duty, the Duke of Normandy had not been here.

<sup>b</sup> *Stigand* had obtain'd the Arch-bishoprick through Simony, and held it with the Bishoprick of Winchester, contrary to the Canons: For which, as *Simeon* of Durham and *Florence* of Worcester affirm, he then lay under the Pope's Displeasure; and by the Pope's Legates, with the King's consent, he was soon after deposed.

<sup>c</sup> *Odo*, Bishop of Bayeux, and Earl of Kent, by his severe Government, forced the English to rebel, and to invite over *Eustace* Earl of Bologne to assist them. *Eustace* prov'd unsuccessful, and *Edric* the Forrester rose against the Normans in Wales; but on the King's Return the Welsh submitted.



A. D. 1067. yet he thought it would very prejudicial to him to wrong his new Subjects (whom he desired to keep as easie as he could) to do it; for it was impossible for him to defend what he had got without them. This was a greater trouble to him than his Battel of *Hastings*, knowing what he gave the Normans must be either with the loss of the English Estates or Preferments. Wherefore he took this prudent method to satisfy all Parties: He resolv'd to put no Man out of their Places, nor deprive any Man of his Estate, unless any had forfeited them by revolting from their Obedience; which he made good, as appears by the Controversie between one *Warren* a Norman, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn-Castle* in *Norfolk*; whose Castle the King had given to *Warren*, upon an Accusation of Treason brought against *Sherburn*: Yet when *Sherburn* made it evident to the King, That he never bore Arms against him; and pleaded, That he was his Subject as well as *Warren*, and held his Lands by that Law which he had established among all his Subjects; The King gave his Judgment against *Warren*, and order'd, that *Sherburn* should peaceably enjoy his Lands: So that he contented himself with what Vacancies had happen'd, either by the Death of such as were kill'd in the Battel, or by the Flight of such as had left the Kingdom in discontent, or were with the Sons of *Harold*. These Men's Estates and Places he dispos'd to the Normans. And as for such Gentlemen as he design'd to prefer, but had no opportunity at present to do it, he settled them in the Abbies till he could provide for them; whereby he not only lessen'd his Charge at Court, and remov'd the Grievance of the People by a multitude of greedy Expectants; but he had a Guard upon the Clergy, who being of great Interest with the People, were most likely to create Disturbances.

The Nobility of England discontented.

But the English Nobility could not be contented with a bare Possession of their Estates and Honours, so long as they found so great an Eclipse of the Royal Favour towards them, by the Imposition of Norman Favourites, who growing more numerous every day, they concluded would in time turn them out of all. These Surmises and Fears produced a Conspiracy among them to fly, some into *Scotland*, others into *Denmark*, to try whether by the assistance of those Princes they could recover their lost Fortunes at home, and resettle themselves in their ancient Greatness; of these the chief was *Edgar Atbeling* (call'd England's Darling, for the Love the People had generally for him) who with his Mother *Agatha*, and two Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christiana*, intending to retire into *Hungary*, their Native Country, were driven by contrary Winds into *Scotland*, where he was kindly received by *Malcolm*, then King of the Scots, partly because *Malcolm* had formerly known the Miseries of an Exile Condition, (in which he had been kindly entertain'd in the English Court) and partly because he fear'd the Power of the Conqueror of *England* might be dangerous to him: Whereupon he enter'd into a League with *Edgar* for the publick Safety, and

marry'd his Sister *Margaret*<sup>a</sup>, by which the Blood of the Saxon Kings was preserved, and at length united in the Norman Line in *Henry II.* and so became again English. To *Edgar*, now being in *Scotland*, came the Earls *Edwin* and *Mercar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatrick*, *Siward*, with several others<sup>b</sup>; and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Arch-bishops, with many of the Clergy. These Malecontents having gather'd an Army by the help of *Malcolm* enter'd those parts of *England* which lie on the North of *Humber* in the third Year of this King's Reign, and made a strong Essay towards the Recovery of their lost Country; but not being done before the Government was settled, they were so far from doing any good by their weak attempts, that they really gave him but a better occasion to settle himself firmly, and become at last, what at first he really was not, a Conqueror of *England*. For while all the Southern parts remain'd in peace under him, and he was in possession of their Estates, which he immediately dispos'd to the Normans, they did but force their Brethren to become their Enemies, and enable the Normans to ruine them. For the Earldom and Estate of *Edwin* in *Yorkshire* was given to *Alain* Earl of *Britain*, Kinsman to the Conqueror, the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was conferr'd on *Lanfranc* Abbot of *Caen*, and that of *York* on *Thomas* his Chaplain; and all the rest, both of the Clergy and others, which were out of the Nation, had their Places in it supplied by the Normans.

Many Insurrections happen'd about this time. Two<sup>c</sup> of *Harold*'s Sons landing with Forces in the West<sup>d</sup>, made great havock among the People; and *Githa*, King *Harold*'s Mother, being at *Exeter*, caused that City to rebel. At *Oxford* also there was a Commotion, but they were not able to stand long against the King's Power. The most prosperous and successful Invasion was by *Edgar Atbeling* with his Lords out of *Scotland*, who enter'd *England* with a good Army, and encountering *Robert* Earl of *Mortaigne*, who was sent by the King to oppose their progress into the Nation, slew him with seven hundred Men at *Tork*. The King hearing of this defeat, took his Journey Northward with all expedition; but before he could arrive there, the Invaders had received a large addition to their Army from *Swain* King of *Denmark*, who had sent three hundred Ships to their assistance, under the Command of *Harold* and *Canutus* his two Sons; *William* first sets upon the Danes, and either by force, or corrupting their Commanders, made them useless; afterwards he fell upon the Lords Army, much weaken'd by the loss of their Confederates, and puts them to flight; and that the Country might not for the future harbour his Enemies, he laid it waste all along between *Tork* and *Durham*, which are distant about sixty Miles. And the same methods he us'd on all the Coasts, where any fit places for Invaders to land were, and then return'd to *London*. After this Victory most of the Lords came in, and submitted themselves to the King upon the publick Faith before given them, and were conducted by <sup>e</sup> *Fredericke*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, to

<sup>a</sup> He did not marry her till two Years afterwards, Anno 1070. *Sim. Dun. R. Hovedon. Sir J. H. Life of William I.*  
<sup>b</sup> From these Refugees the best Families in *Scotland* are descended, as those of *Lindsey*, *Vaus*, *Ramsey*, *Lovell*, *Tourbris*, *Sandlands*, *Bissart*, *Fowles*, *Wardlaw*, *Maxwell*, and others.

<sup>c</sup> Archbishop *Stigand* was depriv'd by *Agelwin* Bishop of the *East-Angles*, and other Bishops and Abbots commission'd by Pope *Alexander II.* For, 1. Intruding on the Arch-bishoprick while *Robert* his Predecessor was living. 2. For receiving his Pall from *Benedict V.* a Simoniackal Pope. 3. For keeping the See of *Winchester* after his Investiture in the See of *Canterbury*.

<sup>d</sup> Sir John Hayward.

<sup>e</sup> *Edmund* and *Magnus*.

<sup>f</sup> *Somersetshire*.

<sup>g</sup> In this furious Devastation, the King shew'd such a respect to *John* of *Beverley*, that all his Lands were spar'd: The rest of the Country was so wasted, that the People were forc'd to eat Cats and Dogs to support Life.

<sup>h</sup> *Fredericke* himself was a leading Man in this Revolt, having had all the Lands between *Barnet* and *London-stone*, which belonged to his Abby, seiz'd by the King; but it seems after this Victory he came in with the first, and was made use of to bring others to the King's Favour.



*Barkamsted*, where having retaken the Oath of Allegiance they were pardoned by the King, and promised a Restitution of his Favour; and the King himself to pacify their unquiet Minds, took his Personal Oath again before Arch-bishop *Laufanc* and the Lords; That he would observe the ancient Laws of the Realm established by his Royal Predecessors, the Kings of England, and especially those of *Edward the Confessor*. By which means these turbulent Dispositions were calmed for a while, but did not long continue so: For whether out of some new Hopes given them by Prince

A. D. 1071. Edgar (who was still in Scotland) or grown desperate at the Non-performance of the King's Promise and Breach of Oath, or some other Reasons, they brake out again. Earl *Edwin* going toward Scotland, was murdered by his own Men. The Lords *Morcar* and *Hereward*, got into the Isle of *Ely*, intending to fortify it for their Winter Quarters; and to them Earl *Syward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of Scotland, joyned them: But the King, who never gave time in growing Dangers, immediately beset the Isle; and having made a Bridge two Miles long to carry his Army over, surprized them so soon, that they all yielded themselves to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, who marching with his People desperately through the Fens, escaped and got into Scotland. The rest were sent into several Prisons, where they died, or remained Prisoners during the King's Life. The Lords, who persisted Loyal upon this last Submission, were received into Favour, and had honourable Employments bestowed on them. *Edric* the Forester (who first rebelled in his Reign) was admitted into the greatest Trust about the King's Person. *Gospatric* he made Earl of *Northumbreland*, and sent him General of his Army against the King of *Scots*, who plunder'd and had subdu'd *Tisdale*, *Cleveland*, and *Cumberland*. *Waltheof*, Son of Earl *Syward*, was so highly esteemed by him, as that he married him to his Neice *Judith*; tho' in the Northern Commotion he had been a Principal Actor, and in defending the City of *Tork* had cut off the Head of several Normans as they enter'd in at the Breach, to the Admiration of all. So great a Friend was he to Virtue, even in an Enemy.

King William went against Scotland. A. D. 1072.

Things being thus a little compos'd at home, the King observing that Scotland had been a continual Retreat for his Enemies, and in many of the Disturbances he had in his Realm, afforded the Malecontents Assistance; and that *Edgar Atheling* resided in that Court to observe all Advantages to dispossess him of his Throne, he en-

ter'd that Kingdom with a powerful Army, resolving either to rid himself of those his Enemies, or lose his Life. *Malcolm* seeing the Danger he was in, and the Miseries his Subjects were likely to endure in other Mens Quarrels, for which he was not like to receive any Satisfaction, made Overtures of Peace, which King *William* was willing to accept, having met with such Difficulties in passing the *Marthes*, as made his farther Enterprizes very discouraging. Wherefore entering into Articles with *Malcolm*, That he should enjoy the same Dominions, and in the same Bounds as formerly, that all Delinquents on both sides should be pardoned, they returned home.

Shortly after this Peace so lately made, Prince A. D. 1073. *Edgar* (whose long abode in the Scottish Court had made it become English almost; for by reason of the great resort of the English thither, who were prefer'd there and intermarried with the Nobles of that Nation, the Language and Customs of England became much in Fashion: And here 'tis said the Titles of Duke, Earl, Baron, and Knight, were first began) came voluntarily in, and submitted himself to the King, who was then in Normandy, and was restored to his Grace and Favour; inasmuch, that he allowed him an Estate suitable to his Greatness, which *Edgar* was so grateful, as to recompense with a peaceable Behaviour ever after. This Submission, tho' fortunate enough for the King, was thought very unseasonable and foolish in *Edgar*: For in the Absence of the King, *Roger Fitz-Auber* the young Earl of Hereford, contrary to the King's Command, married his Sister to *Ralph Waber*, Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk; and at the solemnizing of it, the two Earls conspired with *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne* (who privately came over to the Nuptials) Earl *Waltheof*, and other English Lords, to call in the Danes, and by Force keep out the King from his Kingdom. This Conspiracy was the more like to have taken effect, because the King did not suspect any such Treachery; especially from those whom he had so greatly advanced. But *Odo*'s watchful Eye, which observed every Motion of the English, as became his Place of the King's Vicegerent, soon spy'd the Design; and by the help of the Bishop of *Worcester*, and others, kept so strict a Guard upon them, that they could never unite to perfect it, but perceiving themselves discover'd, were forced to fly. *Roger Fitz-Auber* was taken, and some say executed, and so was Earl *Waltheof*; though 'twas thought, he was the principal means of the Discovery: But such was

A. D. 1074.

1075.

\* *Roger Hoveden* says, the English Nobility petition'd to be govern'd by their own Laws, beseeching him by the Soul of King *Edward*, who bequeath'd him the Kingdom, and whose Laws they were, to grant their Petition; to which he consented, by the Advice of his Barons. He chang'd the Laws afterwards, and brought in the Norman; commanding them to be made use of almost through the whole Kingdom. The Danish Laws had prevail'd in the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridge*, and he permitted them to be still current there, because they had more relation to his own than those of the Saxons.

b The Monks of *Ely* invited the Lords into their Isle, that they might be a Guard to their Possessions against the King; but he having conquer'd them, was the more severe to them, and requir'd of them 700 Marks to confirm them to them: Which Sum, when they came to pay it, wanting only a Groat-weight, he made them pay 1000 more. The Abbot of *St. Albans* fled to the English Lords in the Isle of *Ely*, and died there Anno 1077.

c The Saxon Annals, and most of our Authentick Historians, place the Reduction of *Ely* in the Year 1071.

d *Malcolm* also did the King Homage for some part of his Kingdom.

e *Holinhead*, from *Hen. Huntington*, writes Vol. III. p. 10. That 'twas agreed by the Treaty of *Aburneth*, That King *Malcolm* should do Homage to King *William* for the Realm of Scotland.

f Our Historians say, his Allowance was a Pound of Silver a Day, Sir *John Hayward* calls it twenty Shillings. He made his Submission, as *Florence of Worcester* and *Holinhead* after him write, in the Year 1073. and, says the above-mention'd *Hayward*, having large Livings in the Country, he there mellow'd to Old Age in Pleasure and Vacancy of Affairs. He was after that concern'd in several Wars in Normandy and England, and according to the Saxon Annals, was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *Tenchebrai*, with Robert Duke of Normandy Eldest Brother to William the Second and Henry the First. William of *Malmbury* says of him, that he was condemn'd at Court for his Easiness or Simplicity, and remitted his Pension of twenty Shillings a Day for a Horse; about the middle of King Henry the First's Reign, he retir'd from Court, and pass'd his Old Age privately in the Country.

g Sir *John Hayward* calls him *Ralph Fitz-Auber*; and says, 'twas the same who furnish'd forty Ships for the King's first Voyage to England: If so, it must be the Father who married the Daughter; and not the Brother, the Sister to the Earl of Norfolk. *Florence of Worcester* and *William of Malmbury* call him *Roger de Bretevil*.

h At *Isningham* near *New-Market* in *Cambridgeshire*.

i Earl *Waltheof* was beheaded at *Winchester* in the Year 1075. He was buried at *Croyland* in *Lincolnshire*, and was er'd up for a Saint by the Monks of that Abbey.



A. D. 1075. the ill Disposition of the Times, that nothing could be thought a fit Remedy for the Disease, but such a desperate Cure\*. The suppressing of the Plot at home did not free the King from the Inconveniences of the Confederates Power abroad, who were joyned with them to expel the King, as most of the Neighbouring Princes by their Actions did after shew. For the King of France defended Dole in Britain (a Castle of Ralph Waber's) against the King of England, and employed the Earl of Bologn to encourage the Conspirators. The King of Denmark sent a Navy of two hundred Sail under the Command of his Son Canutus, and others. Drone, King of Ireland, furnished Harold's Sons with sixty five Ships: And Malcolm, and the Kings of Wales, were ready to lend their Assistance had there been occasion. And though they were disappointed, yet it put the State to very great Charge, the King being obliged for his own defence, to maintain (besides his Normans) many Companies of French Soldiers, under the Command of Hugh the French King's Brother.

A. D. 1077. These were all the Wars which King William had within his Kingdom, saving that in the eleventh Year of his Reign he subdued Wales, and made the Kings thereof to do him Homage. The Wars he was engaged in abroad arose from his Son Robert, with whom he was forced to contend for his Dominions in France: For Robert, who was by his Father appointed his Deputy to govern the Dukedom of Normandy and County of Main in his absence, was so much affected with the Glory of a Command, that he assumed to himself the supreme Government of the Province, causing the Barons to do him Homage as Duke and not as Deputy; and enter'd into a League with the King of France, who glad of this Opportunity to disunite a People, grown too great for him, so fed the Ambition of the young Prince, and engaged him upon such Profuseness and Expence, that he was obliged to impose heavy Exactions upon his Subjects to supply his Extravagances; which though they got him the Name of Curtois, yet it raised such Discontents among the Normans, that they preferred their Complaints of his ill Government and violent Exactions to his Father. The King hearing this, hastes with his Forces into Normandy, designing to surprize his Son; but Robert having Intelligence of his coming, and being furnished with two thousand Men by the King of France, lay in ambush in the way through which he was to pass, sets upon him, put his Army to Flight, and in the pursuit happens to encounter with his Father, whom he unhors'd and wounded in the Arm with his Lance, before he knew who he was: But when by his Voice he discover'd 'twas his Father, he made hast to remount him, humbly begging Pardon for his Offence. The King readily granted it, and upon Submission for his Misgovernment, took him to Rouen with him; and having settled him in his Charge again, he returned with his Son William (as soon as they were both cured of their Hurts receiv'd in the Fight) into England.

The King had not been long at home, but fresh Information was brought him, that Robert

was fallen into his former Courses, usurping the absolute Government of his Dukedom, and exacting great Taxes of the People; and to justify his Actions pleaded, that his Father had promised him before the King of France, to make him their Duke, when he had conquered England. At which News the King being moved, thought not fit to give his Designs time to ripen, but made all the Preparations he could to return into Normandy. In his Passage, he was driven upon the Coasts of Spain; but at length recovering Burdeaux, and landing with great Preparations, his Son Robert came immediately and submitted the second time. But the King thought it not safe to trust him with the Government of Normandy again for the present, till he had taught him to obey better; and therefore taking him along with him home, employed him in his Wars against Scotland, which began to annoy his Dominions, and then sent him after some time again into Normandy to govern it; but joyning his youngest Son Henry with him in the Charge and Power, and reposing greatest Trust and Confidence in him. These two Princes being a little settled in their Government, went to visit the King of France at Constance, where they tarried some days. On a certain day after Dinner, Lewis the French King's eldest Son, and Prince Henry to recreate themselves, play'd a Game at Chés, and Henry won so much of him, that Lewis in Anger call'd him the Son of a Bastard, and threw the Chés-board in his Face: Henry hereby provok'd, snatch'd up the Chés-board, and struck Lewis with that Force as drew Blood, and had killed him, had not Robert timely interposed between them. This petty Brangle between two hot Youths, not only enraged the People so much against the Norman Princes, that they hardly escaped their Fury by their swift riding; but it kindled a Quarrel between the two Kings, the Fathers, and was a Cause of the first War between the English and French. For presently the King of France, joyning with Robert, who was as impatient of a Partner, as an Head, entered Normandy, and takes the City of Vernon. Whereupon the King of England, with his usual Expedition invades France, and subdues the Countries of Zaintonge and Poitou, and so returned to Rouen. Robert made rebellious, as much or more by Instigation as Inclination, could not stand out against his Father, but goes the third time, and submitting is reconciled to him. This was a great Disappointment and Trouble to the King of France; nevertheless, being ashamed to lay down his Arms dishonourably, he summons King William to do him Homage for his Kingdom of England; but he replied, That he was ready to do it for his Duchy of Normandy, but for England he would not, because he had it of none but God and his Sword. But this would not satisfy the King of France, who sought an Occasion to quarrel, and therefore he invades Normandy again, and the King's other Territories; but with such Loss, as made him willing to conclude a Peace, which proved but short. For the King of England being fallen into a Sickness through Labour, Age, and Corpulency, of which he lay some time at Rouen, the French King being young and lusty, sporting

A. D.

1080.

Reg. 14.

Robert re-

verts from

his Father

again.

A. D.

1081.

Reg. 15.

A. D.

1082.

Reg. 16.

A. D.

1086.

Reg. 20.

The King

of France

stirs up Ro-

bert to re-

bel, and

makes War

against

King Wil-

liam.

\* This Conspiracy so exasperated King William, that ever after he carried himself cruelly towards the English, of whom, says William of Malmshury, he had scarce found any faithful. He adds, from this time England became the Habitation and Dominion of Strangers, and the Foreigners engross'd all Honours and Riches so much, that about seventy Years afterward there was no Original Englishman an Earl, Bishop or Abbot.

† Near Gerbores Castle, which he held out against his Father.

‡ In the time of this War King William built a New Castle upon Tine, to be a bar against the Inroads of the Scots; and from it the whole Town after took its Name, being before call'd Monkebestor, or rather Mount Caster. Hol.

§ The Abbot Ingulph, who liv'd at that time, says he made his Queen Maud Regent of Normandy.



A. D. 1087. with his Sickneſs, and reflecting upon his Belly, ſaid, *That the King of England lay in at Rouen.* Reg. 21. This Sarcaſm ſo enraged the King, that as ſoon as he was recover'd, he got all his beſt Forces together, enters *France* in the chiefſt time of their Fruits, ſpoiling all the Country as far as *Paris*, where the King of *France* then was: To whom he ſent word, *That he was come to give him notice of his up-riſing.* From thence he march'd to *Mantz*, which he utterly raſed and deſtroyed; but got his fatal Wound by a Strain of his Horſe among the Breaches, of which he fell ſick, and being conveyed to *Rouen*, ended his Wars and Days together.

His Govern-  
ment in  
Peace.

Having given an Account of the Wars of this King, together with his Conduct and Succeſs in them, I ſhall ſhew what Courſe he took in ſetting the Kingdom, and eſtabliſhing a Government after he had ſuppreſſed the ſeveral Invaſions and Conſpiracies made againſt him in the North and other Parts of the Realm. It is certain he was ſo fond of the Laws and Cuſtoms of his own Nation, that he began his Reign with them, and would certainly have abolithed all the *Engliſh* Laws and introduced the *Norman*, had not the Nobility and Commons looked upon it as a great Grievance; and by Petition beſought him in moſt humble manner, by the Oath he had taken at his Coronation, and by the Soul of *S. Edward*, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom, and under whoſe Laws they were born and bred, *That he would not make them ſo miſerable, nor be ſo ſevere to them, as to judge them by a Law they underſtood not.* This earneſt Addreſs had ſo great an effect upon the King, that he was pleaſed to confirm his former Promiſes by his Charter, and gave Commandment to his Judges, to ſee that the Laws of *S. Edward* be inviolably obſerved throughout his Kingdom. But notwithſtanding all this Compliance, and a ſeeming Confirmation of the old Laws, which was alſo after done by the Charters of *Henry I.* and *II.* and King *John*; yet there followed ſo great an Innovation in the Laws and Government of *England*, that the People really had nothing of them but fair Promiſes. For the Body of the Common Law, with the whole Practice of it, came out of *Normandy*, notwithſtanding all Objections that can be made to the contrary. And whereas before the Conqueſt, the Laws by which the *Engliſh* were govern'd were written in their own Tongue, and ſo eaſie to be underſtood by all; now they were tranſlated into *Latin* and *French*, and practis'd wholly in the *Norman* Form and Language, on purpoſe to make the People to learn that Speech for their defence, which otherwiſe they would not do. And tho' indeed the King labour'd all he could by other means, as well as that, to make the Nation uſe the *French* Language, viz. enjoin- ing Children to be train'd up in no other Language, Grammars in Schools to be made in *French*, all Petitions and Buſineſs at Court in *French*, no Man regarded but he that ſpoke *French*; yet ſoon after his Death the whole Nation return'd to their old *Engliſh*, and nothing remain'd of *French* but in the Law, which is at this day the only remaining Badge of the *Norman* Conqueſt. New Terms, new Conſtitutions, new Forms of Pleading, new Offices and Courts were introduced by the *Normans*; a People of more impatient and litigious Spirits than the *Engliſh*, who being much engag'd in War, judg'd it much better to ſpend their Peace in Devotion and good Fellowship, than by intricate and tedious Forms of Law make Peace it ſelf a Trouble, and a Con-

The Laws  
of Eng-  
land.

troverſie about Property, as pernicious as the bloodieſt Battels. For the Laws of the *Engliſh* before this were plain, brief and ſimple, without Intricacies and Perplexities; commanding, not diſputing; deciding, not confounding: Their Grants ſhort, but full, ſhewing them a clear meaning People, and of honeſt and good Intentions. As for their Tryals in Caſes Criminal, where manifeſt Proof fail'd, they continu'd their ancient Cuſtom uſed among them before their Converſion, to decide them by their *Ordeal*, i. e. a *Right Doom*, (for *Or* ſignifies Right, and *deal* a part or portion) "Of this ſort of Judgment they had two kinds; *Ordeal by Fire* for the better ſort of People, and *Ordeal by Water* for the meaner ſort: That of Fire was to go Blindfold over certain Plowſhares, made red hot, and laid at uneven diſtances one from another; that of Water was either hot or cold, in the one to put their naked Arms to the Elbow, and into the other to be caſt headlong: According to their eſcape or hurt they were judg'd; ſuch as were caſt into Rivers, if they ſunk, they were judg'd Innocent; if not, Guilty, as ejected by the Element. Theſe Tryals they call'd the Judgment of God, and they were perform'd with ſolemn Prayers. In ſome Caſes the Perſon accused was admitted to clear himſelf by receiving the Eucharift, by his own Oath, or the Oaths of two or three credible Men; but this was allow'd only to Perſons of Note and Ability. The uſual Opinion among them being this: That Men of Ability had a greater regard of Honeſty. Beſides theſe, they had a Tryal of a Camp-fight, or Duel, (which the *Lombards*, a German Nation, introduced alſo into *Italy*) permitted by the Law in caſes of Safety, Fame or Poſſeſſions. All theſe Tryals ſhew the *Engliſh* to be ignorant of any Forms of Law, and to have no Imperial or Pontifical Conſtitutions to determine Affairs by. But theſe ſorts of Judgments and Tryals had their period ſoon after the Conqueſt. Thoſe of Fire and Water were at firſt diſuſed, and at laſt abrogated by the Pope, as a Pagan Invention, and an Impious Law; that of Combat out-liv'd the other, but very rarely ſuffer'd to be uſed. All Actions, both Criminal and Real, began to be wholly determin'd by the Verdict of twelve Men, according to the Cuſtom of *Normandy*, call'd an *Enqueſt*, where the ſame Cuſtom is uſed with the ſame Cautions to the Jurors, as among us at this day. Some indeed hold, that this manner of Tryal was in uſe in this Kingdom long before; and to prove their Opinion, alledge a Law of King *Ethelred's*, Father of the Confefſor, wherein he requires his Subjects in their Gemotes or Conventions, monthly held in every Hundred, that twelve grave Men of free Condition, ſhould, with the Greve, or chief Officer among them, ſwear upon the Evangelifts to judge every Man's Cauſe aright. But theſe Men were to be Aſſeſſors with the Judge, and no Jurors, as the manner of the *Normans* was. And indeed had there been any ſuch Form, we ſhould have heard of it more in their Laws and Practice.

A. D.  
1087.

The Judg-  
ment of  
Ordeal.

The Eng-  
liſh Tryals.

But whatever Alterations he made in other Matters, yet in thoſe Laws which had been made by the Saxons for the preſervation of the Peace, and for the good Order and Security of the Kingdom (which are of the greateſt importance to Kings) he made no change, becauſe he found ſuch excellent Conſtitutions made by the wary Care of former Kings, that he had none ſo good, and better could hardly be invented by Man, eſpecially the Burrough-Law, whereby every Freeman of the Commonalty was ſurety for the Behaviour of

Saxon  
Laws for  
the Peace  
continu'd.

• He dy'd on the 9th of September, 1087. in the ſixty firſt Year of his Age, and two and twentieth of his Reign over *England*.

each



A. D. 1087. Reg. 21. each other, after this manner: The whole Kingdom was divided into Shires or Shares, and every Shire subdivided into Hundreds, every Hundred consisting of a considerable number of Burroughs, Villages or Tithings, each containing ten Householders; of which, if any one committed any unlawful Actions, the other nine were to attach him, and bring him to punishment; if he fled, he was enjoyn'd to appear within thirty one days; if in the mean time he were apprehended, he was to restore what he had taken away; otherwise the Head-Burrough or Tithing-Man was to take with him two of the same Village, and as many of the three next Villages adjoining, (*viz.* the Tithing-Man, or Head, and two other principal Men) and before the Officers of their Hundred clear himself and the Village of the Fact, making good the Damage done by the Goods of the Malefactor; and if they were not sufficient, the Burrough or Tithing must make up the rest; and besides take an Oath, that they have not been accessory to the Fact, and to bring the Offender to Justice, if they knew where he was, or could get him. Besides, every Master of a Family was to be surety for all his Family; and if any Servant was call'd in question, his Master was to make him answer it in the Hundred where he was accused; if he fled, the Master was to deliver up what Goods were left in his Custody to the King: If he himself were accused of aiding his Servant, or to be privy to his flight, he was to clear himself by five Men, otherwise to forfeit all his Goods to the King, and his Man to be out-law'd. By these Tyes was the State so firmly joyn'd together, and the Order and Peace of the Kingdom so well secur'd, that no Society of Men in the World liv'd in greater Order and Peace. For after this Establishment, not only all Thefts and robberies, which were common before, were wholly suppress'd, but we never read of any popular Insurrections; which doubtless was a great cause that the Normans had so speedy a Settlement in England, more than the Romans or Saxons. By these Laws there was such a strict Guard put upon every Man's Behaviour, that no Man dare be guilty of any Treasonable or Criminal Action, and so they could not make any considerable Resistance against the Invader: Otherwise, 'tis probable, the Conquest of England had cost the Normans as dear as it did the Romans, Saxons, or Danes. But King William executing the English Laws severely, and withal depriving the Commonalty of all Weapons of War, forbidding all Night-meetings under grievous Penalties; enjoyn'g every Man at eight of the Clock in the Evening to put out his Fire, and go to his rest; raising divers Fortifications in several parts of the Kingdom to suppress all Commotions, and putting such Persons into all Places of Command and Judicature as he knew faithful to his Interests, made his Kingdom such as he would have it.

Alterations made by King William in the English Government. As to the Judicial part of Government, he new modell'd it; and whereas the Bishop and Aldermen were absolute Judges in every Shire, and the Bishop in many Cases had a share of the Fines impos'd for the King, the King stripp'd the Bishops wholly of their Judicial Power, and confin'd them within their Province to their own

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Souls. The Aldermen's Right he took quite away; and where- as all Causes were to be determin'd before in their Reg. 21. Gemotes, or monthly Conventions in every Hundred, he order'd, That four times in the Year on certain Days all Business should be determin'd in such Places as he should appoint, by Judges constituted by him for that purpose, from whom, as from the Bosom of their Prince, all Persons should have Justice. What difference of Tenures he made in Men's Estates, is visible from the knowledge of the old English Customs. The Saxons had only two kinds of Tenures, Boke-Land and Folk-Land; the one a Possession by Writing, the other without: That by Writing was as Freehold, and by Charter, Hereditary with all Immunities, and this was chiefly for the Nobler sort; that without Writing was to hold at the Will of the Lord, oblig'd to pay certain Rents and Services, and this was for the common People. Inheritances descended not to one Heir, but after the German fashion, was equally divided among all the Children, which they call'd *Land-skiften*, *i. e.* Part-Land; a Custom still retain'd in some part of Kent, by the Name of *Gavelkin*, or *Gif-eal kin*, which it is said the People of that County gain'd from the Conqueror by this Stratagem. As means. The King was passing through their Country to Dover, the People (by the advice of Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, and Abbot Egel'sin<sup>d</sup>, who told them they would lose all their ancient Laws and Liberties, and be involv'd in perpetual Slavery by the Conqueror) encompass'd him on all sides with Boughs in their Hands, to the great surprize as well as fear of the King, who expected no such hostile Attempts. Out of the midst of them came Stigand and Egel'sin, and presenting themselves before the King, told him, That the Multitude surrounding him was the whole People of the Country gather'd together with Boughs in their Hands, as Olive-Branches, to procure Peace and Liberty, or else to entangle him in his Passage; resolving to lose their Lives, rather than their Freedom, which if he would secure to them they would submit as good Subjects. The Conqueror seeing his Danger granted their Desires, and promised them the continuance of their Customs and Liberties; which, if at first permitted, are now not better secured than to the rest of the Kingdom. Those Tenants, which were at the Will of their Lords, he multiplied, and made their Case more miserable than before, till by their clamorous Petitions he was forced to relieve them. Their Case was this: All Persons that were engag'd in any Rebellion, and were pardon'd with the enjoyment of Life, yet having their Estates taken from them, became Vassals unto those Lords to whom their Estates were given; and if by their labour they attain'd any Portion of Ground, they held it only so long as it pleas'd their Lords, who often took it from them by Violence, and contrary to all Right. This the King redress'd; and commanded, that whatsoever such Persons had attain'd to by their Labours, or gotten of their Lords by their good Services, or agreed for by any lawful Compact, they should hold inviolably during their whole Lives.

This King having thus settled Laws for the Government of his People, his next Care was

<sup>a</sup> And for this end he caus'd in every City, Town and Village, a Bell to be rung at that Hour, which was call'd by the French, *Coure-feu*; and after by Abbreviation by the English, the *Curfew-Bell*; in Latin, *Ignitegium*.

<sup>b</sup> The Chief of them were the Tower of London, and the Castles of Hastings, Nottingham, and York.

<sup>c</sup> He assign'd the Bishops a separate Jurisdiction, to try all Causes relating to Religion by the Canon-Law in Courts proper to themselves. The Grant is in Mr. Fox's *Acts and Mon.* p. 154. and in Mr. Selden's Notes on *Eadmer*. It was not a new Jurisdiction, but a separate manner, for the Exercise of it.

<sup>d</sup> Abbot of St. Austin's in Canterbury. Sir John Hayward affirms, the Kentish-Men met him at Swansecumb, two Miles from Gravesend.



A. D. 1087. for himself, to raise a sufficient Revenue for the Maintenance of his Crown and Dignity, which he judged could not well be done, but by an exact Knowledge of his Estate, and a general Survey of the Kingdom. King *Alfred* had given him a Precedent, but his Survey recorded in the Doom-book at *Winchester* was defective and imperfect; wherefore he having gotten a sufficient number of very skilful Men, and furnished them with a large Commission, sent them out into the Kingdom to take a particular Account of his own Possessions, and every Man's Estate else in the Kingdom, the Nature and Quality of their Lands, their Estates and Abilities, with the Descriptions, Bounds and Divisions of all the Shires and Hundreds; and this was drawn up into one Book, and brought into his Treasury, then newly called the *Exchequer* (as the supreme Court of *Normandy* was) whereas before it was termed *Talée*, and had the Name of *Dome-book*\* (*Liber Judiciarius*) given it, a Record ready upon all Occasions for Taxes, or other Uses. All the Forests and Chases of the Kingdom he seized into his own hands, and exempted them from all Laws, but his own Pleasure; making them Retreats for Kings, to recreate himself in, and his Successors, and inflicting most severe Punishments upon any that should presume to destroy his Game: And that his Command might be the greater, he increased the Number of them in all Parts, and on the South-Coasts dispeopled the Country for thirty Miles together, and of old Habitations and ancient Estates; to the great damage of his People, made a New Forest, as it is called to this Day; an Act which got him much Hatred among his People, yet used by his Successors (who chose to imitate his Tyranny rather than his Virtues) till it was remedied by the Charter of Forests, granted by *Henry the Third*. Soon after the general Survey of the Kingdom, he levied a Tax of 6 s. upon every Hide of Land throughout the Nation; and after some times exacted the old Tax, commonly called *Dane-gelt*, which was an Imposition of two Shillings upon every Hide or Plough-land, raised at first to bribe the *Danes*, and after continued for the ordinary Supply of the King's Occasions in War or Peace. He imposed also upon some of his Subjects a Tax then first called *Escuage*, which was a Sum of Money taken for every Knight's Fee for Stipends and Donatives for Soldiers. But all these Taxes he levied but seldom; knowing, that Subjects never heartily love, however they may fear those Princes which are burthensome and chargeable to them. He had no Revenues by Fines and pecuniary Mulcts, unless such as arose by the Breach of his Forest Laws and for Murther, which he laid upon the People upon this Occasion. In the beginning of his Reign, the Hatred and Malice of the *English* towards the *Normans* was such, that if they found them alone in Woods or any remote Places they murdered them; and notwithstanding all the severe Courses the King could use, the Malefactors could not be discovered. Whereupon the King ordered, That the Hundred where any *Norman* was found dead, and the Murtherer not discover'd, should pay to

the King 28 or 30 l. according to the Extent of it, that by this general Punishment he might deter particular Men, or hasten the Discovery of the guilty, by whom so many must suffer Damage. The Revenues which were paid by the Tenants of the Crown for the Provision of the King's Household, not in Money, but some in Wheat, Malt, Beefs; others in Mutton, Hay, and Oats, &c. was duly and exactly taken according to the Quality and Quantity of every Man's Lands throughout the whole Kingdom. Other Incomes than these there was none belonging to the Crown but what was raised by extraordinary Fines, and of those Cities and Castles where Husbandry was not used.

From the Church he gat considerable Sums, but by Extortion rather than Justice, the Kingly Power never before extending so far, and therefore no Law or Precedent enabling him to do it. And the first thing he did in that kind was, he seized the Plate, Jewels and Treasure of all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending that the Rebels and their Assistants had conveyed their Riches into them as privileged Places, to defraud him of them. He made all the Bishopricks, and Monasteries also, that held Baronies (which before had been exempted from all secular Services) to contribute to his Wars, and other Necessities of State, which may be the Reason that in all the Histories of those Times, which were written by Church-men interested in them, he bears the Name of an Oppressor and cruel Exactor, with other Marks of Infamy; tho' if things were rightly weighed, the Nature and Necessity of his Affairs may be an Advocate for him, and in many things excuse him. He was indeed an excellent Prince, but the Name of Conqueror blasted the Appearance of all his Perfections; and though he had the Advantage of a long Reign, to blot out the Severities of his Entrance to the Crown out of Mens Memories, yet he could never gain the Affections of his People so heartily to him as his Sons did, who were much inferiour to him in real Worth.

How he was furnished with Ministers of State for the Management of the important Affairs of his Reign, though Time hath deprived us of a very exact Knowledge; yet 'tis not to be doubted, but that being a Man of good Judgment himself, he had able Persons employed under him: For weak Princes make bad Choices usually, but understanding Kings are always stored with able Ministers. The principal Persons entrusted by him were *Cdo* Bishop of *Bayeux* and Earl of *Kent*, *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz-Auber* Earl of *Hereford*. *Odo* was his Vicegerent in his absence, and had the management of his Treasury. He was a Man of great Reach, and of an active Spirit; high indeed in the Favour of his Prince, and by his Place; but yet very ambitious, and aiming at greater things: For having gather'd a vast Treasure of Money by his Avarice, and so profitable an Office, he design'd to buy either the Popedom, or the Kingdom of *England*, after the Death of the King his Brother. The Popedom came first in his way, and to it he had strew'd his Path with Gold at *Rome*; but when

\* There are several different Opinions why it was call'd *Doomsday-Book*; its first Name was the *Rolls* of *Winton*, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*, and afterwards *Doomsday-Book*, i. e. *Liber Judiciarius*, or *The Book of Judgment*. The Author of the *Black Book* in the *Exchequer* supposes, That the Name of *Doomsday* was first given to this Book, because 'twas no more lawful to depart from what is in it, than from the *Day of Doom*; but Sir *John Hayward* thinks 'twas so call'd from *Domus Dei*, a Place in the Cathedral of *Winchester*, in which this Roll was kept.

b This Fact, which was done merely to promote his Pleasure, was look'd upon by the Nation as one of the most intolerable and inexcusable pieces of Cruelty, that not only he himself, but ever any Prince did; for he destroyed thirty six Parish-Churches, with the Houses and Possessions of so many Townships, to make them Habitations for wild Beasts.

c Knights Fee was Lands given by a Prince to such as had well deserved of him in his Wars. These Donations were first used by the *Romans*, who at first gave them only for Term of Life, and after to them and their Heirs, and from the *Romans* they came in use in *France* and *Britain*. See Sir *Henry Spelman's* Remains publish'd by Dr. *Gibson*.



A. D. 1087. he was going, as he imagin'd, to take Possession of it, the King stopp'd his Journey, and taking him from the midst of a great Confluence of Noblemen and Gentry, who were to attend him thither, imprison'd him; excusing the Action to the Churchmen, by telling them, that he imprison'd him not as Bishop of *Bayeux*, but as Earl of *Kent*, an Officer accountable to him; but soon after released him, because being on his Death-Bed he would leave his Kingdom at Peace to his Son. But the Bishop disappointed his Intention, and became the Instrument of many Dissentions among his Children, partly in Revenge for what he had suffer'd from their Father, and partly out of Envy to *Lanfranc*, whose Counsel in his greatest Affairs the King chiefly us'd; and therefore meerly to oppose him he took the contrary courses to him, and sided with Duke *Robert* his Nephew; with whom (after having pass'd many Changes of Fortune with him) he went to the Holy War, and dy'd at the Siege of *Antioch*. *Lanfranc* was a Man of as universal Goodness as Learning, born in *Lombardy*, but brought hither by a kind Providence to do *England* good; for tho' his Preferment by the King might seem to lay some Restraints upon him, and require a greater Observance, yet by his Gravity and Piety, he gat himself so great Reverence with the King, that he feared not to oppose *Odo* the King's Brother in his Encroachments upon the Church; yea, in all he could, so intervened between the Kingdom and the King, that he saved the Nation from many rigorous Exactions and severe Impositions. For he that conquer'd all others was a Captive to *Lanfranc*'s Goodness. He reform'd the Irregularities of the Clergy, and introduc'd Gravity and Piety among them, according to the usage of his Country, in this joyning in Alterations with his Master, tho' more for the best. And to raise Devotion among all sorts, he did what possible he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite Ornaments he could procure; he caus'd Religious Houses to be built with greater Conveniency and State, and began the founding of Hospitals. Having long labour'd by indefatigable diligence to keep things in an even Course, during the Reign of the Conqueror; and after his Death, seeing his Successor (who was establish'd in his Throne by his means chiefly) to fail his Expectation, and foreseeing by his long Experience the ill tendency of the present Management, he began (with his Friends) much to lament the tediousness of Life, which he shortly after was remov'd out of by a gentle Sickness, which neither hinder'd his Speech nor Memory; a thing which he often desir'd of God. *William Fitz-Auber*, who (as is above mention'd) was a principal Counsellor and Instrument in the Invasion of *England*, and for that end furnish'd the King with forty Ships at his own Charge, was a Man of a great Estate, but of an Heart larger than any Riches could suffice. He was so liberal to Soldiers, that the King himself often check'd his

Profuseness; and so kind, that he made a Law, (for that Power the Noblemen of those times had in their Provinces) that in the County of *Hereford* no Man of War or Soldier should be fined for any Offence whatsoever, above seven Shillings; whereas in other Countries, upon the least Offence given their Lord, they were forced to pay twenty or twenty five Shillings. He was a most eminent Earl, a chief Counsellor in all State Affairs, both of *England* and *Normandy*, and always in highest Favour with the King; yet was not contented with these Honours, but through hopes of greater Riches and Command, went over into *Flanders*, where, by marrying *Richeld* the Widow of *Baldwin VI.* Duke of *Flanders*, he design'd to get into that Government in the Minority of *Arnulph* her Son: But *Robert de Frison* his Uncle, who was call'd to govern by the People, because of the Exactions of *Richeld*, kept so strong possession of that Dukedom, that *Fitz-Auber* was forced to recover it by the Sword, which before he had done he was by surprize slain. And indeed it was the Fate of the Conqueror to see most of those Men, who had been the principal Actors in all his Fortunes, dead before him, as *Beaumont*, *Montfort*, *Harcourt*, *Hugh de Gourney*, Viscount *Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, Count de *Vannes*, &c. Himself last of all, having lain sick a little time at *Rouen*, and dispos'd of his Estate, dy'd in the seventy fourth Year of his Age, and one and twentieth Year of his Reign. His Corps, tho' of so great a Monarch, is said to have lain three Days quite neglected, his Servants minding more to provide for themselves, than to attend upon him: At last his youngest Son *Henry* caus'd it to be convey'd to his Abby at *Caen*. He was well attended to the Gates of the City; but there happening a Fire just at their entering into the Town, the Corps was again wholly deserted, the Company all running to quench the Flames. After that was done, and the Body was carry'd to the Monastery, and ready to be bury'd, a Gentleman of Note stands up, and with angry Countenance forbids his Burial in that place, claiming the Ground for his Inheritance, descended to him from his Ancestors, but taken from him at the building of that Abby; appealing to *Row*, their first Founder, for Justice; whereupon *Henry* was forced to compound with him for an Annual Rent. So hard was it for him, who had so large Dominions in his Life, to find a small place for his Burial, which he could not get but by Purchase: Men esteeming a living Dog more than a Dead Lyon, and most ready to trample upon those dead, which they fear'd most when they were alive.

He had a numerous Issue by *Maud* his Wife, viz. four Sons and six Daughters. To *Robert* his eldest Son he left the Duchy of *Normandy*, to *William* his third Son the Kingdom of *England*, and to *Henry* his youngest all his Treasure, with an Annual Pension to be paid him by his Brothers. *Richard*, who was his second Son and his Darling,

\* Yet was not this King so blindly devoted either to *Lanfranc*'s Wisdom or Piety; for when *Lanfranc* labour'd much with him to swear Fealty to the Pope, as holding the Crown of *England* from him, tho' he look'd upon it as rather a piece of his Piety than Policy, yet he would never be induc'd to do it, because, as he alledg'd, none of his Predecessors the Kings of *England* had ever done it. The Letter he wrote to the Pope on this occasion is to be seen in Mr. *Selden*'s Notes on *Eudmerus*. He was so jealous of his Power both in Spirituals as well as Temporals, that he would not suffer the Archbishop to call a Synod without his Leave.

\* And for this Reason 'tis very probable it was, that when *Gregory* the VII<sup>th</sup> impos'd Celibacy upon the Clergy of *England*, and commanded that none should hear the Masses of any that were marry'd; *Lanfranc* was very moderate in putting the Injunction in practise, and would part none of the Clergy from their Wives, tho' he would ordain none that were marry'd; as judging, perhaps, that true Piety could hardly thrive, nor the Clergy ever become regularly good, if Marriage were strictly forbidden.

\* This Account of his Age is taken from *Polydore Virgil*, and is not true. *William* of *Malmbury* says, 'twas in the 59th Year of his Age; *Ordericus Vitalis*, in his sixty first Year; and *Sir John Hayward*, in his sixty fourth.

\* His Corps was abandon'd as soon as the Breath was out of his Body by all his Servants; and 'twas not his Son *Henry* that caus'd him to be convey'd to *Caen*, but *William* Archbishop of *Roan*: The Corps being first embalm'd at the Charge of one *Herlwyn*, a Country Knight.

\* *Anselm Fitz Arthur*.

\* *Henry* his youngest Son paid *Fitz Arthur* one Hundred Pounds for the Ground.

\* In his Dying Speech he said, He would constitute no Heir to the Realm of *England*, but would commend it to God; because he possess'd not that Honour by Right of Inheritance, but by the Instinct of God, Effusion of Blood, and Perjury of *Harold*. Yet he wish'd that his Son *William*, who had been ever obedient to him, might flourish in it; and to that end, he sent him with a Letter to *Lanfranc*. He left *Henry* five thousand Marks only. *Ord. Vital.*

a Prince



A. D. 1087. a Prince of great Hope, was slain by a Stag as he was hunting in the New Forest in *Hampshire*; the first Instance how fatal that Place would prove to the Royal Family, which had been made out of the Estates, and by the Wrongs of so many: For not long after *William Rufus* was slain there also by an Arrow, and *Richard* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* brake his Neck by a Fall there, very sad Allays to those Pleasures, which we take by other Mens Injuries, yet the deserved Rewards of Injustice and Oppression. His eldest Daughter *Cicilia* was made a Nun, *Constance* the second was married to *Alain* Earl of *Brittain*, *Alela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by whom among other Issue she had King *Stephen*. In her Age she became a Nun, according to the Devotion of those Times, in which the Persons of greatest Quality did not refuse a Retirement for Religion sake. *Gundred* the fourth Daughter was married to *William de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, the other two *Ela* and *Margaret*, died before Marriage.

*His Person.* He was of a proportionable Stature, comely Personage, and good Presence either riding, sitting, or standing, till by Age he grew corpulent and unweildy; of so healthy and strong a Constitution, that he never had any Sickness till a few Months before his Death. He had so great a Strength of Body, that very few could bend his Bow; and tho' he was above fifty Years old when he enter'd *England*, yet his Age had not in the least impaired him, as his Activity and indefatigable Labour in the Expedition proved. He was of an undaunted Courage, sagacious Wit and ripe Judgment, as his many Encounters with the *French* and *Danes* do evidently shew, who were a People more powerful both in Men and Shipping than himself; yet by his Policy and Bravery he was able to match, if not overmatch them both. His Devotion was very exemplary and admirable, as the Clergy of that time, who never loved him, do acknowledge. His great Mercy appeared in often pardoning and re-

ceiving into Favour those who had rebelled against him; and tho' he was troubled with so many Rebellions by the *English* Nobles, yet he never executed but one of them, and that was *Waltbeof*, who had notoriously broke his Faith with him twice before; and those whom he kept Prisoners in *Normandy* as the Earls *Morchar* and *Siward*, with *Wolfnotb*, the Brother of *Harold*, and others, he (out of Compassion to them) released a little before his Death. He was so far from Suspicion (a great sign of Magnanimity) that he allowed *Edgar* his Competitor for his Crown the Freedom of his Court, at his Desire furnished him out for the Holy War, where he behaved himself bravely, and got great Reputation by his Actions from the Emperors of *Greece* and *Germany*, which might have been accounted dangerous, because of his relation to the latter. He was a Benefactor to nine Abbies of Monks, and one of Nuns, founded by his Ancestors in *Normandy*; and during his Reign were founded either by his Encouragement, or Charge, seven Monasteries and six Nunneries in the same Province. With those Forts (as he said) he furnished *Normandy*, that they might fight against the World and Flesh. In *England* he founded one great Abby near the Place where he got the Victory over *Harold*, and in Memory of it, call'd it *Battle-Abby*; and two Nunneries, one at *Hincbing-Brook* in *Huntingdonshire*, and the other at *Armitbway* in *Cumberland*, besides many other publick Works. He was very magnificent in his Festival Entertainments, which he observed with great Solemnity and Ceremony, which naturally beget Reverence; keeping his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, and his *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*, whither he then summoned all his Nobility, that Embassadors and Strangers might see his State and liberal Expences, and was always at those times very mild and obliging. These Ceremonies *William Rufus* kept up, but *Henry* laid them aside.

*His Feasts.*

*His Religion and Acts of Piety and Mercy.*

### REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of William I.

IN the eleventh Year of his Reign, on the 27th of *March*, there was a general Earthquake in *England*, and in the Winter following a Frost, which continu'd from the 1st of *November* to the middle of *April*. On the 16th of the same Month a Comet appear'd about six in the Morning, in fine Weather.

In his 15th Year another Earthquake happen'd, the more terrible because it came with a hideous Noise; and in his 20th Year there fell such abundance of Rain, that the Floods were universal thro' the Kingdom; and the Springs rising in several Hills, so soften'd and decay'd the Foundations of them that they fell down, and some Villages were overwhelm'd in their Fall. *Sir J. Hayward*.

In the last Year of his Reign *Holinshed* reports, there was a burning Fever among the People, a Murrain among the Cattel, and at the same time Fowl, as Cocks, Hens, Geese, and Peacocks, fled from their Owners Yards to the Woods, and became wild. On the 7th of *July*, *St. Paul's* Church in *London* was burnt.

In his Reign *William* Bishop of *Durham* founded the University College in *Oxford*. The Use of the *Long-Bow*, which render'd the *English* Nation so famous afterwards, was brought first into *England* by this Prince.

The most Illustrious Persons in the Reign of William the Norman were

*Waltbeof* Son of *Siward*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Ebrick* Sylvaticus, or the Forester; *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and Earl *Morchar*, brave *Englishmen*, and zealous Assertors of their Liberty against the *Normans*; of whom the most famous were *Roger de Breteuil* Earl of *Hereford*; *Ralph de Wayir* Earl of *Norfolk*, and *Roger Mowbray* the Norman Earl of *Northumberland*.

Of Men of Learning: The most Eminent in his Time were

*William* of *Poitiers* the King's Chaplain; *Hirman* the Arch-deacon; *Ingulph* Abbot of *Croy-*

*land* in *Lincolnshire*; *Osborn* a Monk of *Dover*, who wrote the Life of *Dunstan*; *Robert* Bishop of *Hereford*; *Folcard* a Benedictine Monk, he wrote the Life of *Sir John* of *Beverly*; Arch-bishop *Lanfranc*, who, tho' a *Lombard* by Birth, was an *Englishman* by Affection, he wrote this King's Life. In his time also flourish'd *Marianus Scotus*, born in *Ireland* in the Year 1028. He wrote an *English* History and a general History of *Europe* interwoven with it, which he brought down to the Year 1083. He left *Ireland* Anno 1056, and went to *Germany*, where he became a Monk of *St. Martin's* Convent at *Mentz*, and died there Anno 1086. *Sir James Ware. Irish Writers.*

\* In the Year of our Lord 1542. the Bishop of *Bayeux*, Abbot of *St. Stephens* in *Caen*, order'd King *William* the First's Tomb to be open'd, wherein his Body was found whole, fair and perfect, his Limbs large and big, and his Stature taller, and Bulk bigger than that of ordinary Men.











# THE LIFE and REIGN OF WILLIAM II.

A. D.  
1087.  
Reg. 1.

William  
Rufus made  
King of  
England.

**W**ILLIAM the II<sup>d</sup>, Son to the Conqueror, being with his Father at *Rouen* at his Death, had his desires so fix'd upon the Crown of *England*, that neglecting his Father's Funeral, he hasten'd with all speed thither, and by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*, and his own large Bounty and Promises, obtain'd it<sup>b</sup>, according to his Father's Will, whom by his dutiful Behaviour he had much endear'd to himself, especially after the Abdication of his eldest Son *Robert*. He was a Prince more Gallant than Good; and having been bred up to Warlike Actions, in which he was generally on the fortunate side, was rough and proud by Nature, and grew much more so by the addition of Sovereignty, which enabled him through the heat of Youth to do several irregular Acts, to his own eternal Dishonour, as well as the loss of his Subjects Love: Coming to the Crown not by Succession, and Right of Primogeniture, but by his Father's Will only, (for his elder Brother *Robert* was alive, and the Kingdom by Inheritance belong'd to him) he found it absolutely necessary to hold the Possession of it by the good-will of his Subjects, which he knew no better way to purchase than by large Promises of Favours and Kindness, and large Gifts to those that were more likely to be wrought upon to disturb it. His Subjects consisted of two sorts of People, *Normans* and *English*: The *Normans* were to be engag'd to him chiefly by Money; and therefore to gain them he went presently after his Coronation to *Winchester*, where his Father's Treasure<sup>c</sup> lay, and emptied it out all to them; by which profuse Liberality, tho' he gain'd the Love of many, yet he lost more than he won, his Fund being not large enough to content all, and made himself so poor ever after, that through meer necessity he was forc'd to be burthensome to his Subjects, and made use of many dishonourable ways of extorting Money from them. The *English* were to be secured by nothing so much as the Grant of their ancient Liberties; wherefore he gave them larger Promises than was suitable to his State and Dignity, which afterward failing in the performance of, he got himself more hatred than otherwise he would have had; yet he settled himself for the present, till Time discover'd that.

*Robert* Duke of *Normany* being settled in his

Dutchy<sup>d</sup>, which was the height of his Ambition in his Father's Life-time, was not contented with that only after his Death, but grudg'd to see himself a small Prince, and his younger Brother a potent King: Whereupon he contriv'd the speediest ways he could to recover his Inheritance, and ruine his Brother's Fortune in the beginning of it. He knew he had a strong Party for him in *England*, and his Uncle *Odo*, *Roger de Montgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and some others of the Nobility, were at hand to encourage him to it: But he wanted Money for so great an Enterprize, which he had no other ways to raise so speedily, as by taking it of his younger Brother *Henry*, to whom his Father and Mother had left a great Treasure. Of him therefore by engaging the Country of *Constantine*, a Province in *Normandy*, he borrow'd such large Sums, as enabled him to levy a good Army for *England*. But *William* newly invest'd in his Crown, tho' well enough prepar'd for any Invasion, yet chose rather to purchase a present Peace (by the Mediation of the Nobility on both sides) till Time had better settled him in his Government, than to raise such Heats on both sides by a War as could not be easily allay'd; and so an Agreement was made, That *William* should hold the Kingdom of *England* during his Life, paying *Robert* three thousand Marks per Annum. *Robert* having thus compounded the Difference with his Brother *William*, turn'd his Forces upon his Brother *Henry*, by whose help he had rais'd them, and took the Country of *Constantine* from him, without paying the Money for which it was engag'd. This Injustice from *Robert* was very pleasing to *William*, who hearing of it upbraided *Henry* with the Gain of the Usury of that Money which he had lent to deprive him of his Crown. *Henry* being thus deserted by both his Brothers, and having no place to live in free from danger from them, he surprized the Castle of *Mount S. Michael*, and fortify'd it; getting assistance from *Hugh* Earl of *Britain*, who for his Money supply him with plenty of Soldiers out of *Britain*, who spoil'd and ravag'd the Countries of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

*Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, being return'd into *England* from his Imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restor'd to his Earldom of *Kent*, was not yet contented in so much an inferiour station to what he

A. D.

1087.

Reg. 1.

Robert at-

tempts to

get the

Crown of

England.

A. D.

1088.

Reg. 2:

<sup>a</sup> The Nobility were more inclin'd to *Robert* than *William*, but by *Lanfranc*'s Piety and Persuasions were gain'd to fix at last upon *William*, and so he was crown'd by *Lanfranc*, Sept. 6. 1087.

<sup>b</sup> *William* the Second, surnam'd *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from his yellow Hair, was declar'd King on the 9th of September, and crown'd the 11th of October. Sir *John Hayward*.

<sup>c</sup> 'Tis said, the Treasure consisted of sixty thousand Pounds in Money, (a prodigious Sum in those Days) besides Jewels, Gold and Plate.

<sup>d</sup> Duke *Robert* was in *Germany* when his Father dy'd, and by his absence gave his Brother *William* time to settle himself in the Throne of *England*.



A. D. 1088. had formerly been in, but envy'd *Lanfranc* the Honour he had spoil'd him of, to be the only Man at the Helm, by whose Counsels all things were manag'd; and to recover it again, thought 'twould be the speediest course to change the King. To this end he enter'd into a Plot with as many Norman Lords as he found inclineable to a Change, to set up *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, and sent for him to come over with speed with all the Power he could bring out of *Normandy*. In the mean time these Conspirators, to distract the King's Forces, and so leave *Robert* an easie entrance into the Kingdom, began in divers parts of the Nation to revolt from their Allegiance. *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, with his Nephew *Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, fortify'd *Bristol*, and took in the Country round about; *Robert de Bigod* made a strong Party in *Norfolk*; *Hugh de Grandemont* gather'd Forces about *Leicester*; *Robert de Montgomery*, Earl of *Sbrensbury*, had a considerable Body of *Welshmen*, and others thereabouts, with whom he set forward; and being accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacy* and *Ralph Mortimer*, took *Worcester*, and secured themselves in it. *Odo* himself fortify'd the Castle of *Rocheſter*, and made good all the Coasts of *Kent*. So that had *Robert* come with his Army out of *Normandy*, as they expected, and in the midst of these Distractions pursu'd his Claim, he had infallibly got the Crown; but he staying too long, gave the King time to confirm his Friends, undermine his Enemies, and strengthen himself by the assistance of the *English*, to whom having granted a release from their former Tribute, eased them of their Grievances, and restored them to their ancient Freedom, in hunting in all his Woods and Forests; he made them so entirely his, and so ready to serve him, that he soon became powerful enough to vanquish all the Conspirators; by which the Normans were convinc'd, that the *English* could easily have conquer'd them, had they had an Head to lead them against them. *Montgomery* came over to the King, and the rest were soon repress'd. *Odo's* Faction in *Kent* was the strongest, and the last conquer'd. The King coming with his Army against them, first attack'd the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and took it; then *Penſey*, where *Odo* was, who was forc'd to yield it to the King, and promised that the like should be done at *Rocheſter*, by *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne*, and the Earl of *Mortaigne*, who held it out against him. But when he was brought thither to effect it, the Besieged taking him in, detain'd him, and held out stoutly against the King's Forces, upon a false Information, that Duke *Robert* was landed at *Southampton*; but at last were forced to resign, and retire into *France*, and *Odo* was compelled to abjure the Kingdom. The danger being thus blown over in *England*, *William*, to keep his Brother employ'd at home, and discourage him from all future attempts upon the Kingdom of *England*, transports an Army into *Normandy* to waste and disturb his Brother's Dominions. At his first Entrance he obtain'd *S. Valery*, and after *Albemarle*, with the whole Countries of *Eu*, *Fescamp*, the Abbacy of *Mount S. Michael*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* in this distress seeks for aid from *Philip* King of *France*, and was promis'd it; but as he was marching towards *Normandy* with his Army, King *Wil-*

liam by Money so prevail'd with him to stand Neuter in the Quarrel, that he return'd without doing *Robert* any good; by which means he was forced to clap up a dishonourable Peace upon these Articles, concluded between them at *Cane* in *Normandy*, viz. 1. That King *William* should hold the County of *Eu*, *Fescamp*, and other places, which he had bought, and were deliver'd unto him, by *William* Earl of *Eu*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Aumerl*, Sister's Son to *William* the First. 2. That he should assist *Robert* to recover all those Places which belong'd to his Father, and were taken away from his Dutchy. 3. That such Normans as had forfeited their Estates in *England*, by joyning with *Robert*, should be restor'd to them. 4. That the Survivor of either of them should succeed to the Dominions both of *England* and *Normandy*.

After the Conclusion of this Peace by the Mediation of the King of *France*, and while King *William's* Army remain'd in the Field, *Robert* desired his assistance against his Brother *Henry*, who still kept the Fort of *Mount S. Michael*, and defended himself in it. The two Brothers besieg'd it forty Days, with little damage to either side. But King *William* himself, who walking one day on the Shoar by the Castle was so violently assaulted by three Persons, who among others sallied out of it, that his Horse was kill'd, his Breastplate broken, and himself cast on the Ground; being hardly able to defend himself, till his Men could come to his rescue. In the end *Henry* was reduced to extrem want of Drink and Water, altho' he had sufficient quantities of other Provision in the Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert*, whom he knew to be of the more mild and compassionate Temper, to permit him liberty to supply himself with them. *Robert* immediately sends him a Tun of Wine, and grants him a Truce for one Day to furnish himself with Water; which, when *William* understood, he was displeased. But *Robert* reply'd, That it was very Inhumane to deny a Brother Meat and Drink, who crav'd it; for if he perish'd, they had no other Brother: Which words wrought so upon *William*, that not long after they sent for *Henry*, and came to an agreement, That he should hold the Country of *Constantine* in Mortgage till *Robert* had paid his Money; for which a Day was appointed, when he was to receive it at *Rouen*. This Agreement King *William* farther'd, that he might draw as much Treasure from *Robert* as he could, whom by this Voyage he had not only impoverish'd, but possess'd himself of a safe and continual Landing-place in part of his Dutchy, and caused him to banish out of *Normandy* *Edgar Arbeling*, whom *Robert* kept in his Court to awe his Brother. Besides, he so prevail'd with *Robert*, either by Promises of Money, or other ways, that he brought him with him into *England*, and carry'd him along with him in his Expedition against *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, who had invaded his Dominions in his absence; but the Difference being adjusted without Arms, they soon return'd. And *Robert* not long after went into *Normandy* again, much dissatisfy'd at his Disappointment by his Brother; and because he had not Money to discharge his Brother's Debt, according to his Promise, he was resolv'd to get a Discharge from it without; and meeting *Henry* at *Rouen* upon the day appointed, committed him to Prison; and to get a Release, forced him to renounce his Claim to

A. D. 1089.  
Reg. 3.

*William*  
earliest an  
Army into  
Norman-  
dy.

\* Duke *Robert*, on his arrival in *Normandy*, made him Governour of that Province.

† *William* of *Malmſbury* says, *Henry* was forc'd to surrender the Castle for want of Water, on condition he might go where he pleas'd; after which he retir'd into *Bretagne*, and thence into the *French Vexin*, shifting from place to place, with only a Knight, a Chaplain, and three Gentlemen attending him.

‡ The Peace was made by the Mediation of *Edgar*, which restor'd him to the King's Favour; one Article of the Treaty was, That King *Malcolm* should do Homage to King *William*. Sir *J. H. Or*, as *Florence of Worcester* writes, That *Malcolm* should yield the King the same Obedience as he had done to his Father, King *William*.



A. D. 1093. Reg. 6. the Country of *Constantine*, and swear to pretend no Title to any thing in *Normandy*. Henry having by this means got his Freedom, fled to *Philip* King of *France*, and complain'd of this gross Injustice done him by his Brother; *Philip* gave him kind Entertainment, but he remain'd there not long, before a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hacbard*, undertaking to put him into the strong Fort of *Dampfrent* without the knowledge of his Brother *Robert*, convey'd him in disguise out of that Court, and caus'd the Town and Castle to be resign'd up to him; by which soon after he made himself Master of the Country of *Passays*, which lay about it, and a good part of *Constantine*, having the private assistance of his Brother *William*, *Richard de Rivieres*, and *Roger de Manneville*. Duke *Robert* seeing *Henry* again set up against him, levies an Army to recover *Dampfrent*; but finding that he was supported by his Brother the King of *England*, he enveighs against him, as false and perfidious to him, and they became more bitter Enemies than they had ever been before. *William* being incens'd at this, pass'd over into *Normandy* with a great Army, but rather to terrifie than fight his Brother, (for *William*, tho' he desir'd to be great with the Sword, yet car'd not how little he made use of it, if he could obtain his ends by any other means.) Many small Skirmishes pass'd between them; but in the conclusion, a Peace was propounded, to which *William* seem'd very averse, that he might obtain what Conditions he pleased, and sent for greater Forces into *England*, as if he resolv'd to continue the War; but *Robert* being deserted by the King of *France*, was forced to accept of a Peace at home upon any terms; which being made up, *William* order'd that his Army which he had sent for out of *England*, and was come to the Sea-side ready to embark<sup>a</sup>, should be disbanded, and upon the Payment of ten Shillings a Man dismissed to their homes; which being gladly comply'd with, he was enabled to discharge his Expences in *Normandy*, and see the French King.

1094. Reg. 7. King *William* having by this arbitrary Peace with his Brother secur'd himself from all Troubles in *Normandy*, resolv'd to turn his Arms upon two Enemies at home, the *Scots* and *Welsh*; intending to restrain the former from hurting him and subdue the other. *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, had several times in the King's absence in *Normandy* much depopulated and wasted the Northern Parts of *England*, and was again entred into the *English* Marches as far as *Chester*, destroying the Country all along. *William* hasten'd to oppose him, and after many Rencounters they were brought to an Interview; both Kings being more willing to have a Peace than seek it. The two Kings met at *Glocester*, but *William* carrying himself at a great distance, and expecting to have his Demands granted in every Particular, made *Malcolm* not only less yielding, who before was content to have the Confines of both Kingdoms determined by the Primates of them; but being incens'd at the Disdain which *William* had shew'd to him, tho' a Sovereign Prince, as well now as before, went home; and raising a great Army enter'd *Northumberland*, resolving to destroy that Country and go farther. *Robert de Mowbray*, Earl of that County, seeing his Territories so miserably harass'd and depo-

pulated, and being a stout and valiant Soldier, A. D. raised what Force he could to oppose him with- 1094. out the King's Order; but not being strong Reg. 7. enough to enter a pitch Battel with him, lay in ambush for him where he was to pass, and fell upon him so fiercely and boldly, that he slew *Malcolm* himself and his eldest Son *Edward*<sup>b</sup>, the Grief of whose Deaths soon after brought the good Queen *Margaret* to her End. After the Death of *Malcolm*, the *Scots* chose *Dufwald* his Brother King, and drove all the *English* out of their Nation, which were come thither either to attend the Queen, or secure themselves from the Conqueror, and were preferred by *Malcolm*. But King *William*, to bring the Kingdom into their Legal Succession, and have a King which might be beholding to his Power, assisted *Edgar* the second Son to *Malcolm* (who had served him in his Wars) to obtain the Crown due to him as Heir by Succession to it, and at length expelled *Dufwald*; and the Nation received *Edgar*, but destroyed all the Men which he brought with him out of *England*, capitulating with him, that he should never more entertain *English* or *Normans* in his Service.

The State of *Scotland* being settled according A. D. to his Mind, he next turned his Arms upon 1095. *Wales*; for which he could not want a just Oc- Reg. 8. casion, the *Welsh* being ever struggling for their Liberty, and attempting a faint Revenge upon the *English* and *Normans*. He went himself in Person upon this Expedition, with a purpose of depopulating that Country, which was so troublesome to him; but the *Welsh* flying some into Mountains, and others into the Isle of *Anglesey*, avoided his Fury. The King sent *Hugh* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* against the latter, who got the Isle into their Power by Surprise, but used their Victory with horrid Cruelty and Barbarity; putting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Noses, Hands and Arms of their poor Captives without Mercy, or Distinction of Age or Sex. But this Inhumanity was by a just Providence revenged upon *Shrewsbury* almost in the very Fact: For *Magnus*, Son of *Olaus* Son of *Harold Harfager*, who had lately taken the Isles of *Orkney*, and was coming to land at *Anglesey* in his Passage that way on the Sea, being opposed by these Earls with that small Force they had, wounded the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in the Eye with a Shot, and beat him into the Sea; so that he suffer'd a double Death for the unspeakable Cruelties he had been guilty of to others<sup>c</sup>. This War being hardly finish'd, a Conspiracy broke out in the Heart of the Kingdom, contriv'd by *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William D'Ou*, and many others, whose Design was to have destroy'd the King, and raised *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, his Aunt's Son, to the Crown. This Plot was greater Trouble than Danger to the King; for by his speedy advance against them, and onset upon them with the greatest Strength of the Kingdom, which joyned with him to suppress them; he quash'd their Design, and got most of the Conspirators into his Power, which he punished with a Severity equal, if not beyond the Crime. The Earl he committed to the Castle of *Windsor*; *William D'Ou*, at a Council at *Salisbury*, being overcome in a Duel (the Tryal then used in such cases) had his Eyes put out,

<sup>a</sup> King *William* the Second did not want more Forces than he had; but to raise Money, he levy'd twenty thousand *Englishmen*, and commanded them to march to the Sea-side to be shipp'd for *Normandy*: When they came there, he caus'd *Ralph* his Treasurer to offer them, that to save the Nation so many Men, and themselves the Perils they were to run, as many of them as wou'd pay ten Shillings shou'd be discharg'd; upon which, they all paid down their Money and went home. *Mat. Paris.*

<sup>b</sup> This Fight was near *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*. *Str John Hayward* says the *Scots* were so encumber'd with Plunder, that the *English* had no difficult Task to defeat them.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. *Powell's* Chronicle places the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Invasion of *Wales*, Anno 1098. *Roger Hoveden* does the same:



A. D. 1095. and his Privy Members cut off; *William de Al-*  
*meric*, his Sewer, a Man of a goodly Personage and  
 allied to him, was condemned to be hanged;  
 Reg. 8. tho' both in his Confession to *Osmund* the Bishop<sup>a</sup>,  
 who was present, and to all the People as he  
 pass'd along to his Execution, he gave such Proofs  
 of his Innocency, that he was thought to have  
 suffer'd wrongfully from the King, who was so  
 anger'd by this Revolt, that he not only punish-  
 ed the Actors with too much Severity, but re-  
 tained an implacable Temper of Mind ever  
 after.

1096. And certainly this ill Humour would have  
 Reg. 9. created him continual Disturbances at home, had  
 The Holy War began, and how. there not happen'd a very fortunate Juncture of  
 Affairs, which not only eas'd him, but most of  
 the Kingdoms of *Europe*, which were broken in  
 pieces with Factions and Schisms of their most  
 troublesome Members. Pope *Urban* being sensi-  
 ble of the lamentable Distraction of *Christendom*,  
 thought it the best Expedient to end them, to  
 draw their Thoughts and Designs another way,  
 and to that end called a Council at *Clermont* in  
*Auvergne*<sup>b</sup>; where having propounded to the  
 Princes and Bishops assembled, the miserable  
 Condition of the Christians at *Jerusalem* under  
 the *Turks*, he earnestly exhorted them to join  
 their Forces to recover the Holy Land out of  
 the hands of the Infidels, telling them, 'That it  
 'was an Action not only just, but such as would  
 'get them an indelible Honour in this World,  
 'as well as Eternal Glory in a future. This Mo-  
 tion being seconded with the earnest Persuasions,  
 and active Zeal of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*;  
 and meeting with a general Inclination to Reli-  
 gion, and such Acts of Goodness, prevailed so  
 much with all sorts of the People, that none  
 were accounted to be of any real Worth or Piety,  
 which desired to be excused from the Expedi-  
 tion: Infomuch, that many great Princes pass'd  
 away their whole Estates, and left their King-  
 doms to engage in this noble Action; and all  
 sorts of People flock'd so fast to this Service, that  
 in a little time they made up an Army of three  
 hundred thousand, or, as some say, seven hundred  
 thousand Men. *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, Nephew and  
 Heir to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a generous Prince,  
 bred in the Wars of the Emperour *Henry IV.* was  
 the first that offer'd himself to undertake this  
 famous Voyage, whom his Brothers *Eustace* and  
*Baldwin* were resolv'd to accompany. Their  
 Example invited *Hugh le Grand*, Count de *Ver-*  
*mandois*, Brother to *Philip* King of *France*, *Ro-*  
*bert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert Frison* Earl of  
*Flanders*, *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Chartres Ai-*  
*mar* Bishop of *Puy*, *William* Bishop of *Orange*,  
*Raimund* Earl of *Toulouse*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Hai-*  
*nault*, *Baldwin* Earl of *Reibel*, and *Garnier* Earl  
 of *Gretz*, *Harpin* Earl of *Bourges*, *Ifoard* Earl of  
*Dy*, *Rambald* Earl of *Orange*, *Guillaum* Count de  
*Forests*, *Stephen* Earl of *Aumaul*, *Hugh* Earl of  
*S. Poll*, *Rotron* Earl of *Perche*, and some others,  
 out of *France*, *Germany*, and the Countries ad-  
 joyning. *Italy* sent *Bobemond* Duke of *Apulia*;  
 and *England*, *Beauchampe*, with many others,  
 whose Names are now lost. *Spain* could afford  
 none, because they were greatly afflicted at that  
 time with the Inroads of the *Sarazens*. Most of  
 Reg. 10. these Princes and Noble Persons sold or engaged  
 their Dominions and Possessions to furnish them-  
 selves out for this brave Attempt. *Godfrey* sold  
 the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Bishop of *Liege*,

and *Metz* to the Citizens. *Baldwin* his Brother A. D.  
 sold the Earldom of *Verdon* to *Richard* Bishop of 1097.  
 that Province, and *Eustace* sold all his Estate to Reg. 10.  
 the Church, *Harpin* Earl of *Bourges* sold his Earl-  
 dom to *Philip* King of *France*, and *Robert* mort-  
 gaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, Earldom of *Main*,  
 and all he had, to his Brother *William* King of  
*England*<sup>c</sup>. Thus did the Pope weaken not only  
 the Empire, and eas'd the Church of that long  
 Contest about Investitures of Bishops; but also  
 mightily enriched the Ecclesiastical Persons, who  
 purchased most of the Temporalities, which the  
 Undertakers left, and so became much greater  
 than they had been before; especially in *France*,  
 and afterwards in *England*, when *Richard* the  
 First undertook the same Voyage. This War,  
 notwithstanding it was attended with infinite  
 Hazards and Difficulties, Pressures and Wants,  
 was kept on foot almost three hundred Years,  
 and by it were consumed an infinite Treasure,  
 and most of the bravest Men of these Western  
 Parts of the World, especially in *France*; for  
 in *Italy* and *Germany* the Pope kept many back  
 by Dispensation, who were his Friends, and  
 would else have gone, merely to maintain his  
 Cause against the Emperour; who yet struggled  
 with him, but at last the Pope prevailed. The  
 Zeal of these Christian Princes was admirable,  
 but did little or no good; for instead of dri-  
 ving the Enemy out of the Christian Countries,  
 they discover'd their own Weakness, and en-  
 courag'd the Infidels to make their Attempts  
 upon *Europe*, of which since they have gained  
 some of the fairest Provinces.

By this War *William* was rid of his elder Bro- William  
 ther, and a troublesome Competitor, had the gets Nor-  
 Possession of *Normandy* during his Reign, and mandy.  
 became an absolute Prince in both. But this want  
 of an outward Enemy made him take Liberty  
 to do many irregular and arbitrary things,  
 whereby he lost the Love of his People in ge-  
 neral, and brought upon himself the Hatred  
 both of the Clergy and Laity. For to raise this  
 great Sum, which he had agreed to furnish *Ro-*  
*bert* with for his Journey into the Holy Land,  
 he made use of the most rigorous and unjust ways  
 of exacting Money of the People, seized upon the  
 vacant Livings and Preferments of the Clergy,  
 and kept them in his own hands to enjoy the  
 Profits of them. After the Death of *Lanfranc*, he  
 kept the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury* vacant four  
 Years, and had held it longer; but that falling  
 sick of a dangerous Distemper at *Glocester*, the  
 Clergy in his Sickness convinc'd him so much of  
 the Sinfulness of the Fact, that he vow'd that  
 he would fill up all Vacancies if he recover'd,  
 which indeed he did, but with some Unwilling-  
 ness. *Anselm*, an *Italian* born, but bred up in *Anselm*  
*Normandy*, was preferred to the See of *Canterbury*: made Arch-  
 But what through his own Stubbornness and the bishop of  
 King's firm Adherence to his Regal Prerogative, *Canter-*  
 he never enjoyed it quietly. For between them bury.  
 began the Controversy about Investitures of Bi-  
 shops, and other Privileges of the Church, which  
 was so hotly maintained by his Successors; and  
*Anselm* not yielding to the King's Will, or rather  
 Right, was forced to leave the Nation; and the  
 King assum'd his Bishoprick again, and took all  
 the Profits of it, and after this became so arbi-  
 trary a Possessor of Church-Livings and Prefer-  
 ments, that he held in his hands at one time, His Aus-  
 beside the See of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winc.*

<sup>a</sup> *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury*. Sir *J. H.*

<sup>b</sup> This Pope had been driven out of *Italy* into *France*, expell'd by the Faction of *Clement III.* there being at this time a Schism in the Papacy.

<sup>c</sup> For 6666, others say 13600 Pounds of Silver. Sir *J. Hayward*.

<sup>d</sup> *Anselm* was Abbot of *Becchellovin* in *Normandy*, was chosen Bishop on the 6<sup>th</sup> of *March*, 1093. *Hol. Vol. 3. 20.*



A. D. 1097. Winchester and Sarum, and eleven Abbies, of which he had all the Incomes. What he disposed of to others, fell usually to their Shares, who would give most Money for them, and took Fines of Priests for Fornication. He vex'd Robert Bluet Bishop of Lincoln with Law-Suits, till he paid him 5000 l. And tho' he had much impoverish'd his Clergy, yet when he had laid this Tax upon them to pay his Brother, and they complain'd of Want, he answer'd them, *That they had Shrines of Gold in their Churches, and for so bold a Work as this War against the Infidels was, they should not spare them*. He also took Money of the Jews, to cause such of them as were converted to Christianity to renounce it again, making greater benefit of their Apostacy than Conversion; wherein he discover'd something worse in his Nature than Covetousness, which is Atheism. Besides the Taxes which he impos'd upon the Laity, he set Informers to take notice of any small Irregularities committed by them, and inflicted severe Penalties upon them. And tho' these Actings were very odious and tyrannical, yet he wanted not some of great Name and Station to countenance them, as Ranulph Bishop of Durham, and some other Bishops, who suffer'd themselves to be corrupted, contrary to their Profession, to oppose the Clergy and awe the Laity. By these ill means he gather'd great Sums of Money, which he as lavishly expended, either in his Buildings, (which were the Castle upon Tine, the City of Carlisle, Westminster-Hall, and the Walls of the Tower of London) or else in his Prodigal Gifts to Strangers, as the King of France, and others, which brought him to extream want.

His Person and Countenance.

He was of an indifferent Stature of Body, and well set, his Complexion was ruddy, and Hair inclining to yellow, whence he had his Name Rufus; he was bountiful to Soldiers, but austere to the Churchmen; he was of a rough and violent, but yet very courageous Spirit; of which we have this convincing Proof: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger came in all haste out of Normandy, and told him how the City of Mans was surpriz'd and taken by Heli, Count de la Flefche, (who by his Wife pretended a Right to it, and was assisted by Fulke D'Angiers, the old Enemy of the Dukes of Normandy) but the Castle held out valiantly for him; yet, if it were not timely relieved, must surrender. The King immediately bid the Messenger return with all speed, and assure them in the Castle, that he would be with them in eight days, if Fortune hinder'd him not. And presently having inquir'd which way Mans lay of a Norman that stood by, rid directly towards the Sea-Coasts. His Attendants, tho' they

admir'd his Resolution, yet advis'd him to stay a while to provide things necessary for the Journey, and a Force answerable to his design: But Reg. 17. he reply'd, *They that love me will follow me*. Being arriv'd at Dartmouth, and desirous to go on Board a Ship ready to carry him over, the Master told him, That the Weather was so bad, and Sea so rough, his Passage would be very dangerous: But he said, *Tisb, set forward; I never yet hear'd of a King that was drowned*. Whereupon the Master setting sail, he arriv'd at Harfleur by break of Day, sends for his Captains and Men of War to attend him at Mans, and accordingly arriv'd there upon the Day appointed. Count de la Flefche, after his coming, was not able to hold out the Siege, but after some Skirmishes released the City, and was himself taken by a Stratagem, and brought a Prisoner to Rouen. Here being brought into the King's Presence, the King jested upon him to his Face, as not having Courage or Policy enough to withstand him; at which being more enrag'd, than cast down, he said, *That he was made a Prisoner more by Chance than Force; and that, were he at liberty again, he would leave the King but little Land on that side the Sea*. The King hearing these words, instantly set him at liberty, and giving him a good Horse, bid him go and do his worst. Which brave Act had such an effect upon the Count, that he gave over all Opposition, and came soon after to a Peace with the King. After this Success, the King return'd home with great Jollity, feasted his Nobility magnificently in his new Hall at Westminster, which was then lately finish'd, with which he found fault for being built too little; saying, *That it was fitter for a Chamber, than a Hall for a King of England*; and took a Platform to build it larger. After these Demonstrations of Joy were over, he spent some time in settling his publick Affairs, and then betook himself wholly to the Pleasure of Peace; and being a hunting with his Brother Henry in the New-Forest, Walter Tirrell a Norman, and his Kinsman, shooting at a Deer, (whether mistaking his Mark or not, is uncertain) shot him to the Heart, and so he immediately dy'd, in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, and the forty fourth of his Age. A Prince, who for the first two Years of his Reign, while either through Fear or Design he follow'd the wise Counsel of Lanfranc, behav'd himself as one of the best of Princes, and might have had an absolute Government of all his Subjects, if he had continu'd to seek it by endearing Acts; but seeking to establish it by Force, made both himself and People miserable.

Westminster-Hall built.

His Death in New-Forest.

\* Yet that he approv'd not the Simoniack Buyers of Church-Promotions, though his Necessities put him upon such sinister means and ways of raising Money, appears from this Instance: That the King having the Presidency of an Abby in his hands, which he resolv'd to dispose of, two Monks came to him, and bid him large Sums for it, striving to outvie each other in purchasing it; a third stood by, as an Attendant of him that should be prefer'd, the King asked him, What he would give? To whom the Monk answer'd, *Nothing, because I have vow'd Poverty*. This Answer pleas'd the King so well, that he presently gave it him; shewing, that tho' he let them have Promotions who bought them, yet he thought those deserv'd them best that would not purchase them.

† This King was not at all oblig'd to the Monks for the Character they gave of him, neither were they oblig'd to him for his Favour. He hated their Covetousness and Arrogance, and had more Religion, or less Superstition, than any of them; if what is said of him be true, that he should openly declare, *He believ'd no Saint could profit any one in the Lord's sight*; and that neither he nor any wise Man would make Intercession either to Peter, or any other for help. Eadmerus, Hol. p. 27.

‡ Barfleur.

§ This Feast was kept at Westminster the last Year, before he went to Normandy. William of Malm.

|| Walter Tyrrell, says Ordericus Vitalis a Norman, was a French Knight, a Native of Pontoise, a City in the Pais Vexin François, of the Province of the Isle of France.

¶ Sir John Hayward relates the Circumstances of it thus: As he was hunting at Choringham in the New Forest he struck a Deer lightly with an Arrow, and stay'd his Horse to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes, because the Sunbeams dazzled his Sight; another Deer crossing the way, Sir Walter Tyrrell shooting at it too carelessly, or too steadily at the King, shot him full on the Breast, and kill'd him, the 2d of August, 1100.



## REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of William II.

IN his second Year there happen'd a dreadful Earthquake through the whole Kingdom, which was follow'd by a great scarcity of Fruit, and so late a Harveſt, that Corn was not full ripe at the end of November. Sir J. Hayw. *Hiſt. Will. II.*

On the 5th of October, in the Year 1091. there fell a violent Storm in ſeveral parts of England, eſpecially at *Wincheſcomb* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where the Steeple of the Church was thrown down by Thunder and Lightning, and the Crucifix with the Image of the Virgin *Mary* was broken to pieces. The Hurricane was follow'd by a noiſome Stink. *Holinſhead.*

Sir *John Hayward* adds, That there was alſo a thick Smoke which darken'd the Sky.

On the 17th of the ſame Month there happen'd a Storm of Wind, which was then S. W. the ſame that blew in the late Tempeſt, ſo dreadful to the whole Nation; and yet this we are about to mention ſeems to have been more fatal in the City of *London*, where it threw down above five hundred Houſes, and blew off the Roof of *Bow-Church* in *Cheapſide*, by the fall of which two Men were kill'd. The top of the Steeple at *Salisbury*, and many Houſes were blown down. *Holinſhead.*

Sir J. H. ſays, It threw down ſix hundred and ſix Houſes in *London*; and that ſome Beams of *Bow-Church* twenty eight Foot long were driven ſo deep into the Ground by it, that not above four Foot remain'd in ſight. The Tower of *London* was alſo much broken. He adds farther, The next Year *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Salisbury* finiſh'd the Cathedral Church of *Old Sarum*, and the Steeple was fir'd by Lightning the fifth Day after the Conſecration of the Church: Which, perhaps, gave occaſion to *Holinſhead's* ſaying, that the damage was done to *Salisbury Church* at the ſame time that the Roof of *Bow-Church* was blown off.

The Year 1094. was very remarkable for the Number and Faſhion of gliding Stars, which ſeem'd to daſh together in manner of a Conflict. Sir J. H. *Holinſhead*, who is very particular in his account of the Seaſons, Weather, Plagues and Famine, goes farther, and affirms, That there was this Year ſo great Mortality of Men and Beaſts in *England* and *Normandy*, that the Ground lay untill'd in many places, which cauſ'd a ſevere Dearth.

Grifly and hideous Sightſ were ſeen in *England*, as Hoſts of Men fighting in the Air, Stars falling from Heaven, and other ſuch Wonders. The Ignorance and Superſtition of thoſe Ages have, we ſuppoſe, heighten'd the Terror of the unuſual Accidents in the *Phænomena* of Nature: But we are not of the Opinion of thoſe, who think there is nothing uſeful or entertaining in an Account of ſuch extraordinary Events and Appearances, nor are they below the Dignity of Hiſtory.

In the Year 1095. the eighth of this King's Reign, a Comet appear'd for fifteen Days together, the Tail pointing to the Eaſt. And in this Year *Peter* the Hermit preach'd up the Cruſade againſt the Infidels.

In the laſt Year of his Reign the Sea overflow'd in divers parts of *England* and *Scotland*; many Villages, Caſtles and Towns, much People, and a vaſt number of Cattel were overwhelm'd. At the ſame time the Lands that belong'd to *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, Father to King *Harold*, were overflow'd and cover'd with Sand; and ever after they were call'd *Godwin's Sands*, as at this day *Goodwin* by Corruption. The Heavens often ſeem'd to flame with Fire, and frightful Forms and Apparitions were ſeen in the Air.

In this Reign the Monastery of *Bath* was joyn'd to the See of *Wells*, by *John* Biſhop of that Dioceſs; and the Church of *Coventry* to the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, by *Robert* Biſhop of that See.

The moſt Famous Warriors in his Reign were

*Robert de Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*,  
*Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Sbrensbury*, *Robert de Bigod*,  
*Hugh de Grandmeſnil*, *Roger Lacy*, *Ralph Mortimer*.

For Learning there were few or none Eminent in his Time, except

*Turgotus*, Prior, Arch-deacon, and Vicar General of the See of *Durham*, who wrote a Chronicle of that Biſhoprick. He was afterwards Biſhop of *St. David's*.

'Tis obſervable, that the *Engliſh* Names are already loſt in the Liſt of the moſt noted Barons of *England*: All whom we have mention'd, and thoſe we muſt have nam'd, had we inſerted more, being *Normans*.











# THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY I.

A. D.  
1100.  
Reg. 1.

Henry the  
third Son of  
the Conquer-  
or chosen  
King of  
England.

**H**ENRY the youngest Son of *William* the First, being present at his Brother's Death, and born in *England* (which contributed much to his Advancement) was elected<sup>a</sup> and crowned King within four days after his Brother's Decease; it being reported, that *Robert*, who should have succeeded *William*<sup>b</sup>, was chosen King of *Jerusalem*; and 'twas not probable, that he would leave that Kingdom to govern this. But however, left *Robert*'s return from the Holy Wars (who was indeed in *Apulia*, and hasting home) should shake the present Inclinations of all People to settle him in the Throne, *Henry* used all Expedition possible to settle himself in the Possession of it, which accordingly he effected; and that he might secure himself the firm Allegiance of the People, he began his Government with Acts of Kindness and Benefit to them, being a Prince not only learned, as those times were, from whence he was called *Beau-Clerk*<sup>c</sup>; but also of a mild Disposition and crafty Judgment; so that he knew how to make them good Subjects, after they had once made him their King. And to effect this, he first began with the Clergy, and all Vacancies in the Church, which his Brother through Covetousness had reserved to himself, he filled up with learned and pious Men; *Anselm* he recalled from his Banishment, and restored him to the Arch-bishoprick of *Canterbury*, and in general settled the Church in all the Privileges which had been taken from it by his Predecessors. The Laity he not only freed from the Oppressions and heavy Exactions they had long lain under, but punished those Men who had been forward Instruments of promoting them, which mightily pleased the People. And because *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, a Man who by his Cunning and fair Tongue had raised himself from a very mean Condition to great Preferments and highest Employments under the late King *William*, being his chief Counsellour, was generally looked upon as the only Person who put his Master upon these intolerable Exactions and Irregularities, and so was

odious to all; he committed him to a freight and loathsome Prison. All dissolute and vicious Persons were expelled his Court, and the People were allowed to use their Lights again after the *Cover-feu* Bell had gone, which *William* had prohibited them to their great Discontent. Many other<sup>d</sup> good Laws and Orders he made for the Government of his Kingdom; and to make himself the more popular and beloved of the *English*, he married into the Royal Blood of *England*, by taking to Wife, *Maud* the Daughter of *Mar-garet*, the late Queen of *Scots*, Niece to *Edward* *Arbelling*, and so descended from *Edmund Iron-side*, a Lady of admirable Virtues and Goodness, worthy of so good a Mother, yet hardly won from her Vow of Virginity to become a King's Wife.

A. D.  
1100.  
Reg. 1.

Henry mar-  
ried into the  
English  
Royal Line.

*Henry* having thus secured his Interests in *Eng-land*, as much as possible, was scarce settled in his Regal Honour, but that *Robert* returned from the Holy Wars into *Normandy*, and was received with a general Applause by his Subjects there. The News of his Arrival much loosen'd the Affections of many from King *Henry*, especially of the *Norman* Nobility; who either out of Conscience, or Discontent, desire *Robert* should be their Governour. In the first Year *Robert* only threaten'd, but in the second he arriv'd with a strong Army at *Portsmouth* to recover his Right, and to him flock'd great Numbers of *Henry*'s Subjects, especially *Normans*; so that the Armies on both sides were very powerful. But when the two Brothers met, and were to en-counter each other, Proposals of Peace by *Henry*'s Craft, were made to *Robert* (who was a very tender hearted Man, and easily won to it, though very valiant) to save the Expence of Christian Blood; and it was concluded upon these Terms, 'That since *Henry* was born after his Father had obtained the Crown of *England*, and so was the eldest Son of *William* as King, though he was the youngest of him as Duke, and was now invested in the Regal Dignity by the Consent of the Kingdom, he should enjoy

*Robert*'s re-  
turn from  
the Holy  
War.

1101.  
Reg. 2.

1102.  
Reg. 3.

<sup>a</sup> He went to *Winchester* and seiz'd the late King's Treasures, from thence he posted to *London*, where by the Interest and wise Management of *Henry Newburgh* Earl of *Warwick* he was elected King. *William* of *Malmesbury*.

<sup>b</sup> *Robert* behav'd himself with such Courage and Conduct in this Expedition against the *Turks*, that when the Christians had taken *Jerusalem*, and thought it necessary to prefer one of the Christian Princes to be King of it; it was with general Consent tender'd to *Robert*, but he having just before heard of his Brother *William*'s Death refus'd that Dignity, and hasten'd homeward to assume his Kingdom of *England*. Our Historians generally think, that *Robert* cross'd Providence by this Refusal, for he not only lost *England* but *Normandy*, and was unfortunate in all his Actions ever after.

<sup>c</sup> He was born, after his Father had been crown'd, at *Selby* in *Lincolnshire*; he study'd at *Cambridge*.

<sup>d</sup> He restor'd King *Edward*'s Laws with some Amendments, and added several others much for the Benefit and Liberty of the Subject, as about the Punishments of Theft with Death, false Coining and Adultery with Loss of Eyes and Members, Marriage of Widows, and the Daughters of the Gentry, all which may be found more largely in *Speed*'s Lives.

<sup>e</sup> *Maud*, Daughter of *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* by *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar* *Etheling* and Daughter to *Edward* Son to *Edmund Iron-side*, was next in Descent from the Saxon Kings to the Inheritance of the Crown of *England*, *Edgar* dying without Issue; by her Marriage with King *Henry* the Saxon and *Norman* Lines were united together, both in Blood and Title to the Crown.



A. D. 1102. 'it during his Life, paying Robert three thousand Marks per Annum. 2. That if Robert outlived him he should succeed. 3. And that all, whether English or Normans, that had taken part with Robert, should have their Pardons and enjoy their Estates and Liberties. Things being thus amicably composed, Robert a Prince of a generous and free Temper stayed in England two Months, enjoying the Delights and Pleasures of his Brother's Court without any sign of Envy or Ill-will, and then returned about Michaelmas into Normandy.

Henry's  
Contest  
with An-  
selm.

1105.  
Reg. 4.

Henry being thus freed from his greatest Fear, and settled in his Throne by Right, began to stand up more stoutly in asserting his Prerogative against the Opposition of Arch-bishop Anselm, who refused to consecrate that Bishop that the King had preferred; alledging it to be a Violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed (at Rome) concerning this Business. The King not willing to forego his Due, sends an Embassage to Pope Paschal, to represent his Right to the Investiture of Bishops and Collation of Ecclesiastical Dignities, which he received from his Predecessors Kings of England, who never were molested in this Prerogative, but of late. Anselm immediately follows the Embassadors to Rome, there to make good his Cause; which so anger'd the King, that he banish'd him the Kingdom, and took his Bishoprick immediately into his hands. The Pope boldly vindicated the Power assumed by the Church, but in the end seeing the Resolution of Henry, and knowing that it was not in his Power to constrain him (who was engaged with the Emperor and other Princes in a Contest of the same Nature) he resolved to deal with him by Persuasions to draw him to his Will; and to that end, with kind Letters solicits him to relinquish his Claim and promises him most solemnly, that he would further him in any Matters concerning his State. The King considering the Proposals, and having some Designs in hand, which he judged might be better effected by the Connivance of the Church, consents to the Pope's Desires, and became an Example to other Princes of yielding to him in the same case: So Anselm was recall'd; and his Ambassadors return'd with large Presents from the Pope.

A Rebellion  
against  
Henry.

While these things were in hand, and transacting at Rome, there burst out a Rebellion at home, which as it tended to the Destruction of the Authors of it, so it brought the King more easily to his ends than otherwise he could have expected. Robert Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, Son to Roger Montgomery (a fiery young Man) presuming upon his great Strength and numerous Friends, fortified his Castles of Shrewsbury, Bridg-North, Tick-bill and Arundel, and combining with the Welshmen, deny'd the Obedience and Subjection to the King. Henry enraged at their Attempt, gathers a strong Army, and marches towards him; and within thirty days, partly by Force and partly by Promises, dispersed all his Associates, and took all his Castles, except that of Arundell, wherein were Belesme himself with his Brother Arnulphus and Roger de Poytiers, which held out something longer; but at length was forced to yield upon Condition, that they might retire safely into Normandy, which the King readily granted, seeing he lost nothing but two or three troublesome Men, which were better any

where than at home. Their Departure made well for the King, for he immediately seized upon the Earl's Estate, which made a considerable Addition to his Revenues; and being come into Normandy, he made way for his obtaining that also. For as soon as he came thither, he enter'd into a Familiarity with one of like Condition and desperate Fortunes with himself (an exiled Person) whose Insolency had likewise stripp'd him of all his Estate in England, and much wasted that in Normandy, viz. William Earl of Mortaigne, Son of Robert half Brother to William the First. These two Earls, with their Adherents, committed many Outrages, assaulting the King's Castles, unjustly detaining the Estate of Richard Earl of Chester, a Minor, and the King's Ward, and spoiling several other parts of the Country; and tho' they were complain'd of to Duke Robert, yet no redress was made, the Duke being either past Action, or giving himself up to a Monkish Sluggishness. Henry therefore was appealed to by the Normans, who sending for his Brother, reproved him sharply for his Sluggishness; which Robert took so ill, that giving vent to former Discontents, he joyned with those mutinous Earls, and resolved upon a fresh Revenge upon his Brother. The King being troubled in Conscience at the Foulness of a Quarrel with his own Brother, was very dubious what to do, till Pope Paschal sent him some Letters to persuade him with all the Arguments of Wit and Invention to engage in this War, which he said, would not be a civil Dissention, but a noble and memorable Benefit to his Country. The Countenance and Approbation of the Pope put Resolution and Alacrity into the King, and now he proceeds boldly not as against a Brother, but a most dangerous National Enemy, passes into Normandy with his Army; and after many Difficulties and Losses of many worthy Men in a great Battel near the Castle of Tenchebray, defeated his Enemies and won Normandy, on the same day by Computation (wherein forty Years before) Normandy had over-run England. Robert, who stood in a fair Possibility of two Crowns, was now deprived of his Duchy, brought a Prisoner into England and committed to the Castle of Cardiffe; where to add to his Misery, he had the Misfortune of a long Life, living after this Loss twenty six Years not only in Confinement, but most of it in utter Blindness; his Eyes being put out soon after his Imprisonment for endeavouring to make an escape. He was a Prince of great Excellency and Valour, of which he gave so many Proofs in his Voyage into the Holy Land, that he had the second Command in the Army, and was very nigh being elected King of Jerusalem. But his Disobedience to his Father, and his Profuseness in his Expences, for which he sold, or engaged his whole Duchy, are great Stains to his Credit, and made him thought so unfit for Government, that his Brother Henry had the Commendation of most Men for taking it from him.

And now Henry being gotten to the highest pitch of Power and Dignity, an absolute King of England and Normandy, was so formidable, that none dare disturb his Peace; so that he lived many Years in the most flourishing Prosperity, gathered a great Treasure, and held a friendly Correspondence with all neighbouring Princes. Scotland was obliged to be quiet, not only upon

\* This Opposition was in a Synod call'd by Anselm at London, wherein he depos'd several Bishops who had been invested in their Sees by the King, and decreed, that none so invested ought to be consecrated.

<sup>b</sup> Tenchebray.

<sup>c</sup> Some Authors report, that 'twas not his Eyes which were put out, but the Earl of Mortaigne's.



A. D. 1106. Reg. 7. the account of his Match with *Maud*, but also because he was a Benefactor to their Kings, and sav'd them from Usurpations. *Wales*, tho' he was titular Lord of it, yet was not subject to him, but now and then gave his Arms a little Exercise; but at length by his Wisdom he found out an effectual way to check their turbulent Humour. For, 1. He planted within the Body of their Country a Colony of *Flemmings*, who being admitted into the Nation by *William*, who marry'd their Country-woman, and used their assistance in subduing the Kingdom, and after allow'd them to dwell in *Cumberland*, had been routed from their Habitations, by the Sea breaking in upon them, and were become now burthenfome Guests to the Kingdom, and much disturb the Natives. These People, who were both numerous and stout, he settled among the *Welsh*, and so not only eased his own People of their Grievance, but also put a curb upon that People to keep them in awe; for they soon made room for themselves, and kept all the adjoining Countries in fear of them. And then, 2. He took the chief Men's Sons in the Country for Hostages, and so forced them to be quiet. As for *France*, he had no suspicion of Disturbance from them, because their King *Philip* gave himself up wholly to Ease and Luxury, and minded not Warlike Affairs, though his Son was thought to be of an active Temper, and might alter things when he came to the Crown. With the Earl of *Flanders* he had some difference, but it proceeded no farther than Words, which happen'd upon this occasion: The Conqueror in Recompence of the good Service which *Baldwin V.* Earl of *Flanders* had done him in his Expedition for *England*, gave him three hundred Marks per Annum, and continu'd it to his Son after him.

1107. Reg. 8. This present Earl *Robert* was of a Collateral Line, but yet being grown indigent by the Holy Wars, in which he had engag'd himself, and finding that such a Sum had been paid to his Predecessors, demands it of King *Henry* as his due; but the King, who was very slow at parting with Money, sent him word, That it was not the Custom of the Kings of *England* to pay Tribute; if they had allow'd Pensions to any Persons that had deserv'd well of them, they were temporary, and ended with them. This Answer much displeas'd the Earl; and tho' he liv'd not to shew his hatred, yet his Son did it, by assisting *William* the Son of *Robert* in his attempts to recover the Duchy of *Normandy* from King *Henry*. In this serene part of his Reign he settled his Affairs so firmly at home, that he never had any Disturbance among his Subjects after.

Henry's Quarrels with the King of France. But the Changes of the World brought a mutation in *Henry's* Affairs abroad. For after the Death of *Philip* King of *France*, *Lewis* the Gros's his Son succeeded him, and soon after his accession to the Crown began a Contest with him about the City of *Gisors*, which lies on the River *Epre*, and belong'd to his Duchy of *Normandy*. *Henry* being a Politick Prince, and knowing that he had a powerful Monarch to grapple with, not only provided an Army to oppose his Enemy, but strengthen'd himself by good Alliances, which he had a favourable opportunity to do just at that Juncture. For there happen'd at that time a Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor *Henry V.* whom tho' the Pope had encourag'd in a Rebellion against his Father

*Henry IV.* and so had rais'd him to the Throne, A. D. 1108. (for he conquer'd his Father, and kept him in such straight Imprisonment, that he dy'd) yet he ex-Reg. 9. torted so many Privileges of the Empire from him, that repenting of what he had done, because he was reproach'd for it by his States, he rais'd a mighty Army, and marching into *Italy*, constrain'd the Pope and his College to acknowledge the Rights of the Empire in that form as *Adrian* had done to *Charles* the Great, and *Leo* to *Otho II.* according to the Decree of the Council of *Rome*, and made him take an Oath of Fidelity between his Hands, as to the true and lawful Emperor. The Contest between the Pope and Emperor. But the Pope, as soon as *Henry* was gone, call'd a Council, makes void this Acknowledgment, as done by Force, and shortly after deceas'd. *Calixtus* the Son of the Count of *Burgogne* succeeded him in the Papacy; and being a *Frenchman* call'd another Council at *Reimes*, where by an Ecclesiastical Decree *Henry* was declar'd an Enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Imperial Dignity. This made *Henry* the Emperor have a jealous Eye of *Lewis*, as a Favourer of his Enemies, who being most his Subjects, had pronounc'd such a Sentence against him; and to strengthen himself against a growing Party, desired a Marriage with *Maud*, the Daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, who was then an Infant of about five Years old. Besides this Enemy, *Lewis* had in his own Kingdom several of his Nobility about *Paris*, as the Counts of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dimmartini*, *Champaigne*, and others, who presuming upon their Franchises within their own Seigniories, of which at that time there were many in *France*, would be absolute Lords, and not be under the awe of a Master. These *Henry* took under his Protection; and that *Lewis* might not move against him, but with near as much prejudice to himself, in his own Confines, as he could do to him, lent them assistance against their Sovereign. The Emperor, who being become his Son-in-Law, was easily sway'd by his Interest or Persuasions, he incens'd to that degree, that he immediately rais'd a mighty Army to assault his Dominions, and joyn with *Henry*, who had made as great Preparations. This Storm hanging over the *French* King's Head, and almost unavoidable, much terrify'd him, and finding himself unable to grapple with such Enemies, he first deals with some of the *German* Princes, represents to them the Danger and Mischiefs of a War, undertaken upon a meer Suspicion, and in a Heat, without any just ground, and moves them to induce the Emperor, that they may first treat about it, before they began the War. The Princes prevail'd so far with the Emperor, as to send Ambassadors to signify his Discontent; to whom the *French* King declar'd, That it was a great grief to him to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church (*viz.* the Pope and Emperor) at variance, because by it the Ruine of the whole would almost inevitably follow: That he was a Friend to them both, and would very gladly be a Mediator for Peace between them for the good of *Christendom*; but would not, nor ever had been any means to increase the Dissentions between them. This Answer so pacify'd the Emperor, who was glad to have a Mediator between the Pope and himself, that he laid aside the Thoughts of a War with him; and not long after, by his intercession, the Pope and Emperor came to an Agreement, which

\* In *Ross-Hundred* in *Pembrokeshire*, where their Posterity still continue, retaining so much of their old Customs and Language, as distinguishes them plainly from the *Welsh* or *Britains*; they were first planted in *Northumberland*, and remov'd to *Wales*, as *Florence of Worcester* writes, in the Year 1111.

<sup>b</sup> But it was only for the present; for in the fifteenth Year of his Reign they made several Inroads into *England*, two under *Owen ap Cadogan*, when they invaded the Possessions of *Gilbert Strongbow* Earl of *Strygil*; and two not long after under *Griffith ap Conan*, when they fell upon the Estate of *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, which turbulent Humour so enrag'd *Henry*, that he vow'd utterly to root them out, yet upon their submission he pardon'd them.



A. D. 1108. was sealed at *Wormes*, to the Pope's advantage; for the Emperor yielded up his Right to Investitures of Bishops, and other Benefices, to him. The King of *England* was very much displeased at this Disappointment, but however did not give over his Designs against *Lewis*, giving the greater support to the Faction in *Lewis's* Kingdom, especially to *Theobald* Count of *Champagne*, who being strengthen'd with his great Alliance to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*, was most likely to make the boldest Opposition to the *French* King. *Lewis* on the other side endeavour'd as eagerly to undermine *Henry's* Power in *Normandy*, and to that end conspir'd with *William* Earl of *Flanders* to restore *William* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* to his Father's Dominions, to whom by Right the Inheritance belong'd. Many great and bloody Battels were fought between these two Princes, with the expence of much Blood and Treasure; till at length, both being tired with the Fatigues of War, willingly came to conclude a Peace by the Mediation of the Earl of *Anjou*, whose Daughter *William*, King *Henry's* Son, was about to marry; and upon the Consummation of the Peace was made Duke of *Normandy*, for which he did Homage to *Lewis*, and marry'd the Duke of *Anjou's* Daughter; and so *France* and *Flanders* became his Friends.

Peace made  
between  
King Henry  
and the  
French  
King.

1116. But these Troubles were scarcely blown over, and this happy Conclusion made, but there follow'd such a sad Accident, as turn'd all the prosperous Successes and Joys into Mourning. *William*, the only Son of *Henry*, who was but just settled in his Dukedom, a Prince of seventeen Years of Age, going into *England* a little time after his Father's departure, accompany'd by *Richard* his bafe Brother, *Mary* Countess of *Perch* his natural Sister, *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, and his Wife, who was the King's Niece, and many other Persons of Quality, and their Attendants, to the number of an hundred and forty, besides fifty Mariners, setting out at *Barbfleet*, were all cast away at Sea, only a Butcher escap'd. The Prince had recover'd a Cockboat, and was in possibility of being sav'd; but being mov'd with the lamentable Cries of his Sister, he went back to the sinking Ship to take her in, where so many crowded with her into the Boat to save themselves, that it sank with its Load, and so all perish'd in the Waters. What Reflection this heavy Judgment might cause in the King's Conscience, is hard to know; but certainly it made such Impressions of Grief upon his Mind, that he was never seen to laugh after: And tho' he made all the haste he could to repair the Breach made in the Succession, by marrying *Adalicia*, a young beautiful Lady, Daughter of the Duke of *Lovain*, and of the House of *Lorrain*, yet the Loss prov'd irreparable, for he never could have a Child by her.

Troubles  
caus'd to the  
King by the  
Prince's  
Death.

But the Death of Prince *William* created the King not only inward, but outward Troubles, by breaking his Alliances, and unsetling his Affairs

in *France* and *Flanders*. *Normandy* it self wa- A. D. ver'd much in their Allegiance, many adhering 1116. to *William* his Nephew, to whom many more Reg. 17. were in Conscience inclin'd, than dare shew it. His great Confederates went over to the King of *France*. *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou* quarrell'd with him for his Daughter's Dower. *Robert de Mallet* his chief Counsellor, and a Man of great Trust under him, fell from him, and conspiring with *Hugh* Earl of *Monfort*, invaded and seized upon his Dutchy. But such was his great diligence and working Head, that he soon reduced things into a quiet frame. The two Earls he took by surprise, and made them his Prisoners; and Death rescu'd him from the Claims of the Duke of *Anjou*, who was a considerable Prince, as we may Reg. 27. judge by the King's matching first his Son, and after his only Daughter, then an Empress, into his Family, as we shall presently come to relate. The King of *France* continu'd his Opposition, and entertain'd *William*, Son of *Robert Courtois*, wherein all the danger lay; and first aids him in Person with great power to obtain the Earldom of *Flanders*, to which he had a fair Title by the defect of Issue in Earl *Baldwin*, who was slain in a Battel in *France* against King *Henry*. But *Wil-* 1126. liam, as if he had been not only Heir of his Fa- Reg. 27. ther's Dominions, but Misfortunes, being admitted to the Government, miscarry'd in his management of it, was depose'd by his People, and at length slain in a Battel by them. And so ended the Family of *Robert Curtoise*.

While these things were transacting, News Henry the came to the King, that his Son-in-law *Henry* the Emperor was dead; whereupon he presently sent for his Daughter the Empress home, with intention to settle the Succession of his Kingdom upon her; and for that purpose summon'd a Parliament, which met at *Windsor*, wherein an Oath was administer'd to all the Lords of the Land, to be true to Her and her Heirs, and to acknowledge and obey them as the right Heirs to the Crown. This Oath was first taken by *David* King of *Scots*, Uncle to *Maud*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bollogne*, and *Mortain*, the King's Nephew, on whom he had bestow'd great Possessions in *England*, and advanced his Brother to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. And to make all secure, he had the same Oath imposed in another Parliament at *Northampton*. His next Care was to provide Heirs, 1133. and thereupon marry'd her to *Jeffrey Plantagenet* Reg. 34. Earl of *Anjou*, by whom he liv'd to see her have two Sons. So that all things now seem'd settled and quiet, but only the King's own Dreams, which were said to be very terrifying, and in which he would rise, take his Sword, and act as if he were to defend himself from some Enemy; which shew'd, that his Conscience was very uneasy and fearful.

His Government in Peace was always of the Henry's Government in best sort; for he kept his Kingdom in such order, that whatever Troubles he had from abroad, he

\* He marry'd her at *Lisieux* in the Year 1119. *Ord. Vit.*

<sup>b</sup> She was Crown'd at *Westminster* by *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*; *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by reason of his Palsie, being not able to perform the Ceremony: And yet because *Roger* was not appointed by him to do it, the Archbishop was so angry and insolent, that he offer'd to strike the King's Crown (who was crown'd again with her) from his Head. *Sir John Hayward's Hist. of Hen. I. Eadmerus*, lib. 6. p. 106. writes, that she was crown'd at *Windsor* by *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Henry Huntingdon* relates, that he brought her over with him from *Normandy* into *England* about *Michaelmas*, 1126.

<sup>c</sup> In this Parliament *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, King *Henry's* natural Son, and *Stephen* Earl of *Bulloigne*, his Nephew, had a warm dispute who should swear first. *David* King of the *Scots* also swore Fealty at this time to *Maud* the Empress, and her Heirs.

<sup>d</sup> *Dr. Brady* and some other Authors pretend, that the Convention of the three Estates, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, which we now call a Parliament, was not a part of our Constitution till the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the Third: But *Polydore Virgil*, *Stow*, *Speed*, and *Sir John Hayward* particularly assert, That the first Council of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the common People, was held on the 19th of *March*, in the 16th Year of this King's Reign, *Anno Dom. 1116*. And there are others who trace the Origin of these Assemblies as high as the beginning of the *Saxon* Monarchy.

<sup>e</sup> *William of Malmshury* writes, that the King went over in *August*, 1127. to be present at the Consummation of the Empress *Maud's* Marriage to *Geoffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, Son to *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*, whom 'tis said the Empress had no great inclination to marry.



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The Original of Royal Progresses.

He made several Progresses into the most remote Parts of his Kingdom, to see how his Realm was ordered; and therefore, when he was in England, he kept no certain Residence, but celebrated the solemn Festivals in several Parts of his Kingdom, that all might enjoy his Company and share in his good Cheer. He never would extort any Sums of Money arbitrarily from his People, but always raised such Taxes as his Necessity required by the Consent of his People; which he assembled in Parliament first at Salisbury,

The beginning of Parliaments.

His Reforms.

Anno Regni 15. consisting of three Estates, according to the Custom of Normandy, as it continues to this day. He was a very sober Prince himself, and carefully repressed the Excesses of his Subjects, as long Hair, and other loose Fashions. He was very frugal and sparing in his Expences, chusing rather to pinch himself than his People; and tho' he had many great Charges of War, he never had but two Taxes in his long Reign, one for his War in France, and the other of three Shillings upon every Hide of Land for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperour. He kept indeed some Bishopricks and Abbies void in his hand, as that of Canterbury five Years together.

His ways to raise Money.

By an Act of Parliament, Anno Regni 30. he was permitted to punish the Marriages and Incontinency of Priests; but for a certain Fine he allowed them to enjoy their Wives, which much displeased the Clergy, and hinder'd the Reformation intended. He changed the Punishments of Malefactors by dismembering, into Pecuniary Mults. The Provisions of his House, which used to be paid in kind, he had rated and received that Money to support his Charge, to the great Content of his People, and with the Consent of his States. He assumed to himself the Liberties of hunting in his Forests, and besides renewing the former Penalties, made a Law,

His Orders for his Forests, and Original of Parks.

'That if any Man in his own private Woods killed the King's Deers, he should forfeit his Woods to the King. But he permitted the richer sort to inclose Parks, and gave them an Example first himself, in making one at Woodstock, which was the Original of that Grievance. His Expences were chiefly in Wars, and upon several great Fortifications in Normandy. His Buildings were the Abby of Reading, and the Manour of Woodstock, with the Park belonging to it, which he inclosed with a Stone Wall of seven Miles in Circumference.

His chief Counsellors. Roger Bishop of Sarum.

His most eminent Counsellors were Roger Bishop of Sarum and the Earl of Mallet, both Men of great Experience in the Affairs of the World. Roger was entrusted always as Viceroy, to govern the Kingdom in his absence: He had managed his Money and other Household Affairs, when he was a private Man and a poor Prince, with that Fidelity,

that he put him into the greatest Trust when he was a King; which he discharged with Policy, Honesty and Judgment. He had the Title of *Justitiarius Angliæ Totius*: Of his magnificent and noble Mind we have some Marks in the Remainers of Buildings erected by him, especially in the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*, where is the Ruins of a most noble Fabrick, built after the manner of the *Romans*. He built also the Castles of *Malmsbury* and *Sherburn*, two strong and sumptuous Fabricks; he repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and new-wall'd it about, all which he lived to see taken from him and seized into the next King's hand, as things unfit for him either to raise or possess, and are now deformed Heaps of Rubbish. Besides this, he walled in *Old Salisbury*, and repaired the Church there.

Robert Earl of Mallet was the Son of Roger Beaumont, who of all the great Men that followed William the First in his Civil Wars in Normandy, refused to attend him in his Expedition into England, though he was invited to it with large Promises, saying, 'The Inheritance left him by his Fathers was sufficient to maintain his State at home; and he desired not to thrust himself into other Mens Possessions abroad. But his Son Robert was of another Mind, and had a mighty Estate in England and Normandy. He was a Man of good Judgment, and his Direction in most weighty Affairs of State was always used as most profitable. His Frugality, both in Apparel and Diet, was very exemplary, and much influenced others, being a Man of so great Note: But in the end he fell into Disgrace (the usual Fate of Grandure) being engaged in a Rebellion against his King, and died stripp'd of his Estate.

Besides these, he was served with a Potent and Warlike Nobility, who by his Example were led to further his Designs in France for the Preservation of his Dutchy of Normandy, whither he made his last Voyage in the thirty second Year of his Reign. In his Passage there happened an exceeding great Eclipse of the Sun, which was after interpreted as a Forerunner of his Death, which happened shortly after in the thirty fifth Year of his Reign, and the sixty seventh of his Age. He was of a graceful Personage, quick-sighted, brown Hair, and a close-set Body, wherein was seated a Mind of solid Judgment and well-order'd Affections. He had a Taste of Learning in his Youth, yet not much; but the very Reputation of it made Books in Fashion, and many Learned Men flourished in his time. He had by his Wife Maud the Daughter of Malcolm the third King of Scotland, no other Children but Maud and William; but he is said to have had seven Natural Sons, and as many Daughters, which shews his Incontinency. Two of these Sons was afterward Men of Note, viz. Reynold Earl of Cornwall and Castlecomb, and Robert Earl of Gloucester, a great Champion and Defender of his Sister Maud the Empress. His Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of France and England; and of them, as Writers say, came many Worthy Families.

His Personage.

His Issue.

\* Before this time the English Kings order'd National Affairs by their own Edicts, and by the Officers and Governours of Counties; and had seldom any General Assemblies of the People, unless at a Coronation, or in Times of War. Their Parliaments were only Meetings of the Nobility, and Clergy usually.

\* He dy'd of a Surfeit of Lampreys at the Castle of Lyons, near Roan in Normandy. His Body was coarsely Embalm'd, being stuff'd with Salt, and wrapp'd up in Ox-Hides; after which 'twas transported to England, and bury'd at Reading. In him the Male-Line of William the Norman was extinct.

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A. D. 1108. was sealed at *Wormes*, to the Pope's advantage; for the Emperor yielded up his Right to Investitures of Bishops, and other Benefices, to him. The King of England was very much displeased at this Disappointment, but however did not give over his Designs against *Lewis*, giving the greater support to the Faction in *Lewis's* Kingdom, especially to *Theobald* Count of *Champagne*, who being strengthen'd with his great Alliance to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*, was most likely to make the boldest Opposition to the French King. *Lewis* on the other side endeavour'd as eagerly to undermine *Henry's* Power in *Normandy*, and to that end conspir'd with *William* Earl of *Flanders* to restore *William* the Son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* to his Father's Dominions, to whom by Right the Inheritance belong'd. Many great and bloody Battels were fought between these two Princes, with the expence of much Blood and Treasure; till at length, both being tired with the Fatigues of War, willingly came to conclude a Peace by the Mediation of the Earl of *Anjou*, whose Daughter *William*, King *Henry's* Son, was about to marry; and upon the Consummation of the Peace was made Duke of *Normandy*, for which he did Homage to *Lewis*, and marry'd the Duke of *Anjou's* Daughter; and so *France* and *Flanders* became his Friends.

Peace made  
between  
King Henry  
and the  
French  
King.

1116. But these Troubles were scarcely blown over, and this happy Conclusion made, but there follow'd such a sad Accident, as turn'd all the prosperous Successes and Joys into Mourning. *William*, the only Son of *Henry*, who was but just settled in his Dukedom, a Prince of seventeen Years of Age, going into *England* a little time after his Father's departure, accompany'd by *Richard* his bafe Brother, *Mary* Countess of *Perch* his natural Sister, *Richard* Earl of *Chester*, and his Wife, who was the King's Niece, and many other Persons of Quality, and their Attendants, to the number of an hundred and forty, besides fifty Mariners, setting out at *Barbfleet*, were all cast away at Sea, only a Butcher escap'd. The Prince had recover'd a Cockboat, and was in possibility of being sav'd; but being mov'd with the lamentable Cries of his Sister, he went back to the sinking Ship to take her in, where so many crowded with her into the Boat to save themselves, that it sank with its Load, and so all perish'd in the Waters. What Reflection this heavy Judgment might cause in the King's Conscience, is hard to know; but certainly it made such Impressions of Grief upon his Mind, that he was never seen to laugh after: And tho' he made all the haste he could to repair the Breach made in the Succession, by marrying *Adalicia*, a young beautiful Lady, Daughter of the Duke of *Lovain*, and of the House of *Lorrain*, yet the Loss prov'd irreparable, for he never could have a Child by her.

Troubles  
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## REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Henry I.

**I**N his 2d Year 1102. Gloucester and Winchester were burnt. In his 4th a Comet appear'd, and four Circles were seen about the Sun. In his 7th another Comet was seen, and on Thursday Night before two, full Moons appear'd, one in the East and the other in the West. In his 10th a third Comet was seen, and an Earthquake happen'd in Shroffshire.

Sir John Hayward, Hist. Hen. I.

In his 11th Year the River Trent, near Nottingham, ceas'd to run its Course for four and twenty Hours, and so long the Channel was dry'd up. Hol. There was this Year a great Mortality of Men, a Murrain among Cattle, both Domestick and of the Field; the Fowls also perish'd in Abundance. In his thirteenth Year Worcester City, the Church, Castle, and many Citizens were burnt. A Pig was farrow'd with a Facelike a Child, and the Water of the River Medway fail'd so much for many Miles in the midst of the Channel, that the smallest Boats could not float, and the Thames was so low between the Tower and the Bridge, that many Men, Women and Children, waded it over a foot; which was occasion'd, says our Author Sir John Hayward, by reason of a great Ebb in the Ocean, that laid the Sands bare several Miles from the Shoar, which continu'd so a whole day. The City and chief Monastery of Chichester were burnt, and there was much Rage and Violence of Weather with a Comet. Holinshead adds, that the Comet appear'd in a strange manner; it rose in the East, and when it was advanc'd near the Mid-Heavens it kept not its Course forward, but seem'd to go backward, as if it had been retrograde; in December the Air appear'd red, as tho' it had burn'd. Most of these Accidents he places under the next Year, during which, almost all the Bridges in England being then built with Timber, were broken down by the Ice when it thaw'd after a severe Frost. In his 16th Year, on the 1st of November, there fell a prodigious Storm of Hail, accompany'd with unusual Claps of Thunder and Blasts of Lightning. In December a great Earthquake happen'd, and the Colour of the Moon was chang'd into that of Blood. Holinshead.

In his 17th Year the Cities of Bath and Peterborough were burnt. In his 20th Year there was an Earthquake in September. In his 22d the City of Gloucester was burnt, and Lincoln the Year following. In his 30th Year Rochester was almost destroy'd by Fire, and London in his thirty second. In the Year before he dy'd, being the 34th of his Reign, on the 2d of August, just as he was about to take Ship and sail to Normandy, an Eclipse of the Sun and Moon appear'd, at which time William of Malmfbury, who was then living, writes that he saw the Stars plainly about the Sun. This Eclipse was follow'd by a terrible Earthquake: In which the same Author relates, the House wherein he sat was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time settled again in the proper Place. Sir John Hayward.

Holinshead tells us, 'twas the House in which the King sat; he adds, that Flames of Fire burst out of certain Rifs of the Earth with such Violence, that they could not be quench'd by Water or otherwise.

In this Reign, Anno 1109. the Bishoprick of Ely was founded. The first Bishop of the Diocess being Harvey, Bishop of Bangor. About this time the Marriage of Priests was strictly forbidden in England, by a Synod at Westminster, in which Anselm Arch-bishop of Canterbury presided; it had been disallow'd in a former Synod, Anno 1102. The Pope's Power was very low in England in the Reign of Hen. I. In whose time

## The most Illustrious Captains were

Robert de Belleme Earl of Shrewsbury, William Earl of Mortaigne the King's Nephew, and Reginald Earl of Cornwall. The most able Ministers of State were Robert Earl of Mellent, Roger Bishop of Salisbury, and Richard de Redvers. And the most Eminent Men of Learning

Eadmerus, who wrote the History of the three Norman Kings to the Year 1122. Mr. Selden pub-

lish'd it. He was a Monk of Canterbury, Anselm's Disciple, and Arch-bishop elect of St. Andrew's. Ordericus Vitalis, an Englishman, but a Monk of the Abby of St. Evroul in Normandy, William Gemitenfis Abbot of Jumiègue in that Dutchy, Alfred of Beverly, and Florence a Monk of Worcester, who dy'd about the eighteenth Year of the Reign of Hen. I. He epitomiz'd, or as the Learned Bishop of Carlisle is of Opinion, rather transcrib'd, Marianus Scotus.

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T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
King S T E P H E N.

A. D.  
1035.  
Reg. I.

Stephen  
Earl of Bo-  
logne made  
King of  
England,  
and upon  
what Rea-  
sons and  
Conditions.

**T**HE Male-Issue of the *Norman* Line being extinct, and only a Daughter remaining, who was marry'd to a *Frenchman*, *Stephen* Earl of *Bologne* and *Mortagne*, Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, and *Adela* the Daughter of *William* I. was elected by the general consent of the Kingdom, and within thirty days\* after *Henry*'s death crown'd King at *Westminster* by *William Corbell* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The chief of the Peers and Bishops had engaged themselves by Oath to accept *Maud* for their Queen after *Henry*'s decease; but when he was dead, and the Awe of his Power and Greatness removed, they found out many<sup>b</sup> shifts to evade their Oath, tho' none strong enough to save them from Perjury. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* boldly alledg'd, (tho' he had first sworn to the Succession of *Maud*) That it was not fit that so many and great Peers should be subject to a Woman; which others of his Party form'd into a Reason, That it not being a Custom in any Christian Kingdom, whose Kings are anointed, to admit Women to inherit the Crown, it was an unlawful Oath, and therefore had no obligation. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, one of the principal Men then in Counsel, gave this Reason why they were discharg'd from their Oath, That the King had marry'd his Daughter out of the Realm, without their consent, and therefore they were not bound to receive her. His Right of Succession was not pretended: Because indeed he had no Right that way, having an Elder Brother, *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and there being others whose Claim by Descent was before him, particularly *Maud*'s two Sons, if she herself were rejected for their slight Reasons. But the main thing that prevail'd at that time to make *Stephen* King was this: That he was a Man, and had very great Possessions both in *England* and *France*; his elder Brother was a Prince of great Power, being Earl of *Blois*; and his younger Brother Bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legate in *England*, and of very great Interest with the Nobility, who at that time were chiefly guided by the Clergy. Besides, *Stephen* himself was of a very comely and graceful Personage, very affable and courteous, of admirable Courage and Activity, which re-

commended him much to the Nobility. These A. D. Reasons drawn from Interest abroad and at home, 1035. being back'd partly with the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Persuasions and Friendship, and partly with the Consideration, that by preferring one to the Crown whose Title was weak, they might better secure their ancient Liberties, than by any Person that should come to it by a lineal Succession, made them elect *Stephen* to be their King: And to secure themselves of him, they caused him to take a private Oath before the Bishop of *Canterbury* to confirm the ancient Liberties of the Church, and obliged his Brother to undertake for the performance of his solemn Promise made thus to them in the Presence of God<sup>c</sup>.

*Stephen* being thus got into the possession of the *English* Government, and so made Master of all the Treasure which his Uncle had gather'd in many Years, which was the Sum of 100000<sup>d</sup> l. of ready Cash, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, after the Interment of *Henry* at *Reading*, call'd a Parliament, which assembled at *Oxford*, and therein restor'd the Clergy to all their former Liberties, and freed the Laity of all their Tributes, and other Grievances of which they complain'd; and confirming these Grants by his Charter, he took an Oath in the presence of the whole Assembly to observe them. Whereupon the Bishops and Peers swore Fealty to him, on this Condition, That he observed the Tenure of this Charter.

And first after his Settlement in his Kingdom, He prepares for his own defence; being sensible, for his defence, and that what he had gotten could not be held long by the Sword. And for this end he first gives a liberty to all Persons that would to build Castles upon their own Land, to secure themselves and the Nation from any Invasion, which in a peaceable and unanimous Reign had been a good piece of Policy, but in a factious time, as it happen'd, was indeed dangerous to the Kingly Power, as he after found: Then, because he knew nothing would be a greater security to him than firm Friends, he made all he could by creating new Lords, giving several Persons large Estates, and sparing no Cost to make his Subjects of greatest Interests faithful to him. Two ways he expected

\* He was in *Normandy* when King *Henry* dy'd, and taking a light Ship at *Whitlands* made haste to *England*: He arriv'd at *London*, and was elected King the 2<sup>d</sup> of *December*, by the Management and Interest of his Brother *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Abbot of *Glasenbury*, who had brought over the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his Party, together with other Bishops.

<sup>b</sup> These Evasions and Shifts were ridiculous to the more considering part of the Nation, tho' they serv'd the turn of the Politicians themselves: Wherefore there was another more plausible Reason given. *Hugh Bigod*, who came over with *Stephen*, and had been Steward to the late King *Henry*, depos'd before the Nobility and States, That King *Henry* upon his Death-Bed did give the Kingdom of *England* to his Nephew *Stephen*, because his Daughter *Maud* had by her undutiful Behaviour alienated the Affections of the King from her. And this is said to have generally prevail'd for *Stephen*'s Establishment.

<sup>c</sup> *Malmshury* writes, that he kept few or none of his Promises.

<sup>d</sup> The same Author calls the Sum 100000 Marks.



A. D. 1136. Disturbance to his Government, viz. from Scotland and France. David King of Scots began the Quarrel: He took himself oblig'd to restore his Niece the Empress Maud to her Right, not only upon the account of his near Relation to her, but the Oath he had taken in Henry's Days, and therefore first invades Stephen's Dominions. But Stephen, as if he had been prepared against all Opposition, was presently with him with a strong Army; which so deterr'd the Scots, that they came to a Composition with him to return home upon the Restitution of Cumberland to their King, and the Earldoms of Northumberland and Huntingdon to Prince Henry, the King of Scots Son, to whom in Right of his Mother Maud, the Daughter of Waltheof Earl of both, they belonged; which Stephen granting, a Peace was patch'd up for the present. Henry did Fealty to the King of England for his two Earldoms, and so they departed. At the King's return home, he met with a Revolt from some of his Nobility, of whom Baldwin de Redvers<sup>a</sup> was the Head, and the Welsh were very troublesome on the Borders. These Motions cost the King some time to allay, and were scarcely well appeased, but a new Occasion reviv'd them again: For King Stephen, with the violent Toils of War, fell very dangerously sick; so that it was reported he was dead, by which means his Friends began to fly from him and provide another Master, and his Enemies both at home and abroad to seize upon his Dominions. Hugh Bigott fortified himself in the Castle of Norwich, the Welsh plunder'd the Neighbouring English, the Earl of Anjou did also take this Opportunity to seize on his Wife's Right, and took certain Parts of Normandy, and made his Kingdom waver. Thus was his first Year spent in nothing but Battels, Invasions and Revolts, a sad Presage of the distracted and troublesome Reign he should have over an ill-gotten Kingdom, and a faithless People.

1137. Reg. 2. Stephen conquer'd the Earl of Anjou, and subdued his home Enemies. The King after some time recover'd, and to make the World know he was alive, pass'd immediately with his Forces into Normandy, and in a pitch'd Battel overcame the Earl of Anjou; but yet that he might secure himself from future Pretensions, he came to an Agreement with him, That upon his renouncing Maud's Claim to his Kingdom he would pay him five thousand Marks per Annum, and then made his Son Eustace Duke of Normandy, causing him to do Homage to the French King Lewis VII. for it, that thereby he might secure his Friendship. Theobald Earl of Blois, the King's eldest Brother, envying Stephen's Greatness, began to put in his Claim for his Possessions; which tho' Stephen little valued, yet to pacifie him, he agreed to allow him two thousand Marks per Annum. When the King had settled Affairs thus in Normandy, he returned again into England, and found the Scots at work again to disturb his Dominions; which while he was busied to defend, a strong Conspiracy against him broke out in the Body of his Realm. Robert Earl of Gloucester, base Son to Henry the First, a Man of great Spirit, indefatigable Industry, and great Judgment, surpriz'd the Castle of Bristol, and held it out against the King; and so in other Parts of the Kingdom did William Talbot the Castle of Hereford, Paynel the Castle of Ludlow, Lovel that of Cary, Moon that of Dunster, and many others<sup>b</sup>. The King counting an inward

Enemy most dangerous, left the Prosecution of the War with the Scots to Thurstan Arch-bishop of York, as his Lieutenant; Walter Earl of Armarle, William Peverell Earl of Nottingham, Walter and Gilbert Lacys, brave and valiant Commanders, and goes himself well attended to repress the Conspirators, which he did in one Expedition, and forced the Earl of Gloucester to fly to his Sister in Anjou. Nor had his Forces in the North less Success against the Scots, whom they routed and put to flight; and so Stephen, as Fortune's Favourite, was become victorious over all his apparent Enemies.

Stephen having now gotten a little respite from his Enemies, began to consult with himself how he might ease himself of such troublesome Contests with his Subjects; and because he now found, that the Castles he had permitted his Nobility to build, were the greatest Impediments of his Peace at home, and the readiest Harbour of Rebels, he resolv'd to forbid that any should be built hereafter, and demolish some of the most dangerous lately erected; and to this end, call'd a great Council at Oxford. Here some of his Lords, who much envy'd the magnificent and stately Castles erected by the Clergy (whose Buildings both in Number and Strength much excelled those of the Nobility) but especially by the Bishop of Salisbury, who had built several great Castles at Salisbury, the Devises, Shyrburn, Malmesbury and Newarke; whisper'd into the King's Ear, who was very jealous and suspicious of such Designs, That these Fortresses were intended for the Reception of the Empress Maud and her Party; and by their Surmises so wrought upon the King's Fears, that he sent for the Bishop of Salisbury to Oxford. The Bishop foreseeing the Danger impending, would have excus'd himself from his Attendance upon the King, by reason of his great Age; but that Plea would not be allow'd, he must go. The Bishop therefore taking with him his Nephews Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and Nigel Bishop of Ely, with a Retinue of well arm'd Men, went to Oxford; where at his first coming his Servants going to take them up Lodgings, happen'd into a Quarrel with the Servants of the Earl of Britain and kill'd one of them in the Fray, the Nephew of the Earl being dangerously wounded. This being brought to the King's Ears he calls for the Bishop, and demands Satisfaction for the Breach of Peace made by his Servants in his Court, which was this, That he should immediately yield up the Keys of all his Castles to him, as Pledges of his Fidelity. The Bishop refused to do it; whereupon he commanded the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to be seiz'd upon, and kept under a Guard. The Bishop of Ely had made his escape, and got into the Castle of the Devises. The King presently took into his hands by force the Castles of Salisbury, Shyrburn, and Malmesbury; and after three days assault, that of the Devises was surrender'd to him, whither he sent the two Bishops Prisoners, and seiz'd the Bishop of Salisbury's Treasure, which amounted to forty thousand Marks.

This Action of the King's being something arbitrary, and very unusual, was censur'd variously by the People of that time; some justified it, and pleaded, 'That the King had done very well in seizing upon those Castles: For 'tis very unfit, yea, it is against the Canons of the

<sup>a</sup> Earl of Devonshire and Lord of the Isle of Wight.

<sup>b</sup> William of Malmesbury relates, That when King Stephen heard of the Revolt of these Lords, he said, Since they have chosen me their King, Why do they now forsake me? By the Birth of God (his usual Oath) I'll never be call'd an Abdicated King; his words are Rex Ejectus.



A. D. 1139. Reg. 5. Church, that the Clergy who are Men of Religion, and should make it their whole business to promote Peace, should build Castles for War, especially with Prejudice to the King and his Realm. But the Bishop of Winchester, the Pope's Legate, being more zealous for his Function than his Brother, made a resolute Opposition to it; saying, That if the Bishops had done amiss, they ought to have been judged not by the King, but by the Canons of the Church; and that they could not lawfully be deprived of their Estates and Possessions, but by a General Council: That the King had not done this out of any Zeal for Justice, but for his own private ends, taking away those Castles which were built upon the Lands, and at the Charge of the Church, to put them into the hands of Laymen who were not well affected to Religion. And therefore, that this Controversie might be examin'd by the Canons, he appointed a Council to be summon'd to sit at Winchester, and gave the King himself a Citation to appear at it. When the Bishops and Clergy were met, the Bishop of Winchester read first the Commission of his Legatine Power given him by Pope Innocent, and then in a Speech to the Assembly, shewed the great Indignity offer'd to the Church by imprisoning those Bishops, calling it an unjust and shameful Action in the King; who suffer'd himself to be led by ill Ministers to do so great a piece of Injustice, a Violence against God, to despoil the Church of its Revenues and Possessions: And tells them, That since the King would yield to no Admonition, he had called them together in Council, to consult what was to be done; and that for his part, neither the Love of the King, though he was his Brother, nor the Loss of his Preferments, nor Danger of his Life, should discourage him from putting in Execution what they should decree. As soon as the Council was thus settled, the King standing upon the Defence of the Fact, sent certain Earls to them to know why he was summon'd thither. The Legate in mild Terms told them, 'That the King being subject to the Faith of Christ, ought not to take it ill if he were called to give an Account by Christ's Ministers of such an Action, as none but Infidels would be guilty of, to imprison Bishops and deprive them of their Possessions; and that he ought to give an Account of his Action, and undergo a Canonical Judgment in respect to the Church, who had advanc'd him to the Crown; which if he would do, their Determination by the Help of God should be such, as neither the Roman Church, King of France, nor Earl Theobald their Brother should dislike. This Answer the Earls, who were attended by one Alberic de Ver, an experienc'd Lawyer\*, brought to the King, and were again dispatch'd back with this Reply from the King, which Alberic deliver'd to them in these Words; 'That Roger Bishop of Salisbury had done many Injuries to the King; That he seldom came to Court; That his Servants, presuming upon his Power, had affronted the Nephew, and misused the Servants of the Earl of Britain, and Harvi de Lyons, a great Nobleman, both Strangers, to the Disgrace of the King and Discredit of the Realm; That the Bishop of Lincoln, out of Hatred to the Earl of Britain, had encourag'd this Sedition; That the Bishop of Salisbury privately favoured the King's Enemies, as the King found by many Circumstances, particularly because he deny'd

Quarters to the King's Forces in Malmesbury, A. D. 1139. and was generally looked upon as such a Friend to the Empress, that if she came he would resign his Castles to her; That the King did not arrest the Bishop as a Clergy-man, but as his Servant and Receiver of his Revenues; That the King took not his Castles from him by force, but the Bishop resign'd them to avoid the Calumny of a Tumult raised in his Court; That if the King found any Treasure in the Castles, he looked upon it as deliver'd to him with them, through Fear for his Offences; That the Covenants between the King and Bishop were ratified in the Presence of several Witnesses. To this Roger answer'd, That he was never any Servant to the King, nor ever receiv'd any of his Moneys, and threaten'd that if he could not have Justice done him by this Council, he would bring it to an higher Court. The Legate kept to his Moderation, and replied, 'That these Allegations against the Bishops ought first to be examin'd in a Council, whether they were true or no, before Sentence had been given against them; and therefore the King ought (as is necessary in all judicial Tryals) to revert the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise by the Law of Nations being disseised, they are not oblig'd to hold Plea. After a long Debate in the Council concerning this Cause, it was (upon a Motion) put off till the next day, that the Arch-bishop of Roan, who was to act on the King's Part might be present, who deliver'd his Opinion thus; 'That if the Bishop could prove by the Canons that they ought to have Castles, they should hold them; but if not, they did ill to contend so eagerly for them. And were it so, yet in suspicious Times they ought according to the manner of other Nations, to deliver up the Keys of all Fortresses to the King's Pleasure, who is to protect all. But if it belongs not to the Clergy to have Castles, and if it were by the King's Indulgence permitted, they ought to deliver him the Keys. Alberic the Lawyer added, 'That the King had been informed, that the Bishops were sending some Persons to Rome against him: But he said, that he charg'd them not to presume to do so lest he prevented their return. These Speeches put a stop to the Councils Proceedings, and caused the Bishops to break up within a few days without bringing the Matter to any Conclusion. The Bishops dare not excommunicate the King without the Pope's Consent, which if they had gotten they feared the Sword: Wherefore the Legate and Arch-bishop took another way of dealing with the King, viz. by Entreaties and Prayers, falling at his Feet in his Chamber, and begging of him, That he would in Commiseration to the Church and his own Soul, as well as his Reputation, compose this Dissention between the Kingdom and the Church. The King gave them a mild Answer, but would not part with any thing he had gotten. Shortly after these things, the Bishop of Salisbury died through Grief, unpitied; for he was a Man (in his latter Times) guilty of much Corruption, and of insatiable Avarice; and though the King had been so kind and bountiful to him, as not only to prefer two of his Nephews, the one to be his Chancellor and the other his Treasurer; but to say, *The Bishop should be weary of asking before he would be of granting, though he gave him half his Kingdom*, yet he was deservedly suspected of favouring Maud, and had brought over all the Clergy; yea, and the Bishop of Win-

The Bishop of Winchester opposes the King's Proceedings against the Bishop of Salisbury, and calls a Council at Winchester about it, to examine the Matter.

The Arch-bishop of Roan's Plea for the King.

The Bishop of Salisbury's Crimes declared in the Council.

The Bishop of Salisbury dies.

\* A Baron learn'd in the Laws.



A. D. 1139. *Chester* himself to a favourable Opinion of her, and to uphold her Title.

Reg. 5. This Contest between the King and the Church, tho' the King seem'd perfectly Master, yet in the end prov'd fatal to him: For it open'd a Gap to let *Maud* the Empress into the Kingdom, who by the conduct of the Earl of *Glocester* was convey'd into the Castle of *Arundel*, with a Train of no more than 150 Men, and had a Party raised by the said Earl through all the Country, as far as *Glocester*, without any opposition; so great a Disaffection was then among all sorts to the King by this Quarrel with the Bishops. The King indeed wanted not his wonted Activity in pursuing his Enemies, and to that end advanced towards the Empress upon the first News; but she swearing to him, that she came with no ill design into his Kingdom, but that all that belong'd to her should behave themselves orderly, and pay their due Allegiance to him; the King, too credulous, was so satisfy'd, that he caused her to be convey'd by the Legate himself in an honourable manner to *Bristol*, where she was received with great respect; and continu'd so long, till by her Friends and her own courteous Visits and Behaviour, she had gotten an huge Party for her in the Nation; and from thence, when things were ripe for her design, convey'd her self into *Wallingford-Castle*, and began to put forth her Claim to *Stephen's* Kingdom. *Stephen* delay'd not to retrieve his sinking Fortunes, by laying Siege to it; but seeing so many Enemies start up on every side, he thought all Opposition would be in vain, and therefore sent his Brother the Legate, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to *Bath* to treat about an agreement with her, but nothing was effected, and so both sides return'd to make good their Parties. The King seeks to recover what he had lost, and the Empress to get more. The King immediately takes his way into the North, to keep the *Scots* from entering in to assist her, and secure those parts. The Earl of *Chester*, who had marry'd one of *Glocester's* Daughters, was in Possession of the Castle of *Lincoln*; and tho' he had not declared himself against the King, yet the King not thinking it safe in his hands, besieg'd it. The Earl finding himself over-power'd made his escape out of the Castle, and went to his Father-in-Law for assistance. The Earl of *Glocester* undertakes to raise the Siege, and marches towards the King with a great Army of *Welshmen* and others, under his own, and *Hugh Bygod*, and *Robert de Morley's* command. The King at their approach was ready to engage them; and after their Armies were put in order, and the Captains had encourag'd their Men on both sides, there began

1141.

a fore Battel, which held long dubious, till at length *Stephen's* gave back, and he himself being deserted of all, and after long fighting left without Weapon to defend himself, was taken, presented to the Empress, and by her put into the Castle of *Bristol*; but kept in an honourable manner, till his attempts to escape laid Fetters upon him.

*Maud* accepted as Queen by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and crown'd.

*Maud* the Empress having the King in her power, and the Kingdom (as she imagin'd) at her command, takes upon her the Majesty of Queen of *England*, and by all winning methods endeavours to bring the Legate to admit her to the Kingdom, as Daughter and Heir of the late King,

to whom the Realm had taken an Oath to accept her for their Sovereign in the Succession; and so prevail'd, that a Parley was granted upon a Plain near *Winchester*, where, after the Empress had sworn to the Legate, That all the grand Affairs of the Nation, and especially the Donation of all Bishopricks and Abbies, should be wholly in his disposal, if he (with the Church) would receive her as Queen of *England*, and pay her faithful Allegiance, as her Brother *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, and *Brian* his Son, Marquiss of *Wallingford*, *Milo* of *Glocester* (after Earl of *Hereford*) with many others, on her part had sworn to do. The Bishop with some few others received her readily as Queen (tho' she never came in general so to be acknowledged) and took an Oath of Fidelity to her, promising to keep his Oath so long as she broke not her Covenant; and the next day was led with solemn Procession into the Bishop's Church at *Winchester*, by the Legate on the right hand, and *Bernard* Bishop of *St. David's* on the left, and in the presence of many other Bishops, as *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely*, *Robert* Bishop of *Bath*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Worcester*, and many Abbots, had the Crown deliver'd to her. Within a few days after came down the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Theobald*, to the Empress, being united by the Legate, but would not do Fealty to her, as being a thing unworthy of his Person and Place, until he had conferr'd first with the King; which being obtain'd, he with several Bishops and Laymen went to the King to *Bristol*. In the mean time the Council broke up, and the Empress went to *Oxford*, her own City, to keep her *Easter*. Soon after *Easter* a Council of the Clergy was summon'd to meet at *Winchester*, where the first day the Legate had a private Conference with every Bishop severally, and afterward with every Abbot, and other Persons that were to sit in the Council. At the opening of the Council the Legate made a Speech, shewing them, 'That the end of their Meeting was to consult for the Peace of their Country, which through the struggling of two Parties was in apparent danger of Ruine. How flourishing the Kingdom was under the Reign of his Uncle *Henry*, who, to secure the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, had sworn both *England* and *Normandy* to continue his Daughter *Maud* in the Succession: That after his decease, his Daughter being in *Normandy*, and delaying to come over, it was thought necessary for the preservation of the Peace of the Country to make his Brother King, upon his own becoming Surety, that he should defend the Church, and settle good Laws. That his Brother having abused his Trust, and ill managed his Government, (which it griev'd him to think of, and repeat) in imprisoning the Bishops, seizing on their Possessions, and by many other publick Misdemeanours; God had shew'd his Judgments upon him, and let him fall into the hands of his Enemies; and tho' he could not but love his Brother, yet he must espouse the Cause of the Immortal God. That therefore the Nation at this juncture might not be without a Governour, he had called them together, by the Virtue of his Legantine Power, to elect and ordain a Prince, because this Privilege belongs of right to the Clergy. And therefore, having invoked the divine Aid, we

<sup>a</sup> *Holingshead* says, She landed at *Portsmouth*, and went strait to *Arundel* in *Sussex*, then the Castle of *William de Albany*, who had marry'd *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager, by whom the Empress was kindly receiv'd.

<sup>b</sup> He order'd *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Walleran* Earl of *Mellent*, to wait on her whither she pleas'd to go; and she chose *Bristol* for the Place of her Residence.

<sup>c</sup> He was knock'd down before he was taken, and refus'd to surrender himself to any one but the Earl of *Glocester*.

<sup>d</sup> At *Glocester*.

<sup>e</sup> *William* of *Malmesbury's* word is, *Domina*, Lady of *England*.

<sup>f</sup> She was remov'd to *Wilton*.



A. D. 1141. Reg. 7. do elect for Queen of England, *Maud*, the Daughter of the peaceable, glorious, and incomparable King *Henry*, and to her we promise our Faith and Allegiance. When all that were present had either openly given their Voice for her, or by their silence not contradicted it, the Legate added, 'That the *Londoners*, who in respect of the greatness of their City, were to be accounted among the chief Men of the Nation, were summoned, and he hoped would be present in the Council to morrow. The *Londoners* according to their Summons came, and being brought into the Council, said, 'That they were sent from the Commonalty of *London*, not to foment this civil Quarrel now on foot, but to beg that their King might be freed from Captivity. And with them did all the Barons in their Liberties joyn, earnestly petitioning the same of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergy there assembled. The Legate answer'd them at large, and verily loftily, as he did the day before, 'That the *Londoners* ought not to side with them who had deserted their King in the Battel, by which advice the Church had been dishonour'd, and who favour'd the *Londoners* only for their own gain. As soon as this Answer was given, one of Queen *Maud's* (King *Stephen's* Consort) Chaplains stood up, and deliver'd a Letter to the Legate, who having read it to himself, said aloud, 'That it was not fit it should be read publicly in an Assembly of so many Reverend and Religious Persons, because it contain'd Matters very blame-worthy. The Chaplain hearing this, and seeing the disappointment of the Queen's design, like a faithful and zealous Servant, stood up and boldly read the Letter himself, which was to this effect: 'That the Queen earnestly entreated the Clergy there assembled, and particularly the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him to his Kingdom, whom wicked Men, who were his Subjects, detain'd in Prison. To this the Legate answer'd as he had done to the *Londoners*; and the Council was so far from yielding to her Request, that many of the King's Party were excommunicated by them, and particularly *William Martell*, a chief Man with the King, who had displeased the Legate; and then the Council brake up. This Election had such an influence upon the Nation, that the greatest part submitted to the Empress *Maud*, and she seem'd in a fair way to become Mistress of the whole; her Brother *Robert* employing all his diligence and care in reforming Justice, restoring the Laws of *England*, promising a release of Taxes, and doing whatsoever he knew would please, and win the People to Obedience; and the Legate seconded him.

*Maud's* Pride destroys her Interest with the English.

But *Maud's* Interest was not so much promoted by her Friends among the People, as it was weaken'd by her own haughty and proud Carriage to her Subjects. The *Londoners*, who hoped to obtain whatever they begg'd of their new Queen, petition'd that the rigorous Laws of her Father might be abrogated, and King *Edward's* restored, but were deny'd with some sharpness: Whereupon they fell immediately to the King's side, (which in their Hearts they most affected) inveigh'd openly against her, and conspir'd to surprize her in their City; but she having had timely notice of it, made her escape (with *David* King of *Scots*, who came to visit her, and her Brother *Robert*) and got to *Oxford*, which was always true to her. The Legate himself also being deny'd his Request for his Nephew *Eustace*, that he might enjoy his Earldoms of *Bolloigne* and *Morraigne* in *Normandy*, began to slacken his Affections to her,

in which disgust Queen *Maud*, finding an opportunity to address her self to him, wrought upon him by her Tears and Intreaties, with Promises of the King's Reformation, that she brought him to pity his Condition, and act like a Brother; and to absolve those of the King's Party, which he had lately excommunicated. The Earl of *Glocester* observing this sudden Change in the Empress's Affairs, bestirs himself all he could to recover the Legate's Affections to her; and to that end settles her in the Castle of *Winchester* with her Guards, from whence she sends for the Legate to come to her, but he first delay'd, and then openly deny'd. The Empress, much amaz'd at this Answer, call'd a Council of her best Friends about her, to advise what to do; but in the mean time, by the Legate's Information and Order, who was fled to her, Queen *Maud*, and the Lords of her Party, encompass the Town, and shut up all Conveyances of Provision to it: So that at last, after six weeks Siege, the Earl of *Glocester* was forced to remove the Empress to the Castle of the *Devises*; in which dangerous attempt, tho' she got safe away, yet the Earl himself was taken, and brought to Queen *Maud*, who rejoiced in nothing so much, as that she had now a Prisoner, who might, in the Empress's opinion, balance an Exchange for her Lord; which accordingly she caus'd immediately to be propounded, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Legate being to be Prisoners till *Robert* was released. The Earl himself would not consent to the King's Release to gain his own Freedom; but at length, being persuaded by his Sister, he yielded to it: And *Stephen* being dismiss'd from his Imprisonment, left his Queen and Son *Eustace* Pledges, till *Robert* was also releas'd; which was done upon the King's coming to *Winchester*, where he was solicited by the King with all promises of Preferment and Honour to forsake the Empress's Party; but when nothing would prevail, he was safely sent back to her; and so both Parties began afresh to renew their Quarrel with their restor'd Captains.

The Earl of *Glocester* taken Prisoner, and exchange'd for the King.

Soon after this great Change of Affairs, the Legate calls a Council at *London*, where the Pope's Letters, written to him in answer to the Briefs of both Parties sent to him a little before, were read openly; in which the Pope reproved him (tho' mildly) for his neglect in procuring his Brother's Release, and exhorts him to obtain his Liberty by all means Civil and Ecclesiastical. The King himself came to this Council, and complain'd, 'That his Subjects, to whom he had never deny'd Justice, had taken him, and by their reproachful and cruel usage almost destroy'd him. The Legate with great Eloquence labour'd to excuse his own Actions, alledging, 'That he did not voluntarily accept the Empress, but through meer Compulsion and Fear; because upon the King's overthrow, while the Lords were either fled, or waited in suspense for the Event, she and her Party came upon the City of *Winchester*, and besieged it: 'That whatever Agreements he had made for the benefit of the Church, she had broken: That he was certainly inform'd, that she and her Party had conspir'd against his Life and Dignity. But God in his Mercy had so order'd Affairs, contrary to her Desires and Intentions, that he had escaped her Attempts, and his Brother was deliver'd out of her hands. And therefore he, in the Name of God and the Pope, requir'd them with all their Power to assist the King, who was anointed by the consent of the People and Apostolick See, and to excommunicate all such as disturb'd the Peace, and were found Favourers of the Countess of *Anjou*. To this Speech of the

A Council call'd at *London*.

\* The Words in *William of Malmshury* are, *Lady of England and Normandy*.

\* De Communiore.



A. D. 1141. Legate's, the Empress's Agent, who was present in the Council, made a bold Reply, charging the Legate to his Face, 'That he had given his Faith to the Empress: That he would pass no Act there prejudicial to her Honour: That he had sworn to her, that he would never aid his Brother with above twenty Soldiers: That her coming into England was occasion'd by his Letters, by which he often solicited her to it: That he was the chief cause, that the King was taken and kept Prisoner. These, and many more Reflections upon the Legate, did the Agent make; but the Legate seem'd not at all concern'd, nor would make any reply to them.

1142. Some few Months after the Enlargement of the King, both sides remain'd without Action, but yet employ'd in contriving how to bring about their Designs most effectually and speedily. The Empress remaining at the Castle of the Devises, resolves by the advice of her Council to send over her Brother into Normandy to solicit her Husband the Earl of Anjou to assist her with what Forces he was able. And the Earl, the better to secure her in his absence, settled her in the Castle of Oxford, which was well fortify'd against all Assaults, and takes with him the Sons of the chief Noblemen that were about her, as Pledges of their Fidelity to her. Stephen having notice of this design, endeavours to stop his Passage; but not being able to do that, laid Siege to the Castle of Oxford as soon as he was gone, which held him employ'd till the Earl return'd. Jeffrey Earl of Anjou, being desirous rather to have Normandy (of which he had gotten the greatest part, and was in great hopes of the rest) than to adventure for England, refused to go over in Person, but sends a small Army under his Son Henry's command, who was then but eleven Years old, that he might be acquainted with England, and be shew'd to the People, to try whether his Personal Presence would move them to the Consideration of his Right, which prov'd more serviceable than an Army. The Earl of Gloucester being safely arriv'd with the young Prince, went towards Oxford; but the Empress had made her escape from thence in disguise, and was got to Wallingford, where she met her Son and Brother with great satisfaction.

The Empress solicits her Husband for Aid, and Henry her Son sent into England.

1143. King Stephen in the mean time takes Oxford Castle, and hearing that his Enemy had received fresh Supplies from Anjou, endeavours to make all the Friends he could to increase his Power; but Money failing him, his Interest sunk, especially with his mercenary Lords, and others, which he had in great numbers out of Flanders, who fell to rifling Abbies, to the great dishonour of the King. But the King's Party did not only fail him, but also the Empress's: The Earl of Gloucester, the chief support of her Title, dy'd within two Years after his return to England, and shortly after Milo Earl of Hereford; which so discourag'd the Empress, that she sent her Son away into Anjou, and not long after follow'd her self, being tired with the Bickerings and Contests of Parties, and leaving her Friends to defend what she had gotten in England. But Henry being advanced now a little in Years, (viz. sixteen Years old) and able to undergo the Fatigues of War, was impatient of a stay in his Father's Court, when he had some hopes of one of his own in England; and therefore went into England again with an Army of choice Soldiers, got into the North, where David King of Scots his Uncle, who had been put into Possession of Northumberland by the Empress, was ready to joyn

1146. him. Stephen, hearing of his arrival, follows him with an Army to York, to secure that City, and hinder his Return; but tho' the first Motions of both sides seem'd brave and adventurous, yet French-like, their Courage cool'd, and nothing was done by either side; Stephen returning home, and Henry not long after into Flanders, where he met that Fortune which set him on the English Throne.

1149. Henry was scarcely arriv'd in Flanders, but his Father-in-Law Jeffrey Duke of Anjou and Normandy dies, and leaves him Heir of both those Dukedoms: Of which Dignity he had not been long possessed, but that he marry'd Eleanor, the only Daughter and Heir of William Duke of Guien, by whom he had the Possession of those large and rich Countries belonging to the Duchy of Guien, and Earldom of Poitou. She had been the Wife of Lewis VII. King of France, and was with him in the Holy Wars; but being there accused to him of wanton and lascivious Behaviour, he divorced her upon his return, and sent her to her Friends with her whole Portion. But Henry considering how great an Addition her Patrimony would be to his Power, and how much her Treasure would help forward his Designs, overlook'd the French King's Suspicions, and marry'd her. This Match enraged Lewis, because he had made himself a formidable Enemy; and therefore to crush him in time, joyns with Stephen, and assists his Son Eustace (to whom he marry'd his Daughter Constance) to recover Normandy, of which he had been possessed before his Father's Troubles; Stephen in the mean time recovering what he could from Maud's party in England. Henry being furnish'd now with a sufficient Power for his own defence, left his Friends in England to shift for themselves awhile, and defends Normandy; which he did so well, that the King of France was forced to leave him; and Eustace returning into England, dy'd shortly after, being about eighteen Years of Age, and was bury'd at Feversham; a Youth, tho' born to a Kingdom, yet he never lived to see any thing but the Calamities of it. In the time that Henry was busied thus in Normandy, Stephen had gotten ground, and set down before Wallingford, a place of great importance, and almost impregnable, which yet he reduced to such Extremities, that the Defendants were forced to send for Duke Henry to relieve them, who immediately, tho' in the midst of Winter, came over to them with 3000 Foot, and 140 Horse; and to draw the King from Wallingford, lays Siege to Malmesbury, and had most of the great Men of the West, and other parts, come in to him. Stephen much overmatching his Enemy with Numbers, resolv'd to put his Fortune upon the Tryal of a Battel; but the Armies being kept asunder by the great Floods which then happen'd for some time: The Bishops, fearful of the success, as knowing that it would be very prejudicial for the whole State, and especially for them, to have a young Prince come in to rule with the Sword, mediated with them, and obtained a Peace, which was concluded at Winchester upon these Conditions.

1150. 1. That King Stephen should remain King of England for his Life, and Henry enjoy his Dukedom of Normandy, as descended to him from his Mother, and be proclaim'd Heir apparent of the Kingdom of England, as Stephen's adopted Son.

2. That their Adherents on both sides should receive no damage, but enjoy their Estates, according to their ancient Rights and Title.

3. That the King should resume into his own Possessions

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\* It must be three Years afterwards; for according to all authentick Historians, he dy'd of a Fever at Bristol, Anno 1146. And Miles Earl of Hereford was, as the Welsh Chronicle reports, unfortunately kill'd three Years before, by the Shot of an Arrow, in the same manner as William Rufus was.

† He was his Father.

‡ With a Young Saracen.

§ He liv'd till a few Weeks before the Peace was concluded in the following Year between Duke Henry and King Stephen.

¶ Possessions



A. D. 1153. Possessions all Estates belonging to the Crown, which had been either alienated by himself, or were usurped by others in his time; and that such Inheritance as had been unjustly taken from the right Owners since King Henry's time should be restored to them.

4. That all the Castles which had been built by Stephen's Permission (which were 1117) should be demolished.

There is a Charter of this Agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of Reservation for the Estates of particular Persons; as, for William, King Stephen's second Son, that he should enjoy all that his Father was possessed of before he was King of England; and for many other Persons of Note.

A Peace being thus settled in England, Henry returns into Normandy, and there concludes a Peace with the King of France, at the Expence of twenty thousand Marks. Stephen also betook himself wholly to repair the Ruins of the State, made a Progress into most parts of his Kingdom, to reform such Irregularities as had arisen by long War; and after his return call'd a Parliament at London, to consult about the good of the Nation, and proper methods for establishing of it. After the Parliament broke up, he went to Dover to meet the Earl of Flanders, who desired a Conference with him; and immediately after his return, fell sick, and dy'd within a few days, and was bury'd in the Abby he founded at Feversham, with the

unfortunate Prince his Son, when he had Reign'd eighteen Years and ten Months.

He was a Person so continually engag'd in War-like Affairs, that it is not possible to give his full Character, whom the World never knew in Peace. He was certainly a very valiant Prince and excellent Soldier, and wanted nothing but a clear Title to have made him one of the best of Princes. What his Government would have been in Peace, may be conjectured by a few Instances: He kept his Promise made to the States at his admission to the Throne, concerning the Release of their Taxes, and never had one Tax (so far as can be found) in his Reign. He was so mild and merciful to his Subjects, that tho' there were many Revolts and Rebellions against him, yet he never put any great Man to Death. And it is very observable, that tho' his Reign was full of Wars, yet there were more Abbies built in his time, than had been in an hundred Years before; which shews, that tho' his Times were troublesome, they were not Irreligious and Atheistical.

He had by Maud his Wife, the Daughter of Euface Earl of Bolloigne, three Sons and two Daughters: Only one Son, viz. William Earl of Bolloigne, Surrey, and Mortaine; and one Daughter, viz. Mary, a Nun and Abbess of the Nunnery of Rumsey in Hampshire\*, surviv'd the King. He had two Natural Sons, William, and Gervase made by the King Abbot of Westminster, which place he enjoy'd twenty Years†.

### REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of King Stephen.

ON the very day that he landed in England to put in for the Crown, as an Omen of his troublesome Reign, there happen'd a mighty Tempest of Thunder, (horrible to hear) and terrible Blasts of Lightning, which falling out in the Winter-season was the more taken notice of.

In the 12th Year of his Reign the Jews at Norwich crucify'd a Christian Child.

In his 14th Year there fell so much Rain in the Summer-season, that it spoil'd the Corn; and a Famine follow'd it. On the 9th of December it began to freeze, and the Frost held till the 9th of February; in which time the Passage over the Thames for Man and Horse was on the Ice. In this Reign there were built no fewer than 1115 Castles, which were to be demolish'd by the Articles of King Stephen's Treaty with Duke Henry, Son to Maud the Empress. Hol.

William of Malmfbury writes, that about the Year 1140. the Money of the Nation was so bad, that scarce one Shilling in ten was good. In the same Year, on the 21st of March early in the Morning, there was so great an Eclipse of the Sun, that Men were forc'd to light Candles to eat their Meat by. And the above mention'd Author adds, Those who sat at the Table where he was, fear'd the return of the ancient Chaos, for several Stars were perceiv'd near the Sun.

The most Famous Warriours in his Time were

Hugh Bigod Earl of Norfolk, Baldwin Ridvers, Walter and Gilbert Lacy, Ralph Earl of Chester, William Mandevil Earl of Essex, William Martell, Roger and Miles Earls of Hereford, the Earl of Leicester, Simon Earl of Northampton, the brave Earl of Gloucester, Natural Brother to the Empress Maud, and Prince Euface, King Stephen's eldest Son.

Of Men of Learning the most Eminent were

William a Monk and Library-keeper of Malmfbury, Simeon a Monk and Precentor of Durham, Ealred Abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Geoffrey Archdeacon of Monmouth, Robert of Shrewsbury, Caradoc of Lancaster, Gilbert Foliot Bishop of Hereford, and Thurstan Archbishop of York; all Historians.

\* At Canterbury on the 25th of October, 1154.

† On the Death of Earl William her Brother, she was taken clandestinely from Rumsey, and marry'd to Matthew Earl of Bolloigne and Alsace.

‡ He was at last depriv'd of it, for prodigally imbezling the Revenues of that Monastery.



THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
HENRY II.  
Surnam'd PLANTAGENET.

A. D.  
1155.  
Henry Son  
of the Em-  
press made  
King.

**H**ENRY PLANTAGENET, (though at the Death of *Stephen* he was beyond the Seas, and a *Frenchman* by Birth, yet) was admitted to the Crown of *England* without any Opposition or Capitulation other than the usual Oath. He was detain'd by contrary Winds from coming into *England* for six Weeks together\*, after *Stephen's* Death; but the Nation was so tired out with Civil Wars, and all Places so miserably harass'd, that they chose to wait for his coming, rather than provoke so powerful a Prince by the Election of another. So he was crown'd by *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, Dec. 20. 1154. in the twenty third Year of his Age. He was a Prince young, active, and powerful, and had all things that might have made him high and assuming; but he understood the Necessity of his own present Affairs, and the Interests of Princes so well, that he began his Reign with all such publick Actions, as he knew would get and increase the Love of his Subjects, being sensible, that the King of *France* was so highly offended by his Match, that he would not overlook any Advantage he could get against him through the Disaffection of his Subjects. And the first thing he did, was to to chuse himself a Council, which he did out of the gravest and most experienc'd Men of his Kingdom, who could best inform him in the State and Condition of the Nation. Then he call'd a Parliament at *Wallingford*, where he pass'd an Act, which was not more for his own Profit than for the Satisfaction of all his People; which was, *To expel all Strangers out of the Land*: For the People were greatly peester'd with them at that time, by reason of the Wars, which drew Multitudes of them hither, especially *Flemings* and *Picards*; whom King *Stephen*, after he found the *English* false and unfaithful to him, entertain'd and chiefly trusted, making *William de Tyres* Earl of *Kent* their Commander, who by Virtue of this Act was banish'd with the rest of his Country-men, and his Lands seiz'd into the King's hand. After the Dissolution of this Assembly, that he might be able to maintain his Royal Dignity without being burthensome to his People (whose voluntary Contributions would afford him greater Supplies, if Necessity required, than severe Exactions) he look'd into the State and Condition of his Revenues, reform'd the Exchequer, and resum'd those Lands which

His first  
Parlia-  
ment.

had been alienated, or detain'd from the Crown; and though some of his great Lords resolutely kept Possession of what they had in their hands, as *Hugh de Mortimer* of his Castles of *Clebury*, *Wigmore* and *Bridge-North*, and *Roger Fitz-Milo* Earl of *Hereford* of the City and Lands of *Glocester*; yet the King took them by force from them, as belonging to the Crown. As he did also the Castle of *Scarborough* from *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, and divers other Lands and Castles in *Torkshire* possess'd by private Men. *Hugh Bigod* resign'd his Castles into the King's hands: But that which look'd worst in these Actions, was his taking the Castle of *Pemsey*, City of *Norwich*, with other Towns and Castles from *William* Earl of *Mortaine* and *Warren*, the second Son of King *Stephen*, contrary to his own positive Agreement with the said King; alledging, that they were the Demesns of the Crown, and could not be alienated from it, yet he suffer'd him to enjoy the Lands his Father held in *England* in the Reign of *Henry I.* These things being dispatch'd he went into the North, and seiz'd upon *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, with the Cities of *Carlisle*, Town of *New-Castle*, and Castle of *Bamberge*, which his Mother *Maud* had given to *David* King of *Scots*, or had anciently belong'd to the Crown of *Scotland* by the Donation of his Predecessors; saying, 'Twas not in the Power of any King to give away any part of his Kingdom: Yet he suffer'd *Malcolm*, the present King, to enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington*, which *Stephen* had given to *Henry* his Father, because it could be of no Benefit to him, but at his Pleasure; and he had a mind to keep him his Homager, to do him Services for that Earldom. The same Course he took to recover all Alienations from the Demesns of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, forcing *Theobald* Duke of *Blois* to resign two Castles, and *Petroch* Earl of *Perch*, the like Number to him. These Revocations, which were done with Loss to many Persons, and contrary to the Grants of himself and Predecessors, might seem unjust, and in the beginning of his Government not safe: But because the Kingdom receiv'd a great Advantage by it, and only some particular Persons endamag'd, it was generally approved as a necessary and prudent Action; for if these Revenues had been still kept from the Crown, he must have depended upon Taxes for

A. D.  
1155.  
His Resumptions of the  
Lands be-  
longing to  
the Crown.

\* He arriv'd in *England* the 7th of December.

† *Roger Hovedon* and the *Chronicle of Mailrofs* put this Northern Expedition under the Year 1157. at which time *Malcolm* did Homage to King *Henry* at *Chester*.











A. D. 1163. Reg. 9. Bishops, in the time of his Grandfather Henry I. did observe. They answer'd, They would; their Order, the Honour of God, and Right of the Church, in all things being kept harmless. This Reservation displeased the King more, who hereupon dismissed the Parliament, and did nothing at that time. But gave not over his Endeavours to recover his Prerogative out of the Church's hands: And finding the Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he had reason to expect a ready submission to his Desires, because of the many Favours he had received from him, was the chief Stickler against him; he was very much enraged at his Ingratitude, and resolved to shew him, that he could pull down as well as advance. And therefore he first forbids him his Presence, and takes from him all that he possibly could; then he countenances all his Enemies, and causes that things be carry'd against him in all Courts of the Kings. The Earl of Clare was supported in the Controversie he had with him, about doing Homage for the Castle of Tunbridge, and prevail'd. In fine, nothing was left undone that could be thought most effectual to humble him. Besides the King by politick Artifices breaks the Confederacy of the Bishops with him, and gains first by his Obligingness the Archbishop of York (the ancient Competitor with Canterbury for Pre-eminence) and afterwards the Bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and others of the Prelates, who were the most leading Men, and separates them from the Council and Company of Archbishop Becket.

The King's dealings with Becket for opposing him.  
The Pope's Message to Becket.  
A Parliament call'd at Clarendon.  
1164. Reg. 10. This Controversie between the Church and State, or rather between the King and Archbishop, made a great Noise in the World, and was soon brought to the Pope's Ear, who being desirous to keep the King's Love, sent Philip his Almoner, by the advice of the whole Conclave of Cardinals, to compose the Difference, and to charge the Archbishop to make Peace with his Master the King, by promising to observe his Laws, without Reservations or Exceptions. The Archbishop seeing his Cause thus discountenanced at Rome, and being pressed to a Compliance by many of his Friends of the Nobility, he went immediately to Woodstock, and there promises the King, without any reserves, to observe his Laws, as he required. The King supposing, that by Archbishop Becket's promise all Opposition to his Design was laid aside, calls a Parliament of the Bishops and Nobility at Clarendon in Wiltshire, where John of Oxford the King's Clerk was President, who gave them a Charge from the King his Master, That they should call to remembrance the Laws of his Grandfather Henry I. and commit them to Writing; which being done, he required the Archbishop and Bishops to set their Hands and Seals to them, which they all did, but Archbishop Becket refused. The other Bishops earnestly persuaded him to satisfy the King's desires, not only in respect of the Danger which he would fall into through the King's Anger, but in regard to his Oath, which he had again taken there to observe the King's Laws without Reservation. He thereupon desires a Copy of the Writing, as if he would consider better upon the several Heads of it; but taking it into his Hands, he turned to the Clergy, and said, Brethren, stand fast, you see the Malice of the King, and of whom we are to beware; but would not subscribe it. And so this Assembly was dismissed without doing any thing of Moment, as the King intended. These Disappointments, and this Perverseness in the Archbishop, incensed the King much the more against him, because now he found that all the other Bishops yielded to his pleasure,

and only Becket stood out. And therefore he proceeds by all means to vex and disgrace him, and to advance his Rival, the Archbishop of York; and to that end sent his Agents, John of Oxford and Jeffrey Riddle, his Clerks, to solicit the Pope to make him Legate over all England. But the Pope being before acquainted with the business refused to do it; yet at the Petition of the Agents he granted a Legation to the King himself, with a proviso, That he should do nothing to grieve the Archbishop of Canterbury; which the King resented so highly, that he sent them back again with his Grant. The Archbishop Becket afterward so repented of the Oath that he had taken at Clarendon, that he suspended himself from the Service of the Altar, and did severe Penance for it, till he had obtained Absolution from the Pope; which upon his own Information of his Case, was soon sent him. Not long after this, as some write, he attempted to go out of the Kingdom, contrary to a Law made at Clarendon, whereby it was forbidden to the Archbishops, Bishops, or any other Persons, to depart out of the Realm without the King's License; which, altho' they obtain'd, yet they were notwithstanding obliged to secure the King, and neither in their going, returning, or staying there, to practise any thing prejudicial to his State or Person. But being by contrary Winds driven home again, he more exasperated the King against him by this attempt.

The King, by the former Actions of the Archbishop, growing more severe against him, called a Parliament at Northampton to ratify the Acts made at Clarendon. And here, to thwart him, the King's Horses were placed in his Inn. At this Assembly he had a Case given against him, concerning a Manour which John the King's Marshal contended at Law with him for; whereby he not only lost the said Manour, but was sentenced to pay five hundred Marks, as Arrears, and was forced to pay it. He was also called to an account for all the Sums which he had received in the time of his Chancellorship upon the King's account, which amounted to thirty thousand Pounds. The Archbishop refused to plead to this Charge, because, he said, he was discharged of those Receipts by the Prince, Barons of the Exchequer, and Robert Lucy Chief Justice of England, in behalf of the King, before he was made Archbishop. But this Answer did not satisfy: The King was still very urgent to have Judgment pass against him for this, with other his late attempts, and disobedience; and so he was commanded to attend his Censure the next day. The Morning before he was to appear, he celebrated early in the Morning with great Devotion the Mass of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which had in it these Words: *Princes sate and spake against me.* From this Office he set forward (committing his Cause to God) to the Court, in his Stole, his black Canonical Hood, carrying the Cross in his right Hand, and guiding his Horse with his left. The People seeing him come in such an unusual manner, flock all about him, and he entering the great Chamber, sat down amongst them; the King being in his Privy-Chamber with his Council. The Bishop of London was the first that came out to him, and he much blamed him for coming in that Garb to the Court, and offered to pull the Cross out of his Hand; but the Archbishop held it so fast, that he could not. The Bishop of Winchester seeing it, said to London: *Brother, let him alone; he ought to bear the Cross.* London reply'd, *You speak, Brother, against the King, and it will be ill for you.* After this came forth the Archbishop of York,

A. D. 1164. Reg. 10.

Becket repents of the Oath.

A Parliament at Northampton against Becket.

\* Salvo Ordine suo.

• Bonâ fide.

• His Chaplains.

(whose



A. D. (whose ancient hatred, says *Hoveden*, would not suffer him to speak mildly and friendly to him) 1164. Reg. 10. and chid him very sharply for coming in that fashion, as if he were to appear before a Tyrant, or an Heathen Prince, and told him, *That the King's Sword was sharper than his Crozier; and if he would be advised by him, he should take it from him.* Canterbury reply'd, *The King's Sword wounds the Body only, mine sends the Soul to Hell.* After much debate, the Archbishop *Becket* sharply inveighed against the King's proceedings with him, and said, 'That it was never known in any former Age, that an Archbishop of Canterbury was try'd in any of the King's Courts, for any Cause whatsoever, not only because of his Place and Dignity, but because he is the Spiritual Father of the King himself, and all his Subjects. Then, turning his Speech to the Bishops, who sat as his Judges, he said: 'You see how the World rageth against me, and the Enemy assails me; but that which grieves me most, is, That the Sons of my Mother combine against me: If I should not resent it, the Ages to come would record it to your disgrace, that you left me alone in the Battel, and gave Sentence upon me, who am your Father, tho' never so great a Sinner. But I charge you, by Virtue of your Obedience, and under pain of Degradation, that you be not present in any Court of Judicature, where either my Cause or Person shall be judged; and that if any Layman shall lay Hands on me, you immediately excommunicate him or them, as your Duty to your Father the Archbishop obliges you, who, whatever he suffers, will not desert the Church's Cause, nor forsake the Flock committed to him. Then were many great Accusations of his Contempt and Disobedience to the King brought against him, and Perjury proved upon him; which were so aggravated by the King's Council, that all present cry'd out unanimously, 'That he was one of the worst of Traytors, who having been loaded so much with the King's Favours, had refused to pay him the Civil Honour of a Subject, and to observe his Laws, as he had sworn to do. The Archbishop hearing these things, appeal'd to the Pope. But the Bishops complying with the Secular Power, renounced their Ecclesiastical Obedience to him, cited him to Rome, and condemned him as a Traytor and Perjured Person. Then the Earl of *Leicester*, being accompany'd with *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*, came to the Archbishop, and charged him in the King's Name to answer the Crimes objected against him, or else to hear his Sentence pronounced. 'Nay but Son Earl, said he, hear thou me first: 'It is not unknown to your self how faithfully I have served the King, and that for my Fidelity he preferred me to this Dignity I now enjoy (God knows) against my Will. For I was conscious of my own Infirmities, and was contented to take it upon me rather to please the King than God; and therefore doth God withdraw himself from me, and turns the King's heart against me. At my Election he freed me from all Court-Attendance and Slavery; and upon that account I am not bound to answer any defects in that kind, neither will I. As much as the Soul is more excellent than the Body, so much are ye bound to obey God and me before any Earthly Creature. Neither Law or Reason can justify the Sons in the condemning of the Fathers. Wherefore I refuse to stand either to the Judgment of the King, or any other Person, Ap-

Archbishop  
Becket try'd  
before the  
King and  
his Council.

pealing to the Audience of the Pope, by whom A. D. alone I can be judged upon Earth, committing 1164. all I have to God's protection and his, and as Reg. 10. under his Authority only I depart out of this place. And so he went out, and took his Horse, yet not without some difficulties in passing, and many affronts from the King's Servants. But being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the common People (rejoycing to see him deliver'd) and divers of the Clergy convey'd him honourably to the Abby of *St. Andrew's* at *Northampton*, from whence he made his escape in disguise, and under the Name of *Dereman*, into *Flanders*, and so got into *France*; where being out of the King's reach, and under the Pope's protection, he caused the Kingdom and King much trouble.

Immediately after the departure of the Archbishop, the King sends over his Ambassadors, *Gillebert* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Earl of *Arundel*, to the King of *France*, to intreat him not only to forbid the Archbishop his Kingdom, but to be a means to the Pope, that his Cause might not be favour'd by the Church, being so contumacious a Rebel against his Natural Prince. But the *French* King was so far from Compliance with his Request, that he dispatched *Fryar Francis* his Almoner privately to the Pope to beseech him, as he tender'd the Honour of Holy Church, and the Safety of his Kingdom, to support the Archbishop of *Canterbury* against the Tyrant of *England*. King *Henry* also sent with all speed *Roger* Archbishop of *Tork*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, and *Exeter*; *Guido Rufus*, *Richard Iwelchester*, and *John* of *Oxford*, Clerks, *William* Earl of *Arundel*, *Hugh de Gundevill*, *Bernard de S. Wellerie*, and *Henry Fitz-Gerrard*, to inform the Pope of the whole Affair, and prevent the ill effects of the Archbishop's Complaints. The Multitude, and the greatness of the Ambassadors, shewed the Importance of the Embassy, and the King's desire to prevail. They found the Pope at the City of *Sens*, and represented to him, how obstinate and disobedient the Archbishop had been to his Sovereign Lord the King of *England*; and that tho' he had sworn to obey his Laws, yet he had wilfully opposed and broke them, and by his peevishness and obstinacy was about to embroil the Church and Kingdom: And therefore they besought him, as he tender'd the Peace of the Church of *England*, and desir'd the Love of their Master, not to favour or credit a Man of that turbulent and obstinate Disposition. This Relation of the Difference little moved the Pope; which, when the Ambassadors perceived, they pray'd him to send two Legates into *England* to examine the business more fully, and in the mean time to admit no other relation of the matter but what they should bring. But the Pope would not yield to their desire, and so they departed much dissatisfied. Within four Days after their departure came the Archbishop, and prostrates himself at the Pope's Feet, presents him with a Copy of the Laws, which the King call'd *Leges Avita*, i. e. his Grandfather's Laws; which being read before a Body of Cardinals, Clergy, and many others, the Pope condemned them for ever, and anathematized all such as should either obey or favour them. The Laws, which being among the Statutes of *Clarendon*, were so furiously opposed by the Archbishop, and so much offended the Clergy, were these, (as we find them set down in his own Letter to the Bishop of *London*) 'That there

The King's  
Embassy  
to the King  
of France  
against  
Becket, and  
to the Pope  
concerning  
him.

The Laws  
which the  
Archbishop  
refused to  
subscribe.

\* *Iwelchester*, or *Ilchester* in *Somersetshire*.  
† *Gilbert Foliot*, lately translated to the See of *London*, was their Orator, and clos'd his Speech with these Words: *The Wicked flees when no Man pursues him.*



A. D. 1164. Reg. 10. 'should be no Appeals made to the Apostolick See without the King's Leave; That no Archbishop or Bishop should go out of the Realm without the King's Permission; That no Bishop shall excommunicate any Person, that holds of the King *in Capite*, or interdict any Officer of his without a Licence had from the King; That Clergy-men should be try'd before Secular Judges; That Lay-men (such as the King and his Judges) should examine and judge the Causes of the Church about Tythes, and Matters of like Nature, which were looked upon by the Pope and Clergy as dangerous Encroachments upon their Ecclesiastical Liberties.

1165. Reg. 11. The King, at the return of his Ambassadors from the Pope, finding that they had obtain'd no Favour with him, but that he was rather slighted and contemn'd by him, was highly displeased; and that he might shew how much he resented the Affront, and scorn'd his Authority, he put out a severe Edict both against the Pope and the Arch-bishop, opposing his Secular to their Ecclesiastical Authority; and ordering,

The King's Edict against the Pope and all his Agents. 'That if any Person were apprehended, carrying a Letter or other Instrument from the Pope or Arch-bishop, containing any Interdict of the Christian Religion in *England*, he should be without delay executed as a Traytor both to the King and Kingdom. That whatsoever Bishop, Priest, Monk, or other Person in Holy Orders, Clerk or Lay-man, should have or conceal any such Letters; shall forfeit all their Lands, Goods and Chattels to the King, and be immediately banish'd the Nation, with all their Kindred. That no Clergy-man, Monk, or Lay-man, should be permitted to pass from *Normandy* to *England* without a Pass-port from the Justices there; nor from *England* to *Normandy*, or other Places beyond-sea without the King's, upon Pain of Imprisonment if discover'd. That no Appeals to the Pope should be allowed. That all Clergy-men, who had any Estates in *England*, should return into the Kingdom within three Months, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Lands to the King. That *Peter-pence* should be collected and sequestred, till the King's Pleasure was farther known. He also banish'd all the Archbishop's Kindred, without any Exception of Sex or Age, and openly renounc'd the Pope's Authority, declaring his Adherence to the Emperour's Party, who then was at Enmity with the present Pope *Alexander* the III. and vindicated the Election of *Victor* the V. who tho' elected by the far less Number of Cardinals, viz. (but four to twenty two) yet was thought a sufficient Pretence of opposing the Pope, who was a declared Enemy to the Empire. Henry before this Quarrel between himself and the Arch-bishop, had favour'd the Election of *Alexander*, with the King of *France*, and the other Christian Princes of *Europe*, and had at *Coccy* upon the *Loir* shew'd him an extraordinary Reverence and Respect; but finding him so averse to him in this Difference, he fell from him, renounc'd his Authority, declar'd for the Emperour; and to strengthen himself by a firm Alliance with the German Princes, consented to marry his Daughter *Maud* to the Duke of *Saxony*, at the Motion of *Reginald* Archbishop of *Collen*, who was sent on purpose by the Emperour *Frederick Barba-*

*rossa* to solicit it, and entertain'd another Motion A. D. 1165. for a Marriage between another of his Daughters and the Emperour's Son: But all these things did the King little Service. The Emperour's Party was weak, the Pope's grew stronger and stronger every day; and the Pope being exasperated by the King's Actions, was more earnest in the Defence of the Arch-bishop, whom he encourages to solicit and adjure the Clergy of *England* not to forsake their hold, but resolutely maintain their Liberties and Privileges against the Invader of them, who sought to confound the Priesthood and Kingdom; and if they gave ground in the least, would utterly ruine themselves and the Church. Then he excommunicated all the King's principal Ministers that adhered to the German Faction, or held Correspondence with the Arch-bishop of *Collen*; as *John* of *Oxford*, *Richard Ivelbestre*, *Richard de Lucy*, *Jascelin Baliol*, *Alan de Nevil*, and with them all those who had seized upon the Revenues and Goods of the See of *Canterbury*, which he call'd the Patrimony of the Crucifix, and Food of the Poor, viz. *Ralph de Brock*, *Hugh S. Clare*, and *Thomas Fitz-Bernard*. Thus was this unbloody War manag'd on both sides; in which, tho' there were no Swords drawn, yet it created much Vexation and Trouble to both Parties.

1166. Reg. 12. While this Dissention was on foot between the King and Pope, other publick Business happen'd, which kept the King employ'd. The *Welsh* revolted, and could hardly be reduc'd to their Obedience: In the War with them he lost many brave Men, and had himself been killed, had not *Hugh S. Clare* receiv'd the Arrow into his own Body, which he saw would prove mortal to his Master; yet was the King so sensible of his Danger, that he reveng'd his own suppos'd Death with a very cruel Treatment of his Enemies. From this Expedition he pass'd into *Normandy*, where now his Business lay more than in *England*: And here, that he might shew he had not lost his Christian Disposition by quarrelling with the Pope, he obtain'd of his Subjects in a publick Assembly call'd for that purpose, two Pence in the Pound of every Man's Lands and Goods for the Year 1167, and a Penny in the Pound for four Years after, for the Relief the poor Christians in the Holy War; and carefully collecting it Yearly, sent it to them. Then he gathered some Forces, and takes certain Castles in the County of *Maine*, and Marches of *Britain* from several factious Barons. In his absence *Matthew* the Son of the Earl of *Flanders* (who had married the Lady *Mary*, Abbess of *Ramsay*, the Daughter of King *Stephen*) attempted an Invasion, and molested the Coasts of *England*, but to no purpose, the King being too powerful for so weak an Opponent. While he was in *Normandy*, *Conan* King of *Brittaigne* died, and left one only Daughter (which he had by his Wife *Constance* the King of *Scots* Daughter) to succeed him in his Earldom. The King of *England* being then upon the Confines of that Country, thought this a good Opportunity of enlarging his own Dominions; and therefore treating with the Guardians of the young Lady, and having gained the Nobility to consent to a Marriage with his third Son *Jeffrey*, he in the end obtain'd his Desires to his great Content. This happen'd in the thirteenth Year of his Reign; wherein, as some

\* The Pope issu'd out an Anathema against all that for the future should observe the *Leges Aviza*.

\* This Revolt was in the Year 1165.

\* This Tax, says *Holinshed*, was to be paid this Year 1166.

\* *Nicholas Trivet* in his Chronicle writes, That *Conan* was alive when Prince *Geoffrey* was betroth'd to his Daughter *Constance*, and that he dy'd the Year following.



A. D. 1167. write, *Maud* the Empress, the King's Mother, died; a Lady of an high and active Spirit, illustrious by her Birth, more by her first Match, but most of all for her Son, whom she lived to see establish'd in his Throne, and flourishing in Honour, Grandure and Peace; blessed with a numerous Off-spring of four Sons and three Daughters, and left in his best Time, before any great Troubles had befall'n him. After her Death *Henry* remained three Years in *France*, which he spent in Wars, partly to clear the Bounds of his own Dominions from the Usurpation and Encroachments of his Neighbouring Lords, whom at length he brought into the Limits of his own Will, and partly to settle and reform the State of *Brittaigne*, which was much out of order, and all in a Mutiny at the late Match with his Son: But he soon appeased them, and kept his *Christmas* at *Nantz*, where he feasted all the Nobility of the Country, and by Favours obliged them to retain their Fidelity to his Son in his absence.

The Death of the King's Mother the Empress Maud.

1169.

Reg. 15. Henry returns into England.

Having settled things beyond Seas, he returns into *England*, and the first thing he did was to observe whether his absence and a long Peace had not corrupted his Government; and to that end he appointed certain Commissioners to examine into any Abuses and Excesses, which might be committed by his Officers in the Administration of Justice; and having found many of the Sheriffs of the Nation guilty of Extortion and Bribery, he punish'd them severely for it. He kept his *Easter* at *Windsor*, whither *William* King of *Scots*, who lately succeeded his Brother *Malcolm* in that Government, came with his younger Brother *David* to congratulate the King's happy Return into *England*, and put in his Claim for some Countries in the North, which he pretended were unjustly detain'd from him. *Henry* entertain'd him very civilly, and gave him a fair Answer to his Demands: But told him, 'He could do nothing in it without the Consent of the Parliament, which if he would attend, he should have Satisfaction. Which words raised the Expectations of that King, and made him often come into *England*, and once to attend *Henry* into *France* as his Brother had done, but without a proportionable Return to his Desires.

The Contest between the King and Archbishop Becket revives.

The Pope's Letters, and the Answer to them.

Not long after the King's return home, his Controversie with the Church again reviv'd, and a greater Storm than ever threaten'd him. The Pope himself was not very forward to proceed to any rigorous Course, but labour'd to pacify the angry Arch-bishop, by telling him, 'That it was an ill time to contend, the King being potent and the Church already in Troubles; and therefore to heal the Sore, he writes to the Bishop of *London* and *Hereford*, 'Requiring them to treat with the King, and earnestly persuade him to desist from meddling with the Liberties of the Church, and to restore the Arch-bishop to his See and Dignity. The Bishops answer'd the Pope's Letter wisely and gravely thus, 'We have (say they) deliver'd your Holiness's Message to our King, and earnestly press'd him to yield to your Desires so far as was convenient for us to do to the Majesty of a King; begging of him, that if he had done any thing contrary to Truth and Justice, that he would not persist in his Error; That he would not prohibit Men from visiting the Churches at *Rome*, hinder Appeals, oppress the Church or Clergy, or suffer others to do it; That he would recal our Father the Arch-bishop, &c. and persist in all Acts of Piety, that so the God, by whom Kings reign might preserve him in his Tem-

poral Kingdom, and give him an Eternal one A. D. 1169. in Heaven; That unless he would now hearken to your Holy Admonitions, you would wait no longer; adding this of our selves, That unless he amended his Errours, his Kingdom would not prosper or long flourish. The King received your Advice with many Thanks, great Comeliness and Modesty, and gave these Answers to every Point. 1. He protested, That he had not any Aversion to your Holiness, nor purposed to maintain any Opposition against you; but so long as he could enjoy your Fatherly Kindness, he would reverence you as a Father, and honour and protect the Church as a Mother: Nor would disobey any of your Decrees, so long as his own Dignity and the Kingdom's Happiness might be preserved. And if of late he had not paid that Respect to you, which he was wont, 'twas because his Ambassadors had met with such unkind Denials of his Petitions, which he had reason to obtain, because he had stood by you with so much Zeal and Power in your Necessity. 2. That he neither had, nor would ever hinder any from visiting your Holiness. But as for Appeals he challenges that Prerogative to himself by the ancient Custom of *England*; That no Clergy-man, for any civil Cause, shall go out of the Realm till he had tried whether he can't obtain his Right by his Royal Authority and Justice at home, which if he can't do, he will not hinder him from making his Appeal to your Holiness; and if in this he doth any way prejudice you, he is willing to amend it, as it shall be order'd by a General Council of the Kingdom; That as for the Emperor, tho' he knew he was a Schismatick, yet he never understood that he was excommunicated; which if he be rightly inform'd of, or have made an unlawful League with him, he promises to rectify it at the Direction of the said Assembly: That he never banish'd our Father the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and that he was at his Liberty to return to his Church, provided his Majesty be satisfied concerning his Complaints, and that he will live in Obedience to his Laws: That if it can be proved, that any Church or Churchmen have been oppress'd by himself or Officers, he will make Satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the Ecclesiastical Council of the Kingdom. This (say they) is the Answer we have received from our Lord the King, and wish it had been more fully according to your Desire; but these things we thought fit to make known to your Holiness, that you may see what is like to be the Event of this Difference. The King stands up in Defence of his own Cause, ready to obey the Council and Judgment of the Church of *England*. Wherefore we have judg'd it convenient to beseech your Highness to moderate your Zeal for God's Church for a time, and forbear to interdict or excommunicate our Churches, lest both the King and his Subjects be irrevocably (which God forbid) deterr'd from their Obedience to the Holy See. And lastly, they add, as a Dissuasive from rigorous Dealings with the King, That the skilful Chirurgeon doth not immediately cut off the Member that is unsound and diseased, but uses all means to heal it, and recover it to its proper Use; and so it is better for his Holiness to labour to pacify the King, than by cutting off so noble a part of the Church of God to bring more Disturbance into the same, which hath too much already: That tho' the King were stiff and resolute, yet they doubted not but

\* William King of Scots follow'd the King into *Normandy*, did him Homage, and waited on him while he was there.

through



A. D. 1169. Reg. 15. through God's Grace he might be won by Patience and Meekness. What tho' the Lord of Canterbury lose his Goods, and remain in exile, yet 'tis better it should be so, than that all England fall from their Obedience through your Severity? And tho' perhaps a Persecution may not separate us from you, yet there will not want Knees to bow to Basil, there will be enough to receive the Pall of Canterbury from the King's hands, and supply our Seats with all assurances of Obedience; and some there are that hope this Schism between you and the King will make way for their Preferments. By these Letters, which are the best pieces of History in the World, we see the full state of this Controversie, and what it was that kept these two mighty Potentates from getting their Wills, and tho' they threaten'd loud, were really afraid one of another.

Henry assumes his Son into the Regal Dignity, and had him crown'd. Hitherto the King stood safe, and might have continued so, had he not been suspicious of more danger than he was really in; and so endeavouring to secure himself more than was necessary, he undermined his own Peace, lessen'd his Authority, and embroyl'd his People. And this he did by assuming his eldest Son Henry into a Copartnership in his Royal Dignity and Power. An Act without Precedent in this Kingdom, which 'tis hardly credible, that the Parliament, in such discerning times, would have consented to, if the King would have been contented with a denial. In compliance with which the young Prince was crown'd June 14. 1170. by Roger Archbishop of York, and received Homage from William King of Scots, David his Brother, and most of the Nobility of England. For what Reasons the King did thus, whether out of meer kindness to his Son, or whether he feared the Clergy, with whom he then was at difference, might deprive his Posterity of the Succession, as they did his Mother Maud, (as is most probable by reason of this Juncture) yet certain it is he got himself two Enemies by it, viz. the French King, and his own Son. The French King threaten'd him with War, because his Daughter was not crown'd with her Husband, unless it were immediately done. Henry hereupon hasts into Normandy to secure his Dominions there, and leaves his Son in England, thinking thus to prevent or pacifie his angry Father-in-Law. His own Son, not content with a bare Title without Power, or a participation only in Government with his Father, who by being his Superiour, clouded his Glory, and null'd all his Authority, created him much Grief and Trouble, contriving all ways to make him no King, who had shew'd too much indulgence in creating him one; and forgetting the Duty of a Son, by being rais'd to an equal Power with his Father, who by his Actions found too late, That Crowns are not to be made over in trust to any Persons.

A Conference of the King and Archbishop. While the King remain'd in Normandy, it was effected by the mediation of the French King, Theobald Earl of Blois, and other great Bishops, that the Archbishop of Canterbury (who had then been six Years in Banishment) should be admitted to a Conference with the King; who did not unwillingly embrace the Proposition, because he found that a Quarrel with the Church in those zealous Times would much prejudice his other temporal Affairs, and create him daily more potent Enemies, through the Pope's and Bishops

means. Their Meeting was at Montmirail, in the presence of the King of France. And the Archbishop, at his entrance into the King's presence, Reg. 16. fell on his Knees at his Feet, and said, 'He would leave the whole Matter in Controversie to his Majesty's Decision, *Salvo honore Dei*, i. e. God's Honour being sav'd harmless. The King, who had been tired with this Reservation, and seen the ill tendency of it, began to be in a Passion, and said to the King of France, and others present, 'Whatever displeases this Man, he makes to be against God's Honour, and under that shew claims all that belongs to me. But that you may not think that I will be against any thing that is really for God's Honour or his Right, I declare, that whatever the greatest and most holy of his Predecessors have done to the meanest of mine, I will condescend to undergo from him. This Answer, which was so much beyond the Expectation of all the Company, begat such a good Opinion in them all to the King's Cause, that the King of France told the Archbishop plainly, 'That he could not stand upon any thing now reasonably, unless he would be greater than the Saints, or St. Peter himself; and that if Peace were not now made, 'twas his fault only. The Archbishop reply'd to this effect, 'That as the Authority of Kings had grown up by degrees, so had that of the Church; which being by the Providence of God come to that pitch of Grandeur, he was not to follow the Example of any that had been faint-hearted, or too yielding in their places. The Church had risen and increased by many Persecutions, and he was to hold what it had so hardly gotten. Our Fathers (said he) suffer'd all manner of Afflictions, because they would not forsake the Name of Christ; and shall I, to gain the Favour of any Man living, lose any thing that is for his honour. This proud and obstinate Answer to so yielding a Proffer made by the King, so much distast'd the Hearers, that they look'd upon his Cause as nothing else but the effect of Pride and Arrogancy, not of true Zeal; and so the Meeting at that time concluded. Divers Meetings they had after this to debate about the same matters; one of the most conclusive was upon the Confines of Normandy, in the presence of the same King of France; (who entertain'd the Archbishop all the while) where the King took the Archbishop apart, and talk'd with him a long time; twice they lighted from their Horses, and twice remounted again; and twice the King held the Archbishop's Bridle, and then parted, both prepar'd for a Peace, but not concluding any. At last, by the mediation of the Archbishop of Rouen, the Controversie was fully compos'd, and decided before the Earl of Blois at Amboys. And thereupon the King sent to Henry his Son in England in this manner: 'Know ye, that Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury hath made Peace with me, according to my Will; and therefore I charge you, that he and all his Relations be no more disturbed, but that the Estates and Goods of him, and all such as went out of England for his sake, be restored to them in as full and ample manner as they enjoy'd them three Months before their going, &c. (Which shews that the supreme Command was lodg'd in the Father, and not in the Son.) Soon after this the Archbishop return'd into England, (yet not as one that had fought, but forced a

\* 'Tis reported, that King Henry himself carry'd up the first Dish to his Son's Table at the Coronation-Feast; and when the Archbishop of York represented to him, how much he was oblig'd to his Father for that Favour, the young Prince haughtily reply'd, That it was not such great Condescension in his Father, who was only the Son of an Earl, to perform that Service to him, who was the Son of a King.

\* William Fitz-Stephens, who was Becket's Chaplain, and wrote his Life, writes, That this Peace was concluded on the 22d of July, 1170. at Preteville, between Chartin and Maine.



A. D. 1170. Peace) and therefore, as if he had gain'd Power to strengthen his Resolution by his Agreement with the King, he suspends by the Pope's Bull the Archbishop of York from his Episcopal Function for crowning the young King within the Province of Canterbury, without his Leave, and against the Pope's Order, and without taking (according to the Custom) the Cautionary Oath for the preservation of the Liberties of the Church. He also suspended in like manner by other Letters, which he brought with him, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, S. Asaph, and Landaff, for assisting at the Coronation, and defending the King's Cause against him, and by their Suspension they were to remain depriv'd of their Office till they had given the Archbishop such satisfaction as he required. The Bishops, amazed at this terrible assault, had no other Refuge but the King, to whom they immediately fled into Normandy, and gave him an account of the Archbishop's Severity, and implacable Fury and Imperiousness. The King hearing their Relation, was mov'd with extream Passion, and is said with great Grief to have utter'd these words:

The Archbishop's return into England, and his Suspension of the Bishops.

'In what a miserable Condition am I, who can't be quiet in my own Kingdom for one only Priest! What is there no Man will rid me of this trouble? Some say, that there were four Knights attending the King when he spake these words, viz, Sir Hugh Morvill, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Britton, and Sir Reginald Fitz-Urse, who guessing at his Desire, departed instantly into England to be the unfortunate Executioners of it; but others relate, that these four Gentlemen were sent with a Commission by the King, to treat with the Archbishop in this Affair. 1. To require him to take his Oath of Fidelity to the young King. 2. To restore the Bishops he had deprived to the Execution of their Office. 3. To advise and command him to carry himself with much more Lenity and Moderation in his Place, that so the Church may have comfort, and the Kingdom peace, by his return. These Men, zealous for their Prince, and arm'd with Authority, went to the Archbishop, and finding him peremptory and untractable, not answering their Humour, nor regarding their Master's Message, were highly enrag'd, and threaten'd to commit him. The Archbishop, to secure himself, withdrew into the Cathedral Church, but to no purpose; for they arming themselves entred in the Church, when he was at Divine Service with the Monks, and furiously reviling him as a Traytor, fell upon him with their Swords, gave him many Wounds, and at length struck out his Brains, so that the Altar was sprinkled with his Blood. The Archbishop in this Assault behav'd himself with great Courage, and passionately committed his own Soul, and the Church's Cause to God and his Saints; which, together with the Manner, Time, and Place of his Suffering, begat great Compassion towards him, and Abhorrence of the Fact. The unfortunate Gentlemen, tho' they effected a great piece of Service, yet dare not return to the King, either because they had exceeded the Bounds of their Commission, and so might

The Archbishop slain in the Cathedral of Canterbury

justly fear his Displeasure; or because they knew A. D. 1170. he would not acknowledge it a Kindness, tho' he thought it a great one; but (after they had rifled Reg. 16. the Archbishop's Palace) fled into several Countries in the North, and dy'd all within four Years (as it is reported) miserable Fugitives.

The Fame of the Archbishop Becker's Death soon spread into all parts of the Christian World, and both Tongues and Pens fell all to work to aggravate and condemn it. The King of France himself informs the Pope of the whole matter, and aggravating the Foulness of the Fact, and inciting him to Severity in punishing it: *To unsheathe St. Peter's Sword to revenge the Death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whose Blood cries out to all the Church, and whose Divine Glory was manifested already by Miracles.* Theobald Earl of Blois, a great and grave Prince (elder Brother to King Stephen) represented to the Pope, 'That he was present when the Peace was made between the King of England and the blessed Martyr; That the King cheerfully confirm'd the Agreement, and granted the Archbishop power to use his Authority, as it pleased the Pope and him, against those Bishops, who had contrary to the Right and Dignity of the Church of Canterbury, presum'd to set the new King upon the Throne. And this he would justify upon his Oath, or otherwise. By this Peace (says he) was the Man of God brought under the King's Sword, the innocent Lamb slain upon the morrow after St. Innocent's Day, the just Blood shed at the Altar, where Christ's Blood is offer'd, by Court-Dogs, the King's domestick Servants, set on work to do this horrible Act; and then concludes with Admonitions of Revenge. But William Archbishop of Sens came with a loud Cry, as if he fear'd the Pope would overlook the Fact, and tells him, 'That all Power was given to his Apostleship both in Heaven and Earth, and God had appointed him to bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Links of Iron. He bids him observe how the Boar of the Wood had rooted up the Lord's Vineyard. And after he hath bitterly inveigh'd against the King, stirs him up to revenge that which is past, that he may provide for the future: What place shall be safe, if the Rage of Tyrants be suffer'd to fill the *Sanctum Sanctorum* with Blood, and Christ's Vicegerents be torn in pieces without punishment? Arm therefore, says he, all the Ecclesiastical Power you can, &c. The King of England, on the other side, protested his own Innocency, and solemnly avow'd, That he was as far from ordering or desiring any such deed to be done, as he was from doing it himself; and that he was heartily sorry for it when he heard of it. He also employ'd the chief Men of his Kingdom, for Reputation, Learning and Judgment, to defend his Innocency to the Pope; but his Holiness was so prepossessed by the sinister Reports of others, that he deny'd his Ambassadors Audience, and the Cardinals refus'd all Conference with them; yet they were not so much discourag'd by this unkind usage, but that they clear'd their Master's Honour by Apologies, Remonstrances, and what

The King clears himself of Becker's Murder.

\* William Fitz-Stephens says, he was exasperated against him by the suspended Bishops, and particularly the Archbishop of York, who told him, That so long as Thomas Becker was alive he would never enjoy happy Days, nor a quiet Kingdom.

\* Fitz-Stephens calls them Barons, and Servants of the King's Bed-Chamber, *Cubicularii*. They stole away from Court. F. S.

\* His last Words were, Lord, into thy hands I commend my self, and the Cause of the Church of God, St. Mary, St. Denis, and all the Saints Patrons of his Church.

\* They remain'd a Year in Knaveborough-Castle in Yorkshire, and might have easily been brought to Justice for their Crime, but there was no Law to punish with Death any Persons that had kill'd a Clergyman, because the Clergy had exempted themselves from the King's Jurisdiction; and so the Archbishop himself, who so violently oppos'd the secular Power over the Clergy, and was by that means the Cause that the Blood of many Persons was unreveng'd, prevented the deserv'd Punishment of his own Blood from the Sword of Justice; tho' God seem'd to punish it by the miserable Lives and unfortunate Deaths of the Actors of it: Who, according to Ro. Hoveden's account, being excommunicated by the Pope, went to Rome for Absolution; and were enjoy'd to go to Jerusalem, and to do Penance afterwards on the Black Mountain for Life.



A. D. 1170. *Reg. 16.* soever Wit could devise; so that they kept off the highest Censure, tho' it was every day expected, and by gravely urging the Mischief that might fall upon the Church by too great Severity, so allay'd the first Heat, that they gave the King some hopes of a Pacification, till the Pope sent two Cardinals *Latere, Gratianus* and *Vivianus*, into *Normandy* to interdict him and his Dominions, which exceedingly disturb'd him; but the King having gotten some notice of their coming and intention, appeals to the presence of the Pope upon their entrance, and so put off that trouble. And when he came into *England* again, to prevent the like, forbids all Brief-Carriers, of what Condition or Order soever, to pass the Seas, without giving good Security for their Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

*The King's Expedition into Ireland, and Conquest of it.* But tho' the Controversie which the King had with the Church caused him much trouble, yet he omitted nothing which tended to the Advancement of his Kingdom, and Enlargement of his Dominions, which at this time he undertook by an Expedition into *Ireland* for the Conquest of it; and so much the rather, that at this time he might make himself formidable. He had had a like design at the beginning of his Reign, and to prepare his way to it without opposition, had obtain'd leave of Pope *Adrian IV.* to go on with it, under the pretence of reducing a Rude and Barbarous People from their Vicious Customs to the Faith and Truth of Christ, and upon promise of paying *Peter-Pence* to the *Roman See*. The Pope (who is always willing to give away what is not his own, to get something by it) readily granted the King's Petition, and sent his Ambassadors back with an Instrument of Concession in Writing to this effect: 'That it was a laudable and glorious thing for so magnificent a Prince to enlarge his Dominions for the Conversion of Souls, and Good of the Church. And then gives him power to invade the same, and to execute whatsoever should be to the Honour of God, and Good of the Country; with a Reservation of the Rights of the Church, and *Peter-Pence* promised; and concludes with an Exhortation to settle an holy and exemplary Clergy among them, &c. But the King at that time having other important Matters in hand, laid these Thoughts for the present aside, and did not resume them till a fair occasion offer'd it self of prosecuting it with success, which was thus given him: *Dermot Macmurgh*, one of the five Kings that then ruled *Ireland*, came to him into *Aquitain* to crave his Aid against *Rodericke the Great*, call'd *O-Conar Dun*, King of *Connaught*, who aiming at the Dominion of the whole Country, had expell'd him out of his Dominions of *Lemster*. The King of *England*, glad of this opportunity of introducing his Forces into the Country, promised him assistance; and tho' he was a little detained by other Affairs of Importance, yet he gave him liberty to get as many of his Subjects as he would, to try their Fortunes with him. The occasion of the Quarrel between the two *Irish* Princes was very foul on *Dermot's* part, who had corrupted and stolen away the Wife of *Rodericke*; and for that reason, with his Injustices to his People, (the common Causes of ruining and transferring Kingdoms) was by force of Arms driven out of his Dominions of *Lemster*; and being expell'd, he seeks to the King of *England* for help to recover his Right; and having obtained the former Grant of him, went into *Wales*, where he first prevail'd with *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, a Man of a desperate Fortune, but good Interest among the *Welsh*, by promises of

great Riches and Reward; and afterward with *A. D. Richard Earl of Pembroke, Chestow, and Strigil*, 1170. surnamed *Strongbow*, a Lord of great Courage and Worth, of large Possessions both in *England* and *Normandy*, and well followed, whom he won by a Contract of giving him his only Daughter in Marriage, and the Succellion of the Kingdom of *Lemster* after him. *Fitz-Stephens*, with his half-Brother *Maurice Fitz-Gerard*, pass'd over first with a small Force, and landed at a place call'd by the *Irish* *Bagg-lun*, which in *English* signifies *Holy*; and therefore look'd upon as an Omen of good Success: Whereof it retains the Memory to this day in this Rhythm:

*At the head of Bagg and Bunni,  
Ireland was lost and won.*

The next day arriv'd *Maurice Prindergast* with two Ships full of armed Men, and Archers, to joyn with *Fitz-Stephens*, who made up together about four hundred Men. With this small Army they march'd with Banners display'd to the City of *Weisford*, in so strange a form and order, that the *Irish*, unacquainted with such an unusual form of War, and supposing them by their Front to be far more numerous than they were, were overcome with fear, and render'd up themselves to them, with their City of *Weisford*, which *Dermot* gave to *Robert Fitz-Stephens* with the Country adjoining, to encourage him, and raise the hopes of others. And here was the first Colony of the *English* settled in *Ireland*, which hath continu'd there ever since, retaining still our ancient Garb, and much of our Language, which is proper to that City, and the Country about it, call'd the *Weisford Speech*. The next Year\* they had a new Supply out of *Wales*; and after, upon news of their success, the Earl of *Pembroke* went over with two hundred armed Men, and a thousand other Soldiers, and landing at *Waterford*, takes the Town, which was then call'd *Portblarge*, and puts all the Inhabitants to the Sword, not only to terrifie others, but to make room for his own People. And here *Dermot* gave the Earl his Daughter *Eva* to Wife, with the Dowry of his Country, which after he had liv'd to undo by his Wickedness, he liv'd not long to see, but dy'd miserably, leaving nothing memorable but the infamous Name of *Ningal*, which signifies a Friend to Strangers, as a Brand of his unnatural Treachery to his own Country. The Earl, after he had gotten his Inheritance convey'd, and secured the places he had won, marches with his small Forces thro' the whole Island without resistance, *Rodericke the Great* not daring to make good his Name, nor appear in opposition to him, but kept in the Wilds and strong Holds of *Connaught*, and never met the Enemy. So that he took Pledges of the Inhabitants to secure their Obedience as he pleas'd; and with very little labour possess'd himself of *Dublin*, the head City of the Island. Thus did the *Welsh* first win the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and (which is most strange) without Battel; a thing scarce credible, that so populous a Country as *Ireland* was, and a Nation of that disposition, should not lift up any hands in their own defence; but it seems, tho' they had continual Wars almost among themselves, yet they had so little Armour and Discipline, that they were terrify'd with the Warlike Appearances of the *English*.

The King of *England* being inform'd of the great Success of the former Adventurers, began to be jealous of them, lest they should think

\* Roger Hovedon places the King's Expedition into Ireland under the Year 1171.



A. D. 1171. themselves something greater than Subjects; and therefore to stop their farther Proceedings, and gain the Glory of the Conquest of Ireland, he immediately declares that they had gone beyond their Commission, and puts out his Proclamation, 'That no Vessel should carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland; That all his Subjects there should desist from farther Attempts, and return home immediately, or else should forfeit their Estates in England. And withal, sends over William Fitz-Adelm and Robert Fitz-Bernard, with some Forces, to prepare the way for him; while he himself provided a Navy of four hundred Ships well furnish'd with Men, and all Necessaries for the Expedition at Milford Haven; from whence he sailed into Ireland, and arriv'd there eight Miles from Waterford on S. Luke's Eve, Anno 1172. being the third Year after Fitz-Stephen's Invasion. At his first landing his Soldiers caught a White Hart, and presented it to him as a Sign of his Victory. The next day he marched to Waterford, and staid there fifteen days. While he remain'd here, the Kings of Corke, Limerick, Ossery, Meth, and all of any Power in Ireland (except Roderick King of Connaught, who kept himself in the strong Holds of his own Country) came and submitted themselves with all their Clergy to him, taking an Oath of Fidelity to him and his Successors for ever; thus chusing rather to unite with a Stranger in a common Subjection, than with one another to deliver themselves from Slavery, because they had lived long in Enmity. The King went from Waterford to Dublin, where he held a great Assembly of all the Kings, Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Ireland, to assure himself more fully of their Allegiance, and to reform and order all things in the State; which when he had done, he summon'd a Convocation of the Bishops and Clergy at Cassel (to whom he appointed a Chaplain of his own, and the Archdeacon of Landaffe to be Assistants) to reform the Affairs of the Church; for tho' the Irish had been Christians long before, yet they were but a confused and disorderly Church: And therefore it was ordain'd and decreed, 'That all Church-Lands should be freed from the Exactions of Secular Men, and that for the future all Divine Things should be order'd and us'd in every part of Ireland, according to the manner of the Church of England, it being fit (as the Canon saith) that as Ireland had by God's merciful Providence obtain'd a Lord and King out of England, so also they should receive from thence a better manner of living than they had us'd before. The King having thus settled the Kingdom, kept his Christmas at Dublin, where he feasted all the Kings and great Men of the Country, gave Orders for the planting and fortifying of Garrisons where they were needful, made Hugh Lacy Justice of Ireland, and seated him in Dublin to defend it; granting him by his Charter, and his Heirs, the Country of Meth, to hold the same in Fee by the Service of an hundred Knights; to Robert Fitz-Bernard he left the keeping of the Towns of Waterford and Weisford (which he had taken from Fitz-Stephens) with a Charge to build Castles in them; and to humble Earl Strongbow, and level him with the rest of his Subjects, he took from him all his Dependents and made them his. Thus in one Winter was the Kingdom of

The King goes into Ireland to conquer it. 1172.

His Reformation of Ireland.

Ireland made subject to England, and a tolerable Settlement made, tho' it proved not very lasting; because both this, and some succeeding Kings, had such innumerable Diversions that they could not attend to the full Establishment of it.

On the Easter-Monday after he set sail from Ireland into England again, but made a very short stay there, because he had appointed the Pope's Legates, Theodinus and Albertus, to meet them in Normandy, who were sent by Pope Alexander (but in a milder way than formerly) to examine into the Murther of the late Archbishop Becket, where he was wherefore taking with him the young King, he passed over thither. Four Months were spent in debating the Matter, and in Conclusion, the King taking an Oath upon the Holy Evangelists and Saints Reliques in the Presence of his Son Henry, the Archbishop of Rouen, and the rest of the Bishops and Abbots of Normandy in the City of Avranches, That he neither had commanded, nor consented to the said Murther, cleared himself from the Charge brought against him for it: Yet because he feared, that the Persons who did murther him were moved to it either by his Passion or Words, he engag'd himself in Satisfaction for it to perform these following Articles. 1. Never to forsake Pope Alexander, nor his Successors, so long as they treated him as a Catholick King. 2. That he would freely allow Appeals to be made to the Pope in Ecclesiastical Causes, provided, That if any Man be suspected of any ill Designs against the King or Nation, he shall put in Security before his Departure. 3. That he would for three Years go in Person to the Holy Wars, unless hinder'd by the Pope or his Successors, or employ'd against the Sarazens in Spain. 4. That he should put so much Money presently into the Templars hands, as should maintain two Hundred Men in the Holy War for one Year. 5. That he should recal all that had suffer'd Banishment for the Archbishop, and restore his and their Possessions. 6. That he should abolish all Customs which had been introduced in his time, to the Prejudice of the Church. When the King had sworn to the aforesaid Concessions, he made his Son Henry to ratifie the same by Oath, except such as concern'd his own Person; and having set his Seal to them with the Cardinals, he deliver'd them to be kept in the Roman Church. Thus ended this tedious Controversie, which made such a Noise in the World, and Becket tho' he could not conquer the King while he lived, did it by his Death; having gained the Name of a Saint in Heaven by his Sufferings, and a Shrine in the Church, to which his Sovereign Lord must bow himself and pray, or else be thought a worse Enemy to him than ever: So that this obstinate Archbishop was above his Will when alive, and over his Faith when dead. But how good a Man he was may appear by this, that forty eight Years after his Decease, the Doctors of Paris disputed whether he were damn'd or sav'd; and one Roger, a Norman, maintain'd he had justly deserv'd Death, for rebelling against his Sovereign, the Vicegerent of God. After the ending of this Affair, the King, that he might pacifie all Parties, and content the King of France, had his Son Henry crown'd again with his Wife Margaret.

Shortly after these things, the young King

\* For Pope Alexander Canoniz'd him soon after this Agreement, and his Shrine was erected at Canterbury by his next Successor but one Stephen Langton, at very great Expence and Charge; and he became so famous a Saint for Miracles (no less than 270 being said to be done at his Shrine) that the Gifts at it Annually were computed worth 600 l. and the Visitants in a Jubilee an hundred thousand.

† In St. Swithin's Church in Winchester. This was done the 27th of August, before the ending of the Affair of Becket's Death; for the King purg'd himself of it at Avranches on the 27th of September following.



A. D. 1172. Henry obtain'd leave of his Father to visit Paris, and his Father-in-Law the French King; where staying some time, he imbib'd those Instructions which kindled his Ambition, and overthrew his Obedience to his Father, being taught there, that to be a King was to have a Supreme Power, and be under none; which he soon put in Practice upon this Occasion. Henry the Father, who was always watchful to lay hold of every Opportunity of advancing his own Greatness and Power, took a Journey in Person to *Auvergne*, and so to *Montferrat*<sup>a</sup>; where he purchased a Match at the Price of five thousand Marks for his youngest Son *John* with *Alice* the eldest Daughter of *Hubert*, Earl of *Maurienna* and Lord of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*, with a Condition of having all those Countries, containing many Seigniories, Cities and Castles, after her Father's decease. The King of England also assured to his Son *John* the Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodun*, and *Mirabel* at *Limoges*, where he was come after the Conclusion of the Match. While he continu'd here, *Raymond* Earl of *S. Gyles* came to him to do him Homage for the Earldom of *Tholouse* to hold it of him, and his Son *Richard* Earl of *Poitou* by Hereditary Right, by the Service of coming unto them upon Summons, and remaining in their Service forty days at their own Charge; and if they detain'd him longer, to be allow'd reasonable Expences: As also to pay Yearly one hundred Marks of Silver, or ten Horses worth ten Marks a-piece. Prince Henry was displeased at his Father's Gift to his Brother *John*, and the King of France was afraid of his great Power, who now had gotten Dominions all round him: Wherefore observing the Prince's disgust, he put him upon requesting, and that with an Importunity that would not brook a Denial, either the Dutchy of *Normandy*, Earldom of *Anjou* or Kingdom of *England* for his Maintenance, and Exercise of his Kingly Power. The Prince being ambitious put up his Request, and because he was not presently gratified, escapes from his Father, and got to *Paris*, where he was joyfully receiv'd by the French King, who had no way else to prevent the over-growing Greatness of his Neighbour, but such an unnatural Division; and to strengthen the Breach, summons all the Princes of France, and all the Friends he could make to assist King Henry the Son against the Father, and made them swear, That they would either dispossess King Henry of his Kingdoms, or bring him to their Conditions. The young King likewise swears to them never to make Peace with his Father without their Consent; and to encourage his Assistants, he engag'd to give *Philip* Earl of *Flanders* a 1000 l. a Year, with the County of *Kent*, and *Dover* and *Rocheſter* Castles; to *Matthew* Earl of *Bologne*, the said Earl's Brother, *Kerton* Soake in *Lindſey*, the Earldom of *Morton*, with the Honour of *Heize*; to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois* b 200 l. a Year in *Anjou*, the Castle of *Amboys*, with all his Right in *Tweine*, which Grants he confirm'd under his Seal, with many others, to his Followers for their Service; to the King of Scots he granted all *Northumberland* as far as the River *Tine*, and to his Brother the Earldoms of *Huntington* and *Cambridge*. Many discontented Lords both of *England* and *Normandy*, who hoped for new Advantages by Changes in State, and a broken Sovereignty, adhered to him; as *Robert*

Earl of *Leicester*, *Hugh Bigott*, *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, *Roger Mowbray*, &c. to whom he gave several large Promises of the Lion's Skin before he was dead. Queen *Eleanor* enrag'd for some Injuries done to her Bed<sup>a</sup>, like a furious *Alceſto*, blows up the Coals of War between the Father and Son; and persuading her two Sons, *Richard* and *Jeffrey*, to join in the Rebellion against their Father, made the Confederacy so strong, that the King was left destitute both of Friends and Subjects to defend his Right. Some faithful Ministers he had, yet those but very few; as *William* Earl of *Mandevile*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *Hugh de Beauchamp*, *Humphrey Bobun*, and some others: But his People forsook him so generally, that he was forced to hire twenty thousand<sup>c</sup> *Brabanſons* (which were Mercenary Soldiers, commonly called *Routs* or *Costerells*) to maintain and hold his Kingdoms. This happen'd about the 20th Year of his Reign. The King having yet the Bowels of a Father toward his Rebellious Son, sought all ways to heal the Breach, offering him all convenient Allowances for his Estate, and advantageous Conditions of Peace; but all would not do, his Sword was drawn, and nothing would satisfy him but War; and therefore with the King of France his Forces he invades *Normandy*, and besieges *Vernoul*, a Place of great Strength and Importance. The King of Scots enters *Northumberland*, and makes great Havock there. *Hugh de Lacy* and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended the Castle of *Vernoul*, and after a Month's Siege, the Citizens (being destitute of Provision) obtain a Truce of the King of France, and a Permission to send for Succours to their King, which if they could not obtain within three days, they would surrender their City, and in the mean time gave him Hostages; and on the other side, the King of France, Prince Henry, and divers other Lords and Bishops swore, That if they surrender'd the City at the day appointed, their Hostages should be restor'd, and no Harm be done to their City. King Henry the Father came with all the Forces he could gather just at the day appointed, and disposes his Army for Battel; but the King of France to avoid it, sends the Archbishop of *Sens* and Earl of *Blois* to procure a Parly, which was granted on the Morrow, but lost *Vernoul*; for the King of France neither came, nor sent to the Parly, but had admittance given him into the Town according to the Covenants, which contrary to his Oath he demolish'd, plunder'd, and taking Hostages remov'd his Camp, and left the King of England disappointed; who being inrag'd at it, pursu'd the flying Army, of which he got some Booty, enters *Vernoul*, and the next day took the Castle of *Danville*, with many Prisoners. From hence he marched to *Rouen*, and there sent his *Brabanſons* into Britain against *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, and *Ralph Fulgiers*, who had gotten that whole Country into their Power; but being not able to withstand this Army of the King's in the Field, they with all the great Men of those Parts got into the Castle of *Dole*, and fortified themselves in it; but the King following in Person besieg'd and took it, and in it about eighty Lords, besides others of Note and Valour, by which Defeat the rest of the Country was brought to yield. By this Success the King's Enemies were so much discourag'd,

Young King Henry's Voyage to Paris, and the ill Effects of it.

1173. Reg. 19.

The young King Henry rebels against his Father.

<sup>a</sup> Hovedon drew Daniel into this Mistake. The Father and Son met, according to other Authors, with *Hubert* Earl of *Maurienna* (now Part of *Savoy*) at *Glermont* in *Auvergne*; and indeed 'tis very unlikely that King Henry should go so far as *Montferrat* in Italy, to get a Wife for his Son.

<sup>b</sup> This was done at a great Council held at *Paris*, where *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, *Matthew* his Brother Earl of *Bulloign*, and *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, did Young Prince Henry Homage.

<sup>c</sup> King Henry had lately bestow'd his Affections on *Rosalund*, Daughter to the Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at his Mannour of *Woodstock*.

<sup>d</sup> Of the Province of *Brabant*.

rag'd,



A. D. 1173. Peace, which was appointed between *Guifors* and *Reg. 19. Try.* At this Treaty the King of England, tho' every way superiour, was so condescending to his Children for a Pacification sake, that he offer'd to his Son *Henry* half his Revenues of the Crown of England, with four convenient Castles; or if he had rather remain in *Normandy*, half the Revenues of that Dukedom, and the whole of the Earldom of *Anjou*, &c. To his Son *Richard* he offer'd half the Revenues of *Aquitain*, and four Castles in it. To *Jeffrey* the Earldom of *Connon*, which was to descend to him by his Wife. And if these things were not sufficient, he would submit to the Arbitration of the Archbishop of *Tarento*, and the Pope's Legates, to add any Allowance which they should in their Judgments think fit, reserving to himself his Royal Authority, and Administration of Justice. But all these fair Proposals did not satisfy: The King of France was for no Agreement, as is plain from the Indignities offer'd to the King at the Treaty; wherein 'tis said, that *Robert* Earl of *Leicester* reproached him to his Face, and attempted to draw his Sword at him. So the Meeting ended with quarrelling, and the Armies began their daily Bickerings, tho' the French had the worst. The Earl of *Leicester* with an Army gets over into England, where he was received by *Hugh Bygot* into the Castle of *Fremingham*. *Richard de Lucy* Chief Justice of England, and *Humphry Bohun* the King's Constable, being then upon the Borders of Scotland, and hearing of his arrival, made a Truce with the King of Scots, and hasten'd away with their Forces to *St. Edmundsbury*, where the Earls of *Cornwall*, *Glocester*, and *Arundel* joyn'd with them; and so they went on to encounter the Earl of *Leicester* at *Farnham*, whose Army they defeated, killing ten thousand *Flemmings*, and taking himself, Wife, and several other great Men Prisoners, whom he sent to the King in *Normandy*. In the mean time the King himself was not idle, but daily got Castles and Forts from his Enemies, until Winter constrain'd him to make a Truce till *Easter*; which also the Bishop of *Durham* did with the King of Scots, for three thousand Marks of Silver, to be paid out of the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland*.

1174. The Spring being come on, the Truce on all sides being expired, King *Henry* the Son, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, are ready at *Graveling* with a great Army for England. The King of Scots also entred *Northumberland*, and sends his Brother *David* to relieve the small Remainers of the Earl of *Leicester's* Forces, which held the Town of *Leicester*, but too late; for *Robert de Lucy* and the Earl of *Cornwall* had taken and rased the Town, and seized *Robert Mowbray* coming to help those who held out in the Castle. King *Henry* the Father seeing his Son's Preparations for England, draws off his Forces from other Employments, and brings them down to *Barbfleet*, and so pass'd over to *Southampton*, with his Prisoners, Queen *Eleanor*, *Margaret* his Son *Henry's* Wife, and the Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester*; and from thence he went to *Canterbury*, to visit his own Martyr, and perform his Vows of Victory; and some write, that when he came in sight of the Church, he alighted from his Horse, and went three Miles barefoot to it; the Stones which cut his Feet receiving bloody Tokens of his Devotion. But in recompence of this meritorious Action, they add, That the same day, when he departed

from *Canterbury*, the King of Scots was conquer'd, A. D. 1174. and taken at *Alnwick* by some Knights of *Tork-shire*, viz. *Robert de Stuteville*, *Odonel de Hum-freivile*, *William de Vesey*, *Ralph de Glanville*, *Ralph de Tilly*, and *Bernard Baliol*; and his Son *Henry* was by Tempests beat back again into France, where *Lewis* the King of France hearing of his Father's passage into England, and the taking of the King of Scots, call'd him to the Siege of *Roan*. *Henry*, after his fit of Devotion was over, being ready for business, soon quieted and settled the disorder'd State of his Nations. For he took the Castles of *Huntington*, *Fremingham*, *Bungay*, *Durham*, *Norham*, and *Alverton*; which *Hugh Bygot* and the Bishop of *Durham* resigned to him, upon his granting them his Favour and Pardon. *Ralph Mowbray* also yielded himself up with his Castle of *Treske*, *Earl Ferrers* resigned his Castles of *Tutbury*, *Duffield*; one *Ankstill*, *Mallery*, and *William Drive*, Constables of the Earl of *Leicester*, the Castles of *Leicester*, *Montforill* and *Groby*. So that within three Weeks all things were quiet without Arms. When the King had thus settled England, he being enforced with a thousand *Welshmen*, went with his Prisoners, the King of Scots, Earls of *Leicester* and *Chester*, and passes over into *Normandy* to relieve *Roan*. His *Welshmen* being first sent over the River *Seine*, made way through the French Camp by their Swords, and got into a Wood, without any loss, slaying an hundred of their Enemies; and so got into the City with the King's Forces, who open'd the Gates to provoke the French King to Battel, but in vain. For *Lewis* having sent away the weakest of his People before, follow'd after with the rest, by the permission of the King of England; of whom he got leave by the Archbishop of *Sens*, and Earl of *Blois*, to depart, under pretence of a Parly to be the next day, which he never perform'd. However the King of France seeing that all his Arts prov'd nothing advantageous, either to himself or his Confederates, he again sends the former Agents to the King of England with the same proffers of Peace, which was at last concluded between him and his Sons, but upon harder Conditions than he had proffer'd at the former; and yet upon such as shew'd the Goodness of his Nature, and Love to his Children: His whole Proceedings in this War proving, that not his Will, but Necessity moved him to Action. At the signing of the Covenant of Peace, when his Son *Henry* would have done him Homage (which is a Personal Service) he refused it, because he was a King, but of his Sons *Richard* and *Jeffrey* he accepted it: Yet *Henry*, to free his Father from all scruple, swore Fealty to him as a Subject against all Men, in the presence of the Archbishop of *Roan*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, Earl of *Mandevile*, and many others of his Nobility. At the Conclusion of this Peace the Earl of *Flanders* yielded up to King *Henry* the Father his Son's Charter of Reward for his Assistance, and had another confirm'd to him for a Pension of a thousand Marks to be paid out of England yearly upon Condition of Homage, and to find the King of England five hundred Soldiers for the space of forty days upon Summons given him. This business being ended, the Kings (Father and Son) took their progress into all the Provinces on that side of the Sea, to visit and reform the Disorders of War, and settle all Affairs; and sent *Richard* into *Aquitain*, and *Jeffrey* into *Britain* for the same purpose, and settled them there with their Council to take care of their own.

Henry goes barefoot to visit Becket's Tomb, and after settles England.

\* *Fornham*, in a Meadow near the Church of *St. Genevieve*.

\* Our Historians relate, he submitted his Back to receive eighty Lashes from the Monks and Clerks of that Church, to make full satisfaction for his Offence against their Arch-bishop *Becket*, who had been lately Canoniz'd.

\* At *Poitiers* on the 23d of September.



A. D. 1175. Shortly after the two Kings, Father and Son, return'd into England, where there was as great necessity of a Reformation of Government both in Church and State as there was in France. The King desirous to compleat both, first had a Council of the Clergy call'd under Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, in which many Enormities of the Clergy were reform'd, as may be seen in the Canons of that Synod. The King supply'd all Vacancies, and gives to John Oxenford (his chief Minister) the Bishoprick of Norwich. Then he took into his hands all the Castles he could seize, and among others the Tower of Bristol, which was surrender'd to him by the Earl of Gloucester, and was never in his hands before. The King also exacted certain Penalties of all, both Clerks and Laymen, who had in the time of the War done any Injuries to the King's Forests, for which he is accus'd of Injustice, because Richard Lucy the King's Justice; had by the King's Warrant, discharg'd them for the same; but the gain, which such Mulcts yielded him, made him the more severe. For after the Death of Alain de Nevill, who had been chief Justice of all the Forests of England, he divided them into several parts, appointing four Justices to oversee every one of them, whereof two were to be Clerks, and two Knights. And over all other Foresters he constituted two of his own Servants to be the Gamekeepers, and gave them power to implead any, according to the Laws of the Forest.

The King being at York, there came to him William King of Scots, with almost all the Nobility, Abbots, and Bishops of his Kingdom, and confirmed the Peace and final Agreement, which had been promised in his Imprisonment at Falaise in Normandy, before all the greatest Personages of both Kingdoms, the Copy of which is in Roger Hovedon. A little after a Council was held at Windsor, to which certain Irish Bishops, and the Chancellor of Rodoricke King of Connaught came, who concluded a firm Agreement for their Master, doing Homage and Fealty, and obliging him to pay a Tribute of one sufficient Hide of every ten Beasts killed within his Kingdom, and those Provinces that held of it. The same Year a Parliament was summon'd to meet at Nottingham, where, by the advice and consent of his Nobles, he caus'd the Kingdom to be divided into six parts, and appointed for each of them three Justices, who were to travel from place to place to administer Justice, causing them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists faithfully to observe, and cause to be observed by all his Majesty's English Subjects, the Statutes made at Clarendon, and renew'd at Northampton, concerning Murther, Theft, Robbery, and Receivers of such as were guilty of such Crimes, Frauds, and Burning of Houses; which Facts, if any were found guilty of by the Verdict of twelve Men, they were to pass the Tryal of Water-Ordeal; whereby, if they were not acquitted, their punishment was the loss of a Leg, or Banishment; it being held in that Age a more deterring Spectacle to see a miserable Malefactor alive than dead, for as yet they did not shed Blood in those cases. And yet we find,

that in this King's Reign one Gilbert Plumpton a Knight, being accus'd of a Rape, was condemn'd by Ranulph Glanville Chief Justice of England to be hang'd on a Gibbet; but before the Execution, it was discover'd, that Glanville did it out of a design of getting his Wife, a great Heiress, for one Reinor Sheriff of Yorkshyre; and so by the Clamours of the People, and Authority of Baldwin Bishop of Worcester he was saved, till his Innocency was clear'd to the King, who thereupon stopp'd the Sentence. This Act of Injustice leaves a foul Blot upon the Memory of Glanville, though he was a chief Instrument in composing that Body of the Laws and Customs of England that pass under his Name.

The Charge given at the Assizes at this time consist'd but of very few points, besides the Felonies aforesaid, and was especially for taking Homage and Allegiance of the King's Subjects, demolishing Castles, securing the King's Rights of his Crown and Exchequer. The multitude of Actions which arose in succeeding Ages proceed'd from new Crimes, and increasing of Laws and Contests, which were then but in the Cradle. This Year the King of Sicily sent and craved to have the King's Daughter Joanna in Marriage; and Henry having taken the advice of his Parliament, which he call'd on purpose, granted his Request; and shortly after sent her to him, who honourably endow'd her with many Cities and Castles in his Isle. But the great Match which the King had provided for his Son John, was at this time broken off by Death, and he was marry'd to the Daughter of William Earl of Gloucester, by whom he was to have that Earldom. This William was the Son of the famous Duke of Gloucester, who being natural Brother to Maud the Empress, so strenuously assert'd her Right. The same Year he marry'd Eleanor, another of his Daughters, to Alphonso King of Castile, and determin'd a Controversie between him and his Uncle Sanctio King of Navarre, about the detaining of certain parts of each others Kingdom, he being chosen Arbitrator between them. Likewise the Marriage between his Son Richard, and Alice the Daughter of the French King (who was trusted to his Care and Keeping) was again treated on, and urged by the Pope's Legates, to be consummated upon pain of Interdiction; but it was deferr'd, tho' both Kings entred into a perpetual League, both Offensive and Defensive, and vow'd an Expedition into the Holy Land together, which they never liv'd to perform.

The King of France in a dangerous Sickness of his Son Philip vow'd to visit the Sepulchre of Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury, and by a License from the King of England, and promise of safe Conduct, perform'd the same with great Devotion, and gave rich Presents, viz. Offering upon his Tomb a massy Cup of pure Gold, and giving and confirming to the Monks 3600 Sextaries of Wine yearly (a Sextary is two Gallons of English Measure) to be deliver'd to them at Poissi, at the French King's Charge, and besides freed them from all Toll and Custom for whatsoever they should buy in his Kingdom. He stay'd in England three

\* The King of the Scots came to York in August, 1175. By this Treaty Roxburgh, Berwick, Gedworth, Edenburgh, and Sterling Castles were deliver'd to King Henry. In this Charter of Peace, which is at large in Hovedon, 'tis expressly mention'd, that the King of Scots did Homage to the King of England for all Scotland. The Council at Windsor was held about Michaelmas, 1175. The Council at Nottingham was held on the 25th of January, in the next Year 1176. They arriv'd about Whitsuntide, Anno 1176. Reg. Hen.

† The Earl of Gloucester left all his Estate to John the King's youngest Son, on Condition he marry'd Hawise the Earl's youngest Daughter. Some Authors place this Marriage in the first Year of Richard III. Anno 1189. Her five eldest Sisters had Penfions allow'd them.

‡ Rad. de Diceto, and others, relate, That the Princess Eleanor, who was then but seven Years old, was marry'd to King Alphonso in 1169.

§ This Controversie was debated and determin'd by the Great Council of the Nation, but the King had the Honour of it, and Judgment was not given till the next Year, 1177.



A. D. Months, and then return'd into France, being 1179. conducted by the King of England to Dover. What Reg. 25. Effect this Journey had upon the Recovery of the Son, 'tis easie to conjecture; but 'tis certain, that it wrought most upon the aged King, who was no sooner come to S. Denis, but he was taken with a Palfie, and died of it within a few days; yet foreseeing his Death, he caus'd his Son to be crown'd, tho' then but fifteen Years of Age, which was done at Reimes, Anno Dom. 1179.

The Duke of Saxony banish'd by the Emperour.

Henry Duke of Saxony, who had married Maud the King's Daughter, was expell'd from his Dutchy, and banish'd by the Emperour Fredericke for seven Years; because he detain'd certain Revenues from the Archbishop of Cologne, which were payable to him out of Saxony, and refused to come to a Tryal about it at the Imperial Chamber, according to his Faith and Promise made to the Emperour: So that he was forced to come with his Wife and Children to his Father-in-Law the King of England for Assistance, and remain'd with him three Years, till the Archbishop of Cologne coming to visit the Sepulchre of S. Thomas of Canterbury, the King so pacified the Archbishop, that he was restor'd to his Dutchy, and a Contract of Marriage made between Richard the King's Son and the Emperour's Daughter; which notwithstanding the Pre-contract made with Alice the French King's Daughter, had been consummated, had not Death prevented. King Henry also sends his Son John to reside in Ireland, thinking that the Majesty of a Court, and Gallantry of his Attendants might both awe and civilize that rude Country; but he being accompanied with many young Men, who had more Wit than Judgment, did more Harm there than Good. For the jocular Courtiers scorning and deriding the Irish for their rude Habits and Fashions so anger'd the Natives, that three of their most potent Kings, viz. of Limerick, Connaught, and Corke, fell into open Rebellion; for as Cambrensis says, 'Tho' Barbarous Nations are ignorant of Honours, yet they affect to be honour'd above measure, and are quickly touch'd and incens'd with any Signs of Disgrace and Contempt, but their Anger was soon allay'd'.

The King's Arts to fill his Treasures and enrich himself.

Henry enjoying now days of Peace, employ'd himself to find out all means possible to fill his Treasury, and watched all Occasions to enrich himself; and the first thing he attempted this way, was this. Roger Archbishop of York dy'd very rich, and in his Sickness dispos'd of very great Sums by Will to godly Uses; which as soon as the King had Intelligence of, he sent Commissioners to seize them for his Use, because as he alledg'd, he had acted against a Canon of his own making; which was, *That it is against Law for any Ecclesiastical Person to dispose of any thing by Will, unless before he were sick.* The Commissioners in Prosecution of their Office having found out, that Hugh Bishop of Durham had receiv'd three hundred Marks of Silver of the Archbishop's Money to be bestow'd in those Uses, demanded the same for the King; but the Bishop said, 'He had dispos'd of the Money according to the Archbishop's Will to the Leprous, Blind and Hospitals; and in repairing Churches, Bridges and Lame; and if they would have the Money, they must take it of them: Which round Answer so displeased the King, that he seiz'd upon his Castle of Durham, and brought him into many Troubles. The King's Revenues (besides his

Demefins and the Benefit of his Forests) were but A. D. small in England, which caus'd him sometimes to 1180. make bold with the Church, and keep the Bi-Reg. 26. shopricks and Benefices vacant, as he did that of Lincoln eighteen Years. He made a new Coin in England, and cry'd down the old, fining all the Corrupters of the Coin very heavily: And because the Charge of Horfe and Armour was very burthenfome to him, to save his own Purse he caus'd every Man's Lands and Estate to be rated for the furnishing out of them. This Method he began to take first in his Dominions beyond Sea; where he order'd, 'That all that had 100 l. of Anjouin Money in Goods and Chattels, should find an Horfe, and all Military Furniture belonging to it; and all that had 40, 30, or 20 l. of Anjouin Money, should find a Croslet, Head-piece, and Sword, or a Bow and Arrows, with a strict Prohibition, That no Man should sell or pawn his Armour, but leave it when he died, to his next Heir: And this Constitution he establish'd in England by the Consent of his Parliament. The King of France and the Earl of Flanders, much liking his politick Invention, made the like Constitutions in their Country. But notwithstanding all his Arts of getting and saving, he could hardly get much more than to supply his large Expences, which he was oblig'd to be at in so large Dominions, for Entertainments, Pensions and Rewards, Buildings and Fortifications, besides his extraordinary Disbursements, which either for Honour or Policy he was forced to; for he was often fain to bribe the Pope's Legates, to make them favourable to him in the Business he had with the King of France, about sending such Supplies to the Holy War, as might be sufficient, and for his Reputation. In the Year 1182. he reliev'd the Necessities of the Christians at Jerusalem with a Royal Bounty, giving them forty two thousand Marks of Silver and five hundred Marks of Gold, which is in our Money 47333 l. 6 s. 8 d. And when Pope Lucius, being reduced to very great Streights by the People of Rome, desired his Assistance, he sent him a very great Sum of Gold and Silver, which he levied of the Clergy, partly at their own Desire: For when the Pope's Nuncio's came to desire the same, they went to the King and advis'd him, 'That he should supply his Wants, as he thought was convenient for his Honour, both for himself and them; because it was better that their King should receive any Imposition laid upon them than the Pope, lest it should be an ill President, and beget a Custom, which may prove of very great Detriment to the Kingdom.

The Peace made between the two Kings, the Father and Son, had now continu'd about eight Years, when a fresh Quarrel broke out between them upon this Occasion, as far as can be gather'd from the uncertain Relations of those Times. In the 29th Year of his Reign he kept his Christmas at Cane in Normandy, and feasted most magnificently his Sons, Henry, Richard, and Jeffrey, with the Duke of Saxony, his Wife and Children, and all the Nobility of those Parts. At this Meeting the King advis'd his Son Henry to take the Homages of his Brothers Richard Earl of Poitou, and Jeffrey Earl of Britain. Richard at first refused to do it, but upon Persuasion offer'd it, but was then refused: Whereupon he departed into Anjou from his Father's Court, to fortifie and furnish his Castles there. The King his Bro-

\* Prince John did not go for Ireland till the Year 1185. He was still'd King of that Island, and had a Crown of Peacocks Feathers, interwoven with Gold, sent him by Pope Lucius the 3d.



A. D. 1183. Reg. 29. ther follows him, being put upon it by the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitain*, who deserted *Richard*, asensible that he could not long hold his Dominions against his Brother's Power and better Title; and *Jeffrey*, Earl of *Britain*, joyned his Forces with the King his Brother. *Richard* being over-power'd, sent for Assistance to his Father, who immediately came into *Poitou*, not to make War, but constrain his three Sons to a Peace, with a powerful Army; by which he soon effected it, and brought them to swear Obedience to him, and to live in Peace one with another, which was ratified not long after at *Mirabel*, and the Barons of *Poitou*, and *Aquitain* at the Desire of *Henry* (who had sworn to defend them against his Brother *Richard*) included in it, and *Richard* made to promise them a Pardon for all Acts formerly committed, *Jeffrey* Earl of *Britain* being sent to bring them in to joyn in it. But the Barons, judging this Peace either not safe or unprofitable, were so far from complying, that they over-persuaded *Jeffrey* to assist them against his Father, and kept him with them. *Henry* the Son notwithstanding, still mediates for them with his Father and Brother, to receive them into Favour; and undertaking to bring them in, with his Brother *Jeffrey*, is permitted by his Father to go and treat with them at *Limoges*. The King himself, desirous to confer with his Sons and compose this Quarrel, came, as was agreed, another way: But they both met with an unwelcome Reception, the Father being in very great Danger of being shot twice; and the Son not being able to prevail with them to submit after repeated Tenders of Pardon and Favour. This Obstinacy of the Barons so troubled the young King, that upon his return to his Father, he protested that he would renounce them, if they would not come and yield themselves to his Mercy; and as if he had resolv'd to forsake their Party, gave his Father fresh Assurances of his own firm Adherence to him, by delivering up to him his Horse and Armour. But he continued not in his Fidelity many days; for either thro' the Instigation of some disaffected Ministers about him, or else because he saw his Father intended a severe Revenge upon them, whom he had promised to secure, but he could not do it if he stay'd with him, he again enters into a League with them. But finding his Power to come far short of his Design, and despairing of Success, he burst out into an extravagant Passion before his Father, and falling down before *S. Martial's* Shrine, vow'd to take upon him the Cross, and give over all Worldly Business, and unless he would give him leave (without which he could not go) he would instantly kill himself. His Father being amaz'd at this sudden and strange Passion, first asked him, Whether any Discontent or Religious Zeal had induc'd him to make this Vow: The Son protests, That it was merely to obtain the Remission of those Sins he had committed against his Person. His Father much dissuaded him from this Purpose; but finding him very obstinate, and resolv'd after all the Arguments he could use, he said unto him, 'Son, God's Will be done, and your's: If you will go, I will take care to fit you out according to your Greatness and State. The Son (while his Fa-

ther was pliable) besought him to deal mercifully with the Barons, who held out the Castle of *Limoges* against him; and by Importunity obtained it, upon condition, That they should give him Pledges for their Fidelity for the future, which they seem'd contented to do. But in the Performance of the Condition, some who were against this Peace made such Disturbances, that all former Tenders and Conclusions were broken; and the young Princes fell again into open Rebellion with their Confederates against him, and being made Heads of the Faction, were forced to commit Theft and Sacrilege to support their Adherents. The Father immediately besieges *Limoges*; and the Son, who was engag'd against him very unwillingly, fell into a Fever and Flux, which was caused by the Grief and Vexation of his Mind, by which in few days he died. A Prince of excellent Parts, but ruin'd by his Father's Indulgence and Rigour; who never suffer'd him to be a King, tho' he made him one by his Coronation, putting those Desires of Majesty in his Heart which he was forced to break, that he might suppress them. The King was extremely grieved at the Death of his Son, but did not desist from his Revenge he had begun against the Barons of *Aquitain*, whom he furiously prosecuted, seiz'd on their Castles, and rased that of *Limoges* to the Ground. *Jeffrey* upon his Submission was again receiv'd into Favour, but dy'd the next Year at *Paris*, being in a Tournament there trodden to Death by Horses: And thus *Henry* liv'd to see half his Male-issue extinct before him, and that by Deaths as violent as their Dispositions. The other two indeed surviv'd him, but were no less miserable in their Ends, as this ensuing Story will shew.

*Philip* the Second, King of *France*, being now seated upon his Father's Throne (and able to effect more than his Father could) soon after the Death of King *Henry* the Son, requires that the Country of *Vexin*, which was given in Dower with his Sister *Margaret*, should be restored; but the King of *England* (who never car'd to part with any thing in his Possession) chose rather to pay Yearly seventeen thousand and fifty Pounds *Anjouin* to Queen Dowager, than to part with it. And because he saw this Prince to be of an high Spirit and very active, and so likely to give him Disturbance in his old Age, he did Homage to him for all his Dominions he had in *France* (which he never would do to his Father, and was the first time he ever stoop'd to any Earthly Power) and sided with him against *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, a potent Prince in those days; who had always held a fair Correspondence with *Lewis*, but was at Variance with *Philip*, because he required of him the Country of *Vermandois*, as belonging to his Crown, divorcing his Wife, Niece to the Earl, upon an Allegation indeed of Consanguinity, but most for her Relation to him. The Earl being joyned with *Odo* Earl *Burgogne*, the Earls of *Champagne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur*, *S. Poll*, and others, raised War upon *Philip*, and made such havock in his Country, that he was forced to agree a Peace to his own Disadvantage. Soon after this the Kings of *England* and *France* met between *Gifon* and *Try*, and the King of *England* having sworn, that he would deliver *Alice* the

The Young King Henry and his Father reconciled, and again at Enmity.

The Young King's Death and Character.

Jeffrey's Death. 1184.

Philip the Second King of France his Contest with King Henry and the Earl of Flanders.

\* *Rad. de Diceto* writes, they were discontented with him for his severe Government.  
 \* *Henry* and *Jeffrey* had seiz'd the Castle of *Limoges*, and shut out the King; who coming near the Castle to treat with them, the young Princes Guards shot at him, and an Arrow had certainly pierc'd his Heart if his Horse had not by chance toss'd up his Head and receiv'd it in his Forehead.  
 \* The French Historians affirm he dy'd of a Fever, and that it was not till the Year 1186.  
 \* It is 1750 l. only in *Reg. Hov.* Mr. *Daniel* has corrected it, and made it 17050 *Anjouin* Pounds; for 1750 l. of that Money would be a small Joynture for a Princess, an *English* Shilling was then of the same Value with 2 d. of *Anjou* Money.



A. D. 1185. *French King's Sister to his Son Richard to Wife,* the King of *France* granted her in Dower the Reg. 31. Country of *Vexin*, as her Sister *Margaret* had before. But these Tyes held not long. The young King of *France* having contracted so great a Familiarity with *Richard* the King's Son, that one Bed and Board is said to have held them, so stirred up the Jealousie of the old King, that he sent for his Son home, and caused him to swear upon the Evangelists to preserve his Fidelity to him against all Persons whatsoever. The King of *France* seeing this, laid hold upon the old Cause to pick a Quarrel, and threaten'd that he would invade and destroy *Normandy*, unless he would either deliver his Sister to *Richard* forthwith, or resign *Gisors* and the Country of *Vexin* into his hands. The news of this Action brought the two Kings to another Parly between *Gisors* and *Try*, to settle matters in difference between them, but never came to any mention of them. For the Archbishop of *Tyre* (who came from the East to obtain assistance against the *Turks* in the Holy War) did with that Zeal and Earnestness of Persuasion urge that business, that these two great Princes let fall all Contentions between themselves, and with joynt consent resolved to undertake that laborious and dangerous Expedition against the Infidels.

Philip and Henry's Resolution for the Holy War.

Their Preparations for their Expedition.

A Parliament to raise a Tax for the Holy War.

And now such was the Zeal of these two Kings, that nothing was thought, or talk'd on, but preparations for that War. They agreed to raise each of them a strong Army; and for a mark of Distinction among their Followers and People it was agreed upon, that the King of *England* should wear a White Cross, the *French* a Red, and the *Flemmings* a Green. And as a farther Engagement in this Business, the King of *England* wrote to the Patriarch of *Antioch* a most comfortable and pious Letter, concluding with these words: 'That among other Princes, he himself, and his Son, rejecting the Glory of this World, and despising all the Pleasures thereof, in their own Persons, and with all their strength; did intend, God willing, to visit them shortly. To raise Money to defray the great Expence of this Undertaking, it was ordain'd by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and other in both their Dominions in *France*, that all Persons, as well of the Clergy as Laity, (except only such as went with them) should pay the tenth part of all their Lands for that Year, and of all their Moveables and Chattels, as well in Gold as Silver. And besides they made many excellent Orders for the restraint of all Excesses in Meat, Drink, and Apparel, as was convenient for the Undertakers of so good and devout an Action. The King of *England* having laid these Impositions upon his Dominions in *France*, comes over into *England*, and calls a Parliament of his Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, and others both of the Clergy and Laity, at *Gayntington*, and by their consent imposes the same Tax upon all his Subjects in *England*; and presently sends Reg. 32. forth Collectors into every Shire to gather it, as he had done in *France*. But in all the Cities of *England* he sought out the Richest Men, as in *London* two hundred, *Tork* an hundred, and proportionably in the rest; which at a Time and Place appointed he summon'd to appear before him, and took of them the tenth part of all their Moveables, as they were rated to him by credible Men, who knew their Estates; and if any refused to pay, he imprison'd them till

they did: In which Exaction, Piety bore him out, otherwise 'twould not have been endured in those times. The King also sent *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresm*, with other Commissioners, to *William* King of *Scots*, to collect the like Tenths in his Country; which that King would not allow of, but offer'd to give the King of *England* five thousand Marks of Silver, and a Castle, which he claim'd, but the King of *England* refused the same.

Whilst these Preparations were making, and Money collecting, a Quarrel happen'd between *Richard* Earl of *Poitou*, and *Raymond* Earl of *Tboloufe*, which blasted their whole Design, and that upon this occasion: The Earl of *Tboloufe*, by the Persuasion of one *Peter Suillar*, had taken certain Merchants of *Aquitain*, and used them very hardly. The Earl of *Poitou* being displeased at it, surprizes *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earl of *Tboloufe* to redeem him upon any Condition. Whereupon that Earl imprisons two Gentlemen, Servants of the King of *England*, *Robert* and *Ralph Poer*, who were travelling through his Country, as Pilgrims from *St. James of Compostella*; which Earl *Richard* took so ill, that he immediately entred *Tboloufe* with an Army, which he had prepared for a better design, destroys the Country with Fire and Sword, and took several Castles. The People and Earl of *Tboloufe*, not able to oppose *Richard's* Forces, made their Complaints to the King of *France*, who sends to the King of *England* to know, whether his Son *Richard* had done this by his advice or consent? The King answer'd, That he had given neither to his Son; but that his Son had sent him word by the Archbishop of *Doublin*, that he did it with the consent of the King of *France*. This that King look'd upon as a delusory Answer; and therefore presently enters *Berry*, seizes on that Country, and takes divers Castles belonging to the King of *England*. This Act of Hostility broke all measures laid for the Holy War, and they fell into open and violent Wars between themselves. The Pope by his Legates, and many other Princes, endeavour'd to reconcile these enraged Kings, and brought them to many interviews, but all to no purpose; they went away usually greater Enemies than they came. The Pope's Legates looking upon the *French* King the cause of this lamentable Breach, threaten'd him, unless he would make a Peace with the King of *England*, to interdict him; but the *French* King told them, he feared not their Sentence, being grounded upon no Equity, and it not belonging to the Church of *Rome* by any Sentence to hinder the King of *France* from chastizing his Rebellious Subjects; and added, *That they smelt of the Sterlings of England*. This produced a worse effect than any thing that had hitherto been done. For the King of *England* upon this Occasion utterly refusing to give *Alice*, the *French* King's Sister, to *Richard*, tho' he offer'd to give her to his Son *John* with larger Conditions, so angered his Son *Richard*, that he fell to the King of *France*, did Homage to him for the Dukedom of *Aquitain*, and joyn'd his Forces with him against his Father. This quite broke the Heart of the King of *England*, and as if he had been wholly deserted of his ancient Courage, as well as of many of his Subjects, buckles to any Conditions, leaves the Defence of *Mans*, (which he had undertaken by Oath never to forsake, by reason it was the Tomb of his Father) and flies away with seven hundred Men; and afterward did Homage to the King of

\* The Assembly met at *Gayntington*, now *Gayton*, about ten Miles from *Northampton*, in *January* 1188. Reg. Hen.  
 \* He did Homage for his Transmarine Dominions on *St. Nicholas's-day*, Anno 1183. almost six Years before.



A. D. 1189. *France* for all his Dominions on that side the Sea, renders up *Alice* to his Son *Richard*, upon Condition she should be marry'd to him when he return'd from the Holy War, and in the mean time to remain in the Custody of any one of such five as the King of *England* should nominate; grants Fealty should be given to *Richard* of all his Dominions, and pardons all his adherents, covenants to pay the King of *France* twenty thousand Marks in Silver, as a reparation of the Damages he had sustain'd the last War. And as if he had been affrighted out of his Reason and Wit at those Thunderclaps, which are said to have happen'd at some Interviews between himself and King of *France*, he permitted, that in case he should not perform these Articles, his Barons should swear to renounce him, and betake themselves to the King of *France* and Earl *Richard*; and for more security, he yielded up the Cities of *Mons* and *Turain*, with divers other Castles into their hands, &c. And thus having concluded this business, he ended also his Life three days after, the greatness of his Heart not being able to stoop under the weight of his declining Fortune, and therefore with grief and sorrow broke. Some few hours before he dy'd he saw a List of their Names, who had conspired against him with the King of *France* and his Son *Richard*; and finding among them his Son *John* to be the first, he fell into a very extravagant Passion, cursing his Son's and his own Birth, and in that Fit of Anger departed the World, which he had so often disturb'd, having reign'd thirty five Years, seven Months, and five Days. After he was dead, and was carrying to be buried (adorned, according to the manner of Kings, with all Royal Ornaments open fac'd) when his Son *Richard* drew near his Body, the Blood gushed out of the Nostrils (which being usually noted, as a Sign of Guiltiness) may rightly be account-

ed as a Voice of Nature giving notice of the Wrongs and unnatural Offences *Richard* had done to him, which was so interpreted by *Richard* himself, for at the Sight of it being surpriz'd, he is said to have burst out into extream Sorrow and Lamentations. He had by his Wife *Eleanor* several Children, viz. four Sons; *Henry*, *Richard*, *Jeffrey*, and *John*, besides two, viz. *William* the eldest, and *Philip* the youngest but one, which dy'd young; and three Daughters, viz. *Maud*, married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, *Eleanor*, who was given to *Alphonso* VIII. King of *Castile*, and *Joanna*, who was married to *William* King of *Sicily*. He had also two Natural Sons by his Concubine Fair *Rosamond*, Daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, viz. *William* surnam'd *Longespee* or *Long-Sword*, and *Jeffrey* Archbishop of *Tork*, who after five Years Banishment in his Brother King *John*'s time, died *Anno Dom.* 1213. The other Son *William Longespee*, who was Earl of *Salisbury* in Right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and only Heiress of *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, Son of *Patrick*, had Issue *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Stephen* Earl of *Ulster*, *Ela* Countess of *Warwick*, *Ida* Lady *Beauchamp* of *Bedford*, and *Isabel* Lady *Vesey*. It is said, that King *Henry* had a third Natural Son call'd *Morgan*, by the Wife of one *Rodolph Bloeth*, or *Blewit*, a Knight. He liv'd to be Provost of *Beverly*, and was elected to the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and coming to *Rome* for a Dispensation (because his Bastardy made him incapable of it) the Pope advis'd him to profess himself as *Blewit*'s Lawful Son, and not the King's Natural, promising him to consecrate him on that Condition; but he (by the Counsel of one *William Lane* his Chaplain) told the Pope plainly, that he would not renounce his Father, or deny himself to be of the Royal Blood to gain the greatest Earthly Promotion.

His Issue by Queen Eleanor, and Natural Children.

## REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Henry II.

IN the 6th Year of his Reign thirty German Hereticks came into *England* to propagate their Opinions: One *Gerard* was their Teacher. They said they were Christians, but deny'd Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Matrimony; for which they were condemn'd by a Council of Bishops at *Oxford*, and deliver'd over to the Secular Power to be punish'd: Accordingly they were mark'd in the Forehead with a red hot Iron, whipp'd and thrust out of Doors naked in the midst of Winter: Where none daring to relieve them, an Order having been publish'd to the contrary, they dy'd of Hunger and Cold, and were the first that ever suffer'd for Heresie in *England*.

In his 14th Year *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln* dy'd, and the King kept his See vacant seventeen Years, himself all that while receiving the Revenues of that Diocess. Hol.

In his 18th Year a mighty Tempest happen'd in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and three Men were kill'd by Thunder and Lightning, at *Andover* in *Hampshire*, on Christmas-Day. Hol.

The same Year as King *Henry* was about to take Horse at *Cardiffe* in *Glamorganshire*, an Apparition appear'd to him; and having threaten'd him with some dreadful Plagues if he did not amend his Life, it vanish'd. Ibid.

The next Year this Infamous Collect was order'd to be us'd in all Churches in the Province of *Canterbury*, to expiate the Guilt of *Becket*'s Murther.

Be favourable, good Lord, to our Supplication and Prayer; that we which acknowledge our selves guilty of Iniquity, may be deliver'd by the Intercession of Thomas thy Blessed Martyr and Bishop. Ibid.

In his 23d Year it rain'd Blood in the Isle of *Wight* for two days. Ibid.

In his 26th Year, on the 18th of *June*, after Sun-set, the New Moon then shining out fair with her Horns to the East, the upper Horn on a sudden seem'd to be divided into two; out of which there appear'd to rise a burning Brand, casting forth Sparks and Flames as if it had been on fire. The Body of the Moon seem'd to wriggle like an Adder that is beaten: It did so above twelve

\* King *Stephen* dy'd the 25th of *October*, 1154. and King *Henry* the Second the 6th of *July*, 1189. and dating the Commencement of King *Henry*'s Reign from the Day of *Stephen*'s Death, he reign'd thirty four Years, eight Months, and nineteen Days.

\* Sir *Ralph Blewit*.



times, and then turn'd black. In September, the Moon being about twenty seven days old, at six a Clock a Partile Eclipse of the Sun happen'd; its Body appear'd to be horn'd, the Horns shooting towards the West, as the Moon does at twenty days old: The rest of it was cover'd with a black Roundel, which coming down by little and little, threw about the horn'd Brightness that remain'd, till both the Horns hung down on either side towards the Earth; and as the black Roundel went a little forwards, the Horns turn'd to the West, and the Blackness passing away, the Sun recover'd his former Brightness. *Hol.*

In the Christmas Holidays, Anno 1179. the 26th of Henry II. says *Rog. Hov.* near *Derlington*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, at a place call'd *Oxen-Hall*, the Earth rais'd it self up like a lofty Tower, and remain'd several Hours in that posture; on a sudden it sunk down again with a horrid Noise, and the Earth so suck'd it in, that it made there a deep Pit, which continues to this day. And *Mr. Camden*, in his *Britannia*, new Edit. p. 774. supposes it to be the Wells that are now call'd *Hell-Kettles*.

In the Year 1185. there was so great an Earthquake as overthrew the Church of *Lincoln*, and other Churches. There was also almost a total Eclipse of the Sun.

In the 34th Year of his Reign a Crucifix was seen in the Air at *Dunstable*, and Streams of Blood seem'd to flow out of the Wounds of the Feet, Hands and Side; 'twas visible several Hours. *Hol.*

In the last Year of this King, *Mr. Holinshead* (who is apt to take too much notice of these things) reports, That the Fish leap'd out of the Water in a Pool in *Normandy*, and fought together on dry Land, with such noise as drew the neighbouring People to behold this Wonder; which, it seems, was in the Night-time.

Men Famous in Arms in this King's Reign were

*Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Hugh Bygot* Earl of *Norfolk*, *Reginald* Earl of *Cornwall*, *Robert Ferrers* Earl of *Derby*, *Richard Lacy*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Ralph de Fulgiers*, *Humphry Bobun* Constable of *England*, *William Vesey* and *Bernard de Baliol*.

Those that follow were Renown'd for their Learning, Viz.

*Ralph Glanville* the Lawyer, *Nicholas Breakspear*, who was Pope by the Name of *Adrian* the

Fourth, *Gilbert de Sempringham*, *John Serlo*, surnam'd *Grammaticus*, Abbot of *Fountains*, *John* Prior of *Hagulstad* or *Hexam* in *Northumberland*.

Historians: *Adam* of *Evesham*, *Thomas* of *Monmouth*, *John* of *Salisbury* in great Favour with the King: *Adelbertus Levita*, *Gervaise* of *Cicester*, *Odo* of *Kent*, *Clement* Prior of *Lanthyony*, *Walter Daniell*, *Robert Knoughr*, *Robert Foliot*, *William Ramsey*, *Senatus Bravonus*, *Robert* the Scribe, *Odo Miremutb*, *Hugh* of *Reading*, *Richard* of *Dover*, *William* of *Peterborough*, and *Bartolomew Iscanus*.

# THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD I.

Richard began his Reign, July 6.

A. D. 1189.  
Reg. I.

**R**ICHARD, surnam'd *Cœur de Lion*, Earl of *Poitou*, (born at *Oxford*) succeeded his Father in all his Dominions, and first seizes upon his Treasures in *France*, which being then in the Custody of one *Stephen Thurnham*, Seneschal of *Normandy*, he imprison'd the Treasurer, that he might by Severities extort the full Sums in his Hands; which having gotten, he departed to *Roan*, where he was girded with the Sword of *Normandy*, by *Walter* Archbishop there, and took Fealty of the Clergy and Laity. Then he went to the King of *France* to agree with him about the Restitution of some parcels of his Dominions, which had been taken from his Father in the late Wars, which

he obtain'd not by his old Friendship, but his Money; and to confirm a lasting Amity between them, he gave his Niece *Maud*, the Daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Jeffrey* the Earl of *Perch's* Son. While he continu'd in *France* to settle his Affairs there, Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, whom he had freed from a long Imprisonment of twelve Years, and put into Power in his absence, endeavour'd to prepare his People's Affections for his coming into *England*, by issuing out Pardons, and relieving Oppressions; and at last went to meet him at *Winchester*, and welcome him into *England*. Soon after his arrival (besides the great Sum which came to him by his Father's Treasure, which is said to have been nine hundred thousand Pound in

A. D. 1189.  
Reg. I.

His great Treasures and Coronation.

\* This said, he was Seneschal of *Anjou*, and sent over to *Winchester*, where he was kept in Prison, in Fetters of thirty Pounds weight, till he had paid thirty thousand Pounds of *Anjouin* Money down, and given Security for fifteen thousand more.

<sup>b</sup> Archbishop of *Roan*.

<sup>c</sup> He gave him four thousand Marks above the twenty thousand his Father had agreed to pay the French King.

<sup>d</sup> *Matt. Paris* writes, There was found ninety thousand Pounds in Money, besides Jewels and other Treasures.





A. D.  
1189.  
Reg. I.

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A. D. 1189. Gold and Silver, with abundance of Plate, Jewels and precious Stones) there fell to him by the Reg. 1. Death of *Jeffrey Riddle* Bishop of *Ely*, dying intestate, three thousand and sixty Marks of Silver, and two hundred and five of Gold, which befel him in a fit season to defray the Charge of his Coronation, which was perform'd a little after, viz. September 3. 1189. at *Westminster* by *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. On his Coronation there happen'd an unlucky Accident, which stain'd that Day with Blood. The Jews inhabiting about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, desirous to gain the Favour of the new King, came to offer their Presents, as an afflicted People in a strange Country; but the Rabble, who before were incens'd against them, set upon them, and in a tumultuous manner so used them, that they lost both their Lives and Money; and their Example was follow'd in the Towns of *Norwich*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford*, and *Lin.*

The Jews massacred.

His Expedition into the Holy Land, and his Provisions for it.

After his Coronation he resum'd the Thoughts of his Expedition to *Jerusalem*, and resolv'd to go through with it. The great Treasure which was left him by his Father was not thought sufficient to defray the Expence of that Action, and therefore he contriv'd all the Ways he could to raise more Money. And first he sold many of the Crown-Lands both to the Clergy and others: *Godfrey de Lucy* Bishop of *Winchester* bought two Manours, *Weregrave* and *Menes*; the Abbot of *St. Edmundsbury* the Manour of *Mildball* for a thousand Marks of Silver; the Bishop of *Durham* the Manour of *Sadborough*, with the Palatinate Dignity of the whole Province, which gave occasion to that Jocosse Speech of his concerning that Bishop, That he was a cunning Workman, that could make a New Earl of an old Bishop. He also granted to *William* King of *Scots* the Castles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough* for ten thousand Marks, and gave him a Release from those Covenants made and confirmed by Charter to King *Henry II.* as extorted from him by force while he was a Prisoner; but reserving to himself such Rights as were and had been perform'd by his Brother *Melcolm* to his Ancestors the Kings of *England*. Farther, pretending that his Signet was lost, he made a new one, and put out a Proclamation, That whoever would enjoy peaceably the Grants made under the former Seal, must have them confirm'd by the New; by which means he brought in great Sums of Money to the grief of his Subjects. Then he procur'd a Power from the Pope of dispensing with such Persons as had vow'd to take the Cross, and were not willing to go, he got great Fines of them. All which Momes he levy'd with great Expedition, because the King of *France* in November after his Coronation, had sent the Earl of *Perch*, with other Commissioners, to acquaint King *Richard*, that in a general Assembly at *Paris* he had solemnly sworn upon the Evangelists to be ready at *Tours*, with all his Princes and People who had undertaken the Cross, upon Easter-day following, and from thence to set forward to the Holy Land; and to assure him of this his Resolution, he sent a Charter of their Agreement, desiring the King of *England* to send him the same assurance to meet him at the same Time and Place; which the King did at a general Assembly held at *London*. In December, the King, having stay'd but four Months in *England* after his Coronation, departs into *Normandy*, kept

his Christmas at *Rouen*; and presently had a Conference with the King of *France* at *Reims*, where both themselves, and most of the Nobility of both Kingdoms, enter'd into a firm Peace and Union one with another, to preserve each other, and their Estates; and agreed upon many Orders for their Journey. These things being settled, *Richard* sent for Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, his Brother *John*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Salisbury*, *Ely*, *Chester*, and others, who came unto him at *Rouen*, where he committed the chief Charge of the Kingdom to *William Longchamp* Bishop of *Ely*, under the Title of Chief Justice of *England*, and gave him one of his Seals, and the Custody of the Tower of *London*; and conferr'd upon *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* the supream Command of the North, from *Humber* to *Scotland*, and the keeping of *Windsor-Castle*, which proved after a cause of Quarrel between these two ambitious Prelates, who were impatient of each others Greatness. *Hugh Bardulph*, *William Marshall*, *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, and *William Brewer*, were joyn'd in Commission with the Bishop of *Ely*. The King knowing the ambitious Mind of his Brother *John*, dare not trust him in the Commission; but lest he should cause any Disturbance in his absence, he caus'd him to take an Oath, that he would not come into his Kingdom of *England* for the space of three Years next following; and that he might be oblig'd the more to behave himself peaceably, he conferr'd upon him the Earldoms of *Mortaigne*, *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Lancaster*; which, with the Earldom of *Glocester*, the Honour of *Wallingford*, *Ticbill*, and *Eye*, and Castles of *Marlborough* and *Lutgersal*, which he had by his Wife *Isabel*, Daughter of the Earl of *Glocester*, made him a very great and powerful Prince; but were so far from contenting his Mind, that they only increas'd his Desires of more, and made him a dangerous Subject, whenever an opportunity should offer. The King having thus provided for the Safety of his Kingdom, and Government of it, sends the Bishop of *Ely* his Vice-Roy over *England*; and to make his Reputation the greater, he procur'd of the Pope to make him his Legate over all *England* and *Scotland*; confining the Archbishop of *Tork*, his Base Brother, to *Normandy*, till his return, lest he also through Emulation might molest his Kingdom: And being thus secur'd, commanded him to provide what Necessaries he could for his intended Voyage. The Bishop of *Ely* furnish'd with this ample Authority, begins his Reign with much Zeal for his Master's Service, but Offence to the People, whom he grievously oppress'd by his rigorous Exactions: For he took from every City in *England* four Horses of Service, and of every Abby one; and so of all the King's Manours. And to shew how he would prove, he took the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishop of *Durham*, and confin'd him within his Town of *Howedon*, questioning his Authority, and depressing him; notwithstanding he made his Application to the King himself.

The Government in his absence committed to the Bishop of Ely.

The Vice-Roy sent into England to provide for his Majesty's Voyage.

The King having now gotten all things ready for his Expedition, and order'd his Navy to convey his People and Provision to the Holy Land; and the Charge of which he committed to the Archbishop of *Auxerre*, Bishop of *Bayon*, *Robert de Sa-* *bul*, and *Richard Canville*; he set forward with

The King's setting out for the Holy Land, and Voyage to Sicily.

\* Gervaise of *Canterbury* says, 'twas the 2d of September.

\* *Sadbery*. Roger *Hoveden* says, he sold him the Earldom of *Northumberland*.

\* He releas'd his Brother *John* from his Oath, and gave him leave to return to *England* upon his taking another Oath, that he would faithfully serve him in his absence.

\* Chief Justice of *England*.

\* Two Saddle-Horses, and two Sumpters.

\* His Admirals were *Richard de Canville* and *William de Forz*.



A. D. 1189. all his Forces at the latter end of *June*, in the Company of the King of *France* to *Lyons*, where their People growing so numerous, that they were troublesome to each other, the two Kings parted; the King of *France* went to *Genoua* by Land, and the King of *England* to *Marfeilles*, where having stay'd eight Days, expecting his Fleet, which was kept back by Tempests, he was forced to hire ten great Ships, and twenty Gallies to transport him and his Army into *Sicily*. The King of *France*, who had taken Ship at *Genoua*, was likewise driven by Tempest upon the same Isle. They were forced both to winter there, because the *French* King's Ships were so shatter'd by the Tempest, that they could not go farther till repaired, and *Richard* expected his own Navy, which caused great Troubles to the Isle, as well as themselves, the *English* and *French* not agreeing. *William* late King of *Sicily*, who marry'd *Joanna* the King of *England*'s Sister, was dead, and *Tancred*, Base Son of *Roger*, *William*'s Grandfather, was invested in the Kingdom, contrary to the Will of the late King, and the People's Oath to *Constantia*, the lawful Daughter of the said *Roger*, who was marry'd to *Henry* the eldest Son of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. This Match created *Tancred* very powerful Enemies, against whose Force he could hardly hold his Kingdom; but after the King of *England*'s coming he much strengthen'd himself, by making a League with that King, to defend him and his Kingdom, upon Condition he should pay his Sister twenty thousand Ounces of Gold for her Dower, and twenty thousand more upon a Match between *Arthur* Earl of *Britain*, his Brother *Jeffrey*'s Son, and then Heir of his Crown, and *Tancred*'s Daughter.

Tancred  
King of  
Sicily.

King Ri-  
chard con-  
quer'd Cy-  
prus, where  
he marry'd.

At the beginning of the Spring the two Kings having entred into a new League, and signed several Articles and Agreements of Peace, as their Contests in the Isle oblig'd them to, the King of *France* first sets forward to the Holy Land; but the King of *England* being detained by the coming of his Mother *Eleanor*, which brought *Berengera*, Daughter of the King of *Navarre*, to be affianced to him, stay'd upon that account till *Whitsuntide* after, when the Queen return'd home, and the King with his Sister, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and the young Lady, proceeded on his Journey with an hundred and thirty Ships, and fifty Gallies. In his way he was by a Tempest driven upon the Isle of *Cyprus*, and being deny'd entrance, he beset the Isle on all sides, assaulted and took it; and placing Garrisons in it, he committed the Custody of it to *Richard de Canville* and *Robert de Turnham*, taking half the Goods of the Inhabitants from them, to confirm the use of their own Laws. And here our Histories say, that he marry'd the Lady *Berengera*, and had her crown'd Queen. From hence passed this Famous King to the Holy Land, loaden with the Spoils and Treasure of three noble and rich Islands, *England*, *Sicily*, and *Cyprus*, besides what he had gotten out of *Normandy* and *Guien*, which he con-

sumed there, tho' to the great Honour of our *English* Nation, by his Heroick Actions, of which before I come to give an account, I shall give a short Relation of the State of Affairs in *Asia*, which drew these two potent Princes from the utmost Borders of *Europe* to venture themselves, and spend their Revenues there.

It was now eighty four Years since *Godfrey* of *Boloinne*, Duke of *Lorraine*, with the Confederate Princes, and their Associates, had recover'd the City of *Jerusalem*, with the Country of *Palestine*, and a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazens*; and having obtain'd the Government of it by Election, was crown'd with a Crown of Thorns, in imitation of our Saviour, but reign'd but one Year. *Baldwin* his Brother succeeded him, and govern'd eighteen Years, and was succeeded by *Baldwin de Burgo*, who, having ruled thirteen, dy'd, and left only one Daughter, and the Kingdom in Dissention. *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou* coming three Years before, marry'd this Daughter, and enjoy'd the Kingdom eleven Years, leaving two young Sons by her, *Baldwin* and *Almericke*, who successively inherited their Father's Throne, and had it, the first twenty four, and the other twelve Years. This last left a Son of his own Name to succeed him; but he having no Issue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, Son to his Sister *Sybil*, who was marry'd to the Marquis of *Montferrat*, his Heir, committing the Charge of him and Kingdom in his younger Years to *Raimond* Earl of *Tripolis*. But *Guy* of *Lusignan*, who after the Death of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, marry'd *Sybil* his Widow, soon put him from his Charge, not so much for any Love he had to the young Prince, as his Kingdom, which he first got the Administration, and then the Possession of, by poisoning (as was supposed) the young Prince. *Raymund* endeavour'd by Arms to regain his Trust, and put *Guy* of *Lusignan* so hard to it, that he was forced to beg the assistance of *Saladine* Sultan of *Egypt*, who glad of this occasion to increase his own Dominions, destroy'd them both, and gain'd their Kingdom; taking the Cities of *Ptolomais*, *Afotus*, *Berytus*, *Ascalon*, and after one Month's Siege *Jerusalem* it self, eighty eight Years after it had been conquer'd by *Godfrey*. Against this mighty Prince, who was not only an Experienced Commander, and Ruler of very large Dominions, but flush'd with Victories over the Christians, did these two Kings, with an Army of several Nations, viz. *English*, *French*, *Italians* and *Germans*, march; and at their first arrival sat down before *Acon*, a City of *Judea*, defended by *Saladin* against the Christians, who had besieged it three Years. Many worthy Princes and noble Persons had lost their Lives before it, viz. *Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, the Emperor *Frederick*'s Son, the Earls of *Perch*, *Puntif*, and *Blois*, *Stephen* Earl of *Sancerre*, *Bertoldus* Duke of *Germany*, and *Roger* and *Joselin* Earls of *Apulia*; and of *England*, *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, *Ralph de Glamvile* Chief Justice of *England*, *Richard* de

A. D.  
1191.  
Reg. 3.

The State  
of the Holy  
Land at  
this time.

Saladine  
Sultan of  
Egypt con-  
quer'd Jeru-  
salem.

\* King Richard took the City of *Messina*.

\* *Jeffrey Vinesauf*, a Learned Historian of those Times, and the Author of King *Richard*'s Travels to *Jerusalem*, writes, That he gave him twenty thousand Ounces more, to be free from all other Demands for the Plate, and other Rich Moveables, belonging to the late King, Husband to King *Richard*'s Sister *Joanna*. The same Authors relate, That *Richard* divided this vast Sum with the King of *France*, *Philip* the August, his Fellow-Traveller, tho' he had no manner of Pretensions to any part of it.

\* During his stay in this Isle he is said to have given himself much to Religious Offices and Duties, confessing his Sins, leading a very circumspect and pious Life; and sending for the Abbot *Joachim* from *Calabria* to hear him preach, because he was had in great esteem for his Learning, Holiness, and Prophetick Spirit. In a Sermon before King *Richard*, the Abbot is said to have deliver'd, That the Pope was Antichrist.

\* It drove him first into *Crete*, then into *Rhodes*, where he stay'd ten Days; and the Ship, wherein the Lady *Berengera* was, being driven into the Port of *Limezun* in *Cyprus*, the King follow'd her thither.

\* On the 12th of May, 1191. they were marry'd by *John* Bishop of *Exeter*.

\* Some other Noble Persons are remember'd by our Historians to have perish'd in this Holy Expedition, whose Posterity yet flourish, as *Ingelram de Viennes*, the Ancestor of the Right Honourable the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, the Lord *Dacres*, *Theophilus Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, whose Arms still retain the Badges of the Holy War, Stars, Crestants and Crosses; as also *St. John*, *Minsbul*, *Tilney*, &c.



A. D. 1191. Reg. 2. *Clare and Walter de Kime*; but all in vain, till the United Forces of these two Kings, after three Months Siege more, forced them to surrender upon Articles\*. At the Entrance into the City, after it was taken, the Ensign of *Leopold Duke of Austria*, which he had set upon the Wall, was order'd to be pull'd down by King *Richard*, and the two Kings Standards to be set up; which being ill resented, was afterwards the Cause of the King's great Misfortune. Besides, during the Siege the two Kings themselves had several Differences concerning *Richard's* Marriage with *Berenguela*, and rejecting the French King's Sister, about dividing the Spoils of their Voyage; which, by their Agreement, were to be parted equally: For the King of *France* claim'd his half in *Cyprus*, and *Richard* his Share in the Earl of *Flanders's* Goods and Estate, which the King of *France* had seiz'd; and lastly, about the Crown of *Jerusalem*, which was pretended to by *Conradus*, Marquis of *Monferrat*, and *Guy of Lusignan*, who married *Sibilla*, the Sister of the late King, and was in Possession of the Kingdom. The King of *England* took *Guy's* Part, and the King of *France* *Conrad's*. Thus these two Kings liv'd in continual Jars, till a dangerous Sickness through the Heat and Contagion of the Country, put an end not to them only, but almost to their Lives. As soon as they were recover'd, the King of *France* resolves to return home, where he knew was less Danger and more Honour than there; especially by the Death of the Earl of *Flanders*, whose bordering Countries he had a mind to add to his Kingdom: And therefore desires the King of *England's* Leave (for by their Agreement, it was not lawful for them to depart without each other's Leave) to return home. King *Richard* was very hardly prevail'd with to grant it, being sensible of the Trouble he might create his Dominions in his absence: But at length, by earnest Solicitations and Promises made by the King of *France* not to molest his Countries in *France*, he obtain'd his Desires, and so departed, leaving the Earl of *Burgogne* Lieutenant of his Forces. *Richard* soon after he was gone besieg'd *Ascalon*, and wrote invective Letters against the King of *France* for leaving him; and on the other side, the French King to be even with him, defam'd *Richard* among his Neighbours at home. King *Richard* staid ten Months longer, consuming both his Men and Treasure with great Valour, but little Success; the Earl of *Burgogne* by his Master's Instructions, proving always an Impediment in Matters of Importance, till his Death, which at length happen'd at *Acon*. *Conradus*, who was so much favour'd by the King of *France* in his Title to the Kingdom, was murder'd by two Assassins, not without the Concurrence (as was falsely supposed) of the King of *England*. The Earl of *Champagne* marry'd his Widow, who was Sister to Queen *Sibilla*, and was by King *Richard* prefer'd to the Crown of *Jerusalem*, and *Guy of Lusignan* (the other Pretender to it) he made King of *Cyprus*, and so gave Content to them both.

While these things were doing in the East, *England* suffer'd much at home under the Government of *Longchamp*, who assuming the whole Regal Authority to himself, and excluding both the Nobility and the Commissioners whom the

King had joyn'd with him, did act so arbitrarily A. D. and insolently, that he became odious to the 1192. whole Kingdom, as well Clergy as Laity; which Reg. 3. concurring with the Prejudice the English had against him as a Frenchman, and Envy for his excessive Grandure and Pride, begat a general Opposition to his Proceedings; which being encourag'd by Earl *John*, who study'd all ways to make himself popular, and usurp the Kingdom, soon brake out upon this Occasion. *Jeffrey*, Archbishop of *York* Elect, base Son to *Henry* the Second, whom *Richard*, who was averse to any Preferment of him in *England*, had confin'd to *Normandy* during his absence, obtain'd by great Labour of Pope *Celestine* a Licence to be invested in that See, and for that end come into *England*. The Chancellor *Longchamp* having Intelligence of his Arrival, met him at *Dover* to apprehend him; but the Archbishop escap'd to the Church to secure himself: *Longchamp* pursued him to the very Altar, and in a barbarous manner drawing him from thence in his Pontifical Vestments imprison'd him in the Castle. This Action gave just Cause of Offence not only to Earl *John*, but all the Bishops; who thereupon commanded the Chancellor not only to release him, but also to answer the Matter before the Assembly of Bishops and Nobles, which should meet for that purpose at *St. Paul's*. Here divers Articles of heinous Offences, committed contrary to the Commission given him, and the Interest of the King and Kingdom, were exhibited against him. The Archbishop of *Roan* also, and *William Marshall* Earl of *Striguile*, openly shew'd them the King's Letters Patents, dated at *Messina* in *Sicily*, wherein they were made Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdom; but alledg'd, That he never would permit them to manage any publick Business, but took upon him to do as he thought fit. Whereupon in the end, he was by the Assembly<sup>a</sup> depose from his Office, and the Archbishop of *Roan*, who would do nothing without the Concurrence and Advice of the Peers, put in his Place; to whom the Tower of *London*, Castle of *Windsor*, and Legantine Power, was by him also unwillingly resign'd. *Longchamp* deserv'dly thus stripp'd of all his Power and Greatness, endeavour'd to make his Escape to the King in the Habit of a Woman, with a Parcel of Linen Cloth under his Arm; but being discover'd at *Dover*, he was rudely used by the People, and made Prisoner in the Castle, till Earl *John* released him within eight days, and suffer'd him to go on in his intended Journey; by which being the Messenger of his own Misfortunes, he had the advantage of his Adversaries, and mightily incens'd the Pope against them, because they had so villified the Legantine Power, which he was very tender of. Soon after his Departure Earl *John*, the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the other Justices of the King granted unto the City of *London* their Immunities, and the Citizens swore Fealty to King *Richard* and his Heirs; and if he dy'd without Issue, they promised to receive Earl *John* for their King, and swore likewise Fealty unto him against all Men, reserving their Faith to King *Richard*. In so great Forwardness was *John* for his Brother's Crown, while he besieg'd *Ascalon*, and grapp'd with *Saladine* in the East.

\* The Author of King *Richard's* Travels to *Jerusalem* affirms, That 300000 Pilgrims perish'd in this Siege.

<sup>a</sup> These Assassins were a precise Sect of *Mahometans*, dwelling together in six Cities near *Antaradus* in *Syria*; being about 40000 in Number; govern'd by one Chief Master, a *Saracen* Emir, whom they call'd, *The Old Man of the Mountains*. At his Command they were ready to undergo any dangerous Attempts, and would stab any Prince whom he appointed them to Death. Full. *Holy War*, out of *M. Paris* and *Paul Aemilius*. These Assassins were two young *Saracens*, whom he kept in his Service.

<sup>c</sup> He came from a mean Original, being only a Farmer's Son, and in his great Dignity affected a very unbecoming Grandure; for he had 1500 in his Retinue, as *Wolsey* had a 1000, and had all things else proportionable.

<sup>d</sup> Whom Dr. *Brady* calls a *Traiterous Faction*. Comp. Hist. p. 434.



A. D. 1192. But *Richard* was not so intent upon Victory over the *Infidels*, but that he was as careful to keep what he was in Possession of; wherefore hearing of the Proceedings in *England*, and that the King of *France* had taken *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin* contrary to his Oath, he embrac'd *Salaadin's* Proffer of a Truce for three Years upon Condition, That he should restore *Ascalon* to the same State wherein he found it before the Siege, which was done by the Advice of the Templars, and the whole Army; and presently leaving his Wife, Sisters, and People, to come after him as fast as they could conveniently, he took Ship<sup>a</sup> in three Gallies with some few Attendants, and hasten'd into *England*: In their Passage they pretended themselves to be Pilgrims; but the King was soon discover'd by his lavish Expences, and began to be valu'd by the Masters of the Vessels as a Prize; which when he had notice of, he left his Company, and with one Man only pass'd on Horseback through wild Deserts and a Rocky Country Day and Night into *Austrich*; where Fame having given notice of his coming, he was taken in a poor Inn asleep, by means of his Companion, and brought before *Leopold* the Duke of *Austrich*; who glad of this Opportunity, to revenge the Disgrace he had receiv'd from *Richard* at the entering of *Acon*, seiz'd upon him, and sent him (or rather sold him for sixty thousand Marks) to the Emperour *Henry VI.* whom likewise he had anger'd by assisting *Tancredi*, the base Son of *Roger*, in the Usurpation of the Crown of *Sicily* against *Constantia*, the Lawful Daughter of the said *Roger*, whom this Emperour had married. The News of *Richard's* Misfortune was soon dispersed into the adjoining Countries. The Emperour sent word to the King of *France* of it, that he might rejoice with him; because, as he said, *he had gotten the Enemy of the Empire, and Disturber of the Kingdom of France into his Power.* *England* much lamented the Captivity of their Magnanimous King, and endeavour'd all ways possible to obtain his Release, but it could not be effected for a whole Year and six Weeks; tho' he clear'd himself of the Scandals laid on him for the Death of *Conradus*, the Emperour's Kinsman, and other his Actions in the East, and resign'd his Kingdom of *England* to the Emperour, in the Presence of the German and English Nobility, to hold it of him by the Annual Tribute of 50000 *l.* Sterling to obtain his Freedom; because *Earl John*, his Brother, and the King of *France*, offer'd the Emperour great Sums to keep him Prisoner, and intended by their continual Bribes to keep him in perpetual Imprisonment, that *John* might be establish'd in all his Dominions with no small Advantage to the King of *France*: For to that end *Earl John* did Homage to the King of *France* for *England*, *Normandy*, and all the rest of the Transmarine Provinces, resign'd *Gisors* and the Country of *Vexin* to him, and swore to marry his Sister *Alice*, and to be divorc'd from his other Wife the Earl of *Gloucester's* Daughter; and the King of *France* on the other side, covenanted to give him with his Sister that part of *Flanders*, which he had taken from that Earl-dom, and swore to assist him in gaining *England*, and the other Dominions of his Brother. After this, *John* went over into *England* with an Army of French and Flemmings, had the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor* surrender'd to him present-

ly; and coming to *London*, requir'd the Archbi-  
shop of *Rouen*, and the other Commissioners for  
the Kingdom of *England*, to do Homage and Fe-  
alty to him; affirming, That his Brother was  
dead: But they not giving Credit to his Words,  
and denying his Desire, provok'd his Passions so  
much, that he fortified his Castles, and with  
Force of Arms invaded the Revenues and Lands  
of the Crown, finding many to joyn with him  
in the Attempt. The Queen-Mother, Justices of  
*England*, and all the King's faithful Subjects  
guard and defend the Ports against the Invasion  
of the French and Flemmings, who came over in  
great Numbers to aid and help *Earl John*, and  
more earnestly fought to redeem the King; for  
whose Ransome the Emperour requir'd an hun-  
dred thousand Marks, and to find fifty Gallies  
and two hundred Men to attend his Service in  
the Holy Wars for one Year. Nor did the Offi-  
cers and Subjects of the King in *France* defend  
his Dominions in *Normandy* with less Courage  
and Fidelity against the King of *France*, who  
with all his Power labour'd to subdue them, and  
by large Offers to the Emperour to prolong his  
Redemption and enhance his Ransome: Yet such  
was the good Opinion that his Subjects had of  
him, and their Love they bear to him for his Va-  
lour and Piety, that by their Importunities they  
brought the Emperour to a Composition for his  
Freedom in this manner. That he should send  
his Commissioners to *London*, and receive an  
hundred thousand Marks of pure Silver of Co-  
logne Weight, to be seal'd up and convey'd to the  
Bounds of the Empire at the Hazard and Charge  
of the King of *England*, and that seven Months  
after he should pay fifty thousand Marks more  
of Silver (of which twenty thousand were for  
the Duke of *Austrich*, and thirty thousand for  
the Emperour) and Hostages to be given in the  
mean time, sixty to the Emperour and seven  
to the Duke: And *Richard* swears to send his  
Niece, the Sister of *Arthur* Earl of *Britain*, to  
be married to the Duke of *Austrich*. And on  
the other side, the Emperour granted to the King  
of *England* by his Charter the Sovereignty of  
*Provence*, *Vienna*, *Viennois*, *Marseilles*, *Narbon*,  
*Arles*, *Lyons*, and all his Dominions in *Burgogne*,  
with the Homages of the King of *Arragon*, the  
Earls of *Dijon* and *S. Gyles*, in which Countries  
were five Archbishopricks and thirty three Bishop-  
ricks: And tho' the Emperour had only a Titular  
Dominion over those Provinces himself (for he  
never made any Governour over them) yet they  
did *Richard* this Service, that he seem'd not to part  
with so much Treasure for nothing. For which  
Reason it was, that he sent over into *England* to  
*Hubert*, the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was  
lately made his Vicegerent in *England*, this News  
by his Letter wrote to him in these Words. 'Be-  
ing very sure, That you much desire our Deli-  
verance, and will greatly rejoyce at it, we  
have thought fit to impart the joyful News of  
it, and to signifie to you, that the Emperour  
hath fix'd the day for it, to be upon Monday  
after the Feast of the Nativity; and the Sun-  
day after we shall receive the Crown of the  
Kingdom of *Provence*, which he hath given us,  
as by his Letters Patents herewith sent you  
may perceive. Ordering you in the mean time,  
as much as in you lieth, to comfort all those you  
know, as our Friends and Well-willers, to love

King Ri-  
chard's re-  
turn into  
England.

King Ri-  
chard taken  
by the Em-  
perour.

Earl John  
assumes the  
Kingdom.

<sup>a</sup> Aboard a great Bus bound for the Isle of *Corfu*, where he arriv'd about the latter end of *October*, and from thence sail'd partly in a small Ship and partly in certain Gallies to *Ragusa*, in *Dalmatia*, on the *Adriatick* Gulf; from *Ragusa* he intended to travel over-land, thro' *Sclavonia* and *Austria* into *Germany*, and so home into his own Dominions on the Continent.

<sup>b</sup> The Letter is in *Roger Hoveden*, p. 413. directed to Queen *Eleanor* his Mother, and to his Justices, and all other his faithful Subjects. 'Tis dated from *Hagenow* (a City in the *Lower Alsace*) the 10th of *April*, 1193.



A. D. 1193. Reg. 4. us and desire our Promotion. Witness Our self at *Spira*, 22. Sept. The Emperour also wrote at the same time to the Bishops and Barons, and other the King's Subjects in *England*, how he purpos'd to advance, and magnificently to honour his especial Friend their King: And thus were the *English* recompensed for the large Expences they had been at in redeeming their King. The King then sent for his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, Archbishop of *Roan*, and many others, to come unto him about the Time and Business of the Deliverance; for which there was imposed upon every Knight's Fee twenty Shillings, the fourth part of all Lay-mens Revenues and Clergy-mens, with a fourth part of their Goods. \* The Chances, and Treasure of all Churches, are taken to make up the Sum, and the like was done in all the King's Territories beyond Sea: So dearly did the King's Voyage into the East, in going and returning, cost his People. Nor did the Queen *Berenguela* escape her part of Affliction in this Journey; for she with her Sister-in-Law, the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, fearing the Emperour's Malice, were an whole Year travelling from *Palestine*, and were at length conducted into *Poitou*.

The Queen's return home.

Earl John's reasonable Allions against his Brother.

1194.

A Parliament at Nottingham, and the Ass.

The King of *France* hearing of the Conclusion made between King *Richard* and the Emperour, wrote immediately to Earl *John*, That the Devil was got loose, and desired him to look to himself; which shewed, That the King of *France* was not less disappointed of his Hopes, than Earl *John* himself. Upon this News, Earl *John* leaving his Castles in *England* well fortified, and encouraging his Soldiers to hold out valiantly against all Reports, departed into *Normandy*; where, with repeated Promises and Solicitations, he and the King of *France* labour'd to detain King *Richard* in Imprisonment, proffering the Emperour an hundred fifty thousand Marks, or a thousand Pound a Month so long as he would keep him his Prisoner. But all they could do prevail'd not, tho' it stagger'd the Emperour in his Design a little; but at length, he shew'd *Richard* his Brother's Letter: And having receiv'd the Pledges, viz. the Archbishop of *Roan*, Bishop of *Bath*, and several Noblemens Sons, for the Security of that part of his Ransom, which was to remain unpaid, releas'd him from his Captivity, after a Year and six Weeks, in the fourth Year of his Reign, and deliver'd him to his Mother Queen *Eleanor*. Immediately after his Release he return'd into *England*, where he found that the Bishops who continu'd firm in their Fidelity to him, had excommunicated the Earl *John*, and all his Adherents, and taken his Castles of *Marborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fort at *S. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, defended by *Henry de Pomey*. But his Castle of *Nottingham*, tho' strongly assaulted by *Ralph Earl of Chester*, and Earl *Ferrers*, and the Castle of *Titchil* by the Bishop of *Durham*, held out for the Earl, and cost the King a great deal of Blood and Labour to reduce them into his Power; and that at last upon Condition, That their Persons and Goods should be saved, and all Acts of Disloyalty pardon'd. *Richard* having thus settled his Kingdom of *England* in Peace, call'd a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queen *Eleanor* was present, and sat upon his Right Hand. On the first day of the Session he depriv'd *Gerhard de Camville* of the

Possession of the Castle of *Lincoln*, and his Office of Sheriff in that Shire, and *Hugh Bardolph* of the Castles of *Tork* and *Scarborow*, and the Custody Reg. 4. of *Westmorland*, and his Office of Sheriff of *Torkshire*, and expos'd them to Sale. The Archbishop of *Tork* bought the Sheriff's Office of *Torkshire* for three thousand Marks down, and an Annual Rent of an hundred Marks. On the second day the King demanded Judgment against his Brother *John*, for having contrary to his Oath of Fealty, usurp'd his Castles, and enter'd a Confederacy with the King of *France* against him; as also against *Hugh de Navant*, Bishop of *Coventry*, for adhering to him and his other Enemies; and it was determin'd, That they should both appear upon a day fix'd, to answer according to Law: Which if they refus'd to do, the Earl should be banish'd, and the Bishop undergo such Punishment both from the Clergy and Laity as his Crime deserv'd: But the Bishop, within two Years after, was restor'd to the King's Favour, and his Bishoprick for two thousand Marks. On the third day, the Parliament granted to the King two Shillings from every Plough-Land in *England*; and besides, the King requir'd a third part of the Service of every Knight's Fee for his Attendance in *Normandy*, and all the Wool that Year of the *Cistercian* Monks, which being a very grievous Tax to them, he compounded with them for it. The fourth and last day was spent in hearing and determining of Grievances and Accusations, and so this Assembly brake up, after a Resolution taken up, That to nullifie the Act done to the Emperour, he should be crown'd again, which accordingly was perform'd the Easter following at *Winchester*.

A. D. 1194. Reg. 4.

Whilst the King remain'd about *Nottingham*, The King of Scots after the Parliament was broke up, *William King of Scots* came to him to require the Dignities and Honours, which his Predecessors had of Right enjoy'd in *England*, and withal the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland* and *Lancaster*. The King reply'd, That he could not satisfy him, till he had taken the Advice of his Council, which he intended shortly to call at *Northampton*. Where after Consultation had, he told him, That he could not grant his Petition with Reason then, because most of the Princes of *Europe* were his Enemies at that time; and if he should part with so much of his Country then, 'twould be thought rather an Act of Fear, than Love or Justice; and so put him off with fair Words and Promises, but granted by the Consent of his Parliament under his Charter to *William King of Scots*, and his Heirs for ever, That if at any time being summon'd, they should come to the King of *England's* Court, the Bishop of *Durham*, and Sheriff of *Northumberland* should receive them at the River *Tweed*, and bring them under safe Conduct to the River *Teis*, and from thence the Archbishop of *Tork* and Sheriff of *Torkshire* should convey them through that County; and so the Sheriffs of other Shires, till they came to the King's Court, being allow'd all along their Passage, and so at their return an hundred Shillings a day, and when they were at the Court thirty Shillings a Day, twelve Loaves of fine Bread, and twelve Simnels of the King's; four Quarts of the King's best Wine, and six of ordinary Wine; two Pounds of Pepper, and four Pounds of Cinnamon;

\* This Occasion so clear'd the Church of Plate, that the Priests celebrated the Sacrament in Tin and Latin Cups, by the Pope's Order and Allowance, as they continu'd to do a good while after.

† He gave him his safe Conduct to *Antwerp*, where he was, under the Protection of the Duke of *Louvain*, and he arriv'd at *Sandwich* on the 13th of March, 1194.

‡ Hoveden p. 419. says, *Hubert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sat on his Right Hand, and *Jeffrey* Archbishop of *Tork* on his Left.



A. D. 1194. Reg. 4. two Pounds of Wax, and four Wax-Lights; forty large Perchers of the King's best Candles, and twenty four of Ordinary; and at his return to be safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.

King Richard crown'd again, and his Resumptions at that time.

From Northampton both Kings went to Woodstock, and from thence to Winchester, where the Coronation was sumptuously solemnized on the 17th of April, 1194. When the Ceremony<sup>a</sup> was over, he resumed the two Manours he had sold to the Bishop of Winchester when he went to the Holy War, with the other Sales of the County and Castle, and all other the Demesnes belonging to the Crown; alledging, That it was not in his power to alienate any of his Revenues, whereby his Dignity was to be maintain'd. The Bishop of Durham observing this, voluntarily deliver'd up the Castle of Durham, with the Country of Northumberland, which the King order'd to put into the hands of Hugh Bardolph. Hugh Bishop of Lincoln at the same time gave for the liberty of his Church a thousand Marks of Silver, redeeming thereby the Custom of giving to the King of England every Year a Cloak lined with Sabel Furs. Hither also were all such as had sided with his Brother John, and defended his Castles, summon'd to appear; of whom the Richer were fined, and the Poorer set at liberty, but by giving Sureties of an hundred Marks a-piece to appear in the King's Courts whenever they should be call'd. The King of Scots seeing the King of England make use of all means to bring Money into his Treasure, offer'd him fifteen thousand Marks for Northumberland, with the Appurtenances; alledging, That King Henry II. gave the same to Henry his Father, and that Malcolm after him enjoy'd it five Years. This large proffer of Money tempted King Richard so, that he consulted his Parliament about it again; and in conclusion was contented to yield it to the King of Scots, with a Reservation of the Castles to himself; but the King of Scots would not accept it, and so in a discontent pass'd into his own Country. Richard two Years after sent Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, to York to treat with the King of Scots about a Marriage between Orbo<sup>b</sup> his Nephew, and Margaret that King's Daughter, with whom he was to give all Lenox for her Dower; and he would give with his Nephew Northumberland, and the Earldom of Carlisle, with all the Castles: But in the time of this Treaty the Queen of Scots being found to be with Child, it took no effect. From Winchester, after the King had gotten as much Money as he could out of his Subjects in so short a time as he stay'd, which was but from the end of February to the tenth of May<sup>c</sup>, he halted over into Normandy, in an hundred Ships, to spend it in his Achievements there, which took up all the remaining part of his Reign, which was but nine Years in all, of which he spent not above eight Months in England. Nor do we find that his Queen Berenguela was ever there, or had any Honour or Dower, or was of any great Regard with him, however Deserving she was in her self.

He resides in Normandy all the rest of his Reign.

And now by the King's Residence in Normandy was the Charge and Labour of the English much greaten'd; all Affairs, which either con-

cern'd the State in general, or the People in particular, being to be dispatched there. The first Action that Richard undertook at his entrance into his Territories there, was to relieve Vernoul, then besieged by the King of France, which he soon rais'd, and by the Mediation of his Mother was reconciled to his Brother John, who abjured the French Party, and adhered to him. His next business was to strengthen himself in those Countries against his potent Enemy the King of France, which he did first by giving his Sister Joanna, Queen-Dowager of Sicily, to Raymond Earl of Toulouse, who was his nearest Neighbour of Power to his Dutchy of Guien. Then he made a League with Baldwin Earl of Flanders, from whom the King of France had taken away Artois and Vermandois; and so on all sides seeks to vex his Enemy. Four Years at least did these two great Princes continue their furious Assaults one against another, invading, surprizing, spoiling and ruining each other's Estates and Dominions; making shews indeed often of Peace and Reconciliation by frequent Leagues and Truces, but they lasted no longer than some Advantages offer'd of either side. The King of France, on the other side, to strengthen himself with Shipping, that he might oppose the English, marry'd Botilda the Sister of Canute or Knute King of Denmark; but this Match, which he sought not through Affection, but for his Politick Ends, created him greater Trouble; for he put her away the next Day after his Wedding, upon a pretence of too great nearness of Blood, and so made both the Church, and King of Denmark his Enemy. The Emperor at the same time sent to the King of England a massy Crown of Gold, and offers to assist him against the King of France, and invade his Kingdom; but Richard was not willing to have him engage in this Quarrel, either because he saw that the Emperor sought to add the Kingdom of France to his Empire, or because he fear'd the King of France might win him over to him by his Money to joyn against himself, return'd only a Compliment of Thanks for his Tender.

But tho' Normandy was the Stage of Action, His means England was the Treasury, from whence the King fetch'd Monies for all his vast Expences; which to supply, he sought all manner of ways of raising Taxes and Fines upon the People<sup>d</sup>. And first he gave out his Commission to certain Itinerant Justices, whom he sent into every Shire of England, to raise and exact Sums of Money upon Pleas of the Crown for Escheats, Wardships, and Marriages, to improve his Demesnes, to take an account of Men's Estates, and especially of the Jews, on whom he would have none to prey but himself; to raise an Imposition upon his allowance of Turnaments, viz. twenty Marks of Silver for every Earl, ten for a Baron, four for a Knight having Lands, and two for a License for such as had none; the Collection of which the Archbishop left to his Brother Theobald Walters. He order'd also a new Seal to be made, because the old one was lost by his Vice-Chancellor at the taking of Cyprus, which was a means for another Exaction. But the Proceedings in the Pleas of the Crown, and extorting of Penalties, Anno Regni 9. by Hugh Bardolph,

<sup>a</sup> At this Coronation William King of the Scots bore one of the three Swords carry'd on that occasion before King Richard. <sup>b</sup> Otho Duke of Saxony.

<sup>c</sup> He landed the 13th of March, and sail'd from Portsmouth the 12th of May.

<sup>d</sup> He return'd into England to raise this Tax for Turnaments. Matt. Paris. But his Charter or Proclamation for them is dated at Ville Le Veske in Normandy. These Tiltings were to be held at five Places:

In Wiltshire, between Salisbury and Wilton.  
In Warwickshire, between Warwick and Kenelworth;  
In Lincolnshire, between Stamford and Wansford.  
In Northamptonshire, between Brackly and Mizzburgh,  
In Nottinghamshire, between Blie and Tickhill.



A. D. 1195. *Roger Arundel, and Jeffrey Hatchet, Itinerant Justices for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Lancashire,* were intolerable, being manag'd with gradual Tryals of the People's Patience and Abilities. So that (as *Hoveden* saith) all England, from Sea to Sea, was reduced to extream Poverty. Yet did not his Extortion stop here; but *Hugh Nevile* Chief Justice, *Hugh Wac* and *Ernise de Nevile* Justices of the Forest brought a greater Trouble upon the Subjects, by the severe Execution of the cruel Forest-Laws introduced by the Conqueror; which, being only fit to be damn'd to eternal Oblivion, shall not be particularly mention'd. Besides in the same Year this King impos'd a Tax upon every Hide, or Plough-land, (which contains about an hundred Acres) of five Shillings, which was levy'd with great Cruelty. Likewise he required by his Vicegerent, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, That the People of *England* should find three hundred Knights for one Year in his Service, or so much Money as would maintain them at three Shillings a Day: Which *Hugh Bishop of Lincoln* oppos'd, and said, 'He would never yield to the King's Will in this, because of the Damage it might bring to Posterity by so ill an Example, which might give them cause to complain, and say, *Our Fathers have eaten four Grapes, and the Childrens Teeth are set on Edge*, and turning himself to the Archbishop, desired him to do nothing, of which he might afterward be ashamed. But the Archbishop could desert this, and yet pretend to have well merited of the King for his other Services in this kind; for in the seventh Year of his Reign, he gave up an account to him, that he had levy'd of the Kingdom within the space of two Years an hundred thousand Marks of Silver, which at that time was an admirable Sum.

The King's Death, and the Occasion. And now, as the first Act of this King was his violent Proceedings with *Stephen Turnham* Seneschal of *Normandy*, his Father's Treasurer, about his Treasure: So was likewise his last, and the cause of his Destruction; for *Widamore* Viscount of *Limoges*, having found a great Treasure of Silver and Gold in his Ground, sends a great part of it to the King, but he refused it, laying claim to the whole; *Widamore* deny'd it. And so the King laid Siege to the Castle, where he imagin'd the Treasure was hid. They in the Castle being unable to defend themselves, offer'd to surrender the same, upon Condition, that their Lives, Arms and Members should be secured; which the King would not yield to, but swore that he would storm the Castle, and hang them all: Whereupon they desperately resolv'd to stand to their defence. King *Richard*, with *Merchard*, alias *Markadey*, General of the *Brabanzons*, his mercenary Soldiers, going about the Castle to observe what place was fittest for an Assault, *Bertram de Gurdon* from the Walls shot a Barbed Arrow at the King, and gave him a mortal Wound on the Arm. The King was immediately carry'd to his Lodgings, but gave Commandment to his Forces to prosecute the Siege without Intermillion, which they did; and taking the Castle, put all the Defenders of it to Death, except *Bertram*, who was reserved by the King's Command. The Arrow

was drawn out with great Torture, and much mangling of his Flesh, by an unskillful Chyrurgeon belonging to *Merchard*, which caused him to despair of Life; and by Will to dispose of his Estate, three parts to his Brother *John*, and one to his Servants. Before his Death he call'd for *Bertram de Gurdon* to be brought to him, and demanded of him, what hurt he had done him, which provoked him to do him this Mischief. *Bertram* replied, 'Thou didst kill my Father and two Brothers with thy own Hand, and now orderest me to be slain: Take what Revenge thou wilt upon me, I willingly endure any Torment thou canst inflict, since I have slain thee, who hast done such, and so much mischief to the World. The King, notwithstanding this rough and desperate Answer, caused him to be set at liberty, not only forgiving him for his Fact, but commanding an hundred Shillings to be given him; but *Merchard* after his Death caused him to be slay'd alive, and afterward hang'd. Thus dy'd this Lion-like King, when he had Reigned nine Years and nine Months; wherein he exacted and consumed more of the Wealth of this Kingdom than all his Predecessors from the *Norman* Conquest had done, and yet with very little Noise and Trouble, because of his undertaking of the Cause of Christ (as it was then esteem'd) in the Holy War; the Clergy feeding the People's Opinion of the Merit of that Expedition with strange Relations both of his Valour and Success; and his Ministers at home being very careful and zealous for him to keep their place, and so doing perhaps more for him in his absence than he could have done with his presence. But the insolent Oppressions of the Nation in these Times made the future more careful and audacious to provide for themselves: Excesses usually procure Alterations. So that his Successors have reason to blame his and his Brother's Oppressions and Irregularities for those Limitations of their Power, which have been extorted rather from them, than voluntarily granted by them. Yet what this Prince would have been, had his Days been prolong'd to a time of Peace, is uncertain: But that his Temper was very pliable and yielding to good Counsel, is manifest from the good effect that little which a poor Hermit bestow'd upon him wrought; advising him in a Sermon to think seriously upon the Destruction of *Sodom*, and to abstain from things unlawful, otherwise the deserved Vengeance of God would come upon him. For not long after falling sick, he call'd to mind this Advertisement, and made a Vow to reform his Life; which after his recovery he was so careful to perform, that he rose early every Morning to hear Divine Service. Upon which *Action Hoveden* makes this Reflection: *How Glorious is it for a Prince to begin his Actions in him, who is the Beginning without beginning, and judges to the ends of the Earth.* Moreover he grew very Charitable to the Poor, and made Restitution of many of the Church's Goods, which had been sold for his own Ransom.

Tho' this King had no Children, yet was he told by a Priest in *France*, that he had three evil Daughters, and admonish'd to bestow them elsewhere, that he might avoid the Judgments of

<sup>a</sup> *Holinhead* says, He was a Viscount in the Duchy of *Bretagne*; and that the Treasures which he found were the Images of an Emperour, his Wife and Children, all in fine Gold.

<sup>b</sup> The Castle of *Chaluz*, near *Limoges*.

<sup>c</sup> He dy'd on the 6th of April; his Body was bury'd at *Font-Everard*, at the Feet of his Father, his Heart at *Roan*, and his Bowels at *Charron* in *Poitou*.

<sup>d</sup> *Holinhead* writes, He was in the forty fourth Year of his Age: But he was born in 1117. and dy'd in 1159. So he could be no more than forty two Years of Age.

<sup>e</sup> He had a Natural Son, nam'd *Philip*, who in the Year following kill'd the Viscount of *Limoges* for the Death of his Father. *Hol.*



God. The King gave him the Lye, and said, *He knew none be bad.* Yes, Sir, replied the Priest, *Three Daughters you have, which are these, Pride, Covetousness, and Letchery.* The King apprehending his Meaning, call'd the Lords and great Persons who were attending upon him, and having told them what the Priest had said to him, re-

quir'd them to bear Witness how he did dispose of his three Daughters. *My Pride I give to the Templars and Hospitallers, my Covetousness I give to the Cistercian Monks, and my Letchery to the Clergy.* This sudden Repartee shews us his great Quickness of Wit, and what kind of Men were then out of Favour with him.

### REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Richard I.

**I**N the 2d Year of his Reign, on *Midsummer-Eve*, the Sun was eclips'd for three Hours, and the Stars appear'd in the Heavens at ten a Clock in the Forenoon.

In the 5th, 6th, and 7th Years of his Reign there was so great a Dearth in *England* and *France*, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for almost twenty Shillings, as much as six Pound now; which was follow'd by a severe Mortality, that carry'd off innumerable Multitudes of People by a Pestilential Fever. It lasted five Months, and during that time, the dead were bury'd in Pits a great many at once; for they dy'd so fast, that those who surviv'd had not Leisure to bury them singly. About *Whitsunday* two Suns appear'd, the true Sun and another, and were so like each other, that the Astronomers were forc'd to take a View of them with their Instruments to distinguish them.

*Men Eminent in his Time for their Courage were*

Robert Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bardolph, and his Brother Henry, William Marshal Earl of Chester, Gerard de Glanville, Hugh de Gournay, William de Borrez, Walcline de Ferriers, Roger de Toonie, William de Barrs, William de Tarland, Drogo de Merlo, Robert de Neale, Henry Fitz-Nicholas, Robert de Newburgh, Ralph de St. Mary, Arnold de Bois, Henry de Grey, Stephen de Turnham, Manfer de Lisle, Alexander Darcie, Stephen de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Glanville, Bartholomew de Mortimer, Gerard Furnivall, William de Pool, Hugh de Nevill, and William Teutche the

King's Standard-Bearer, who all shew'd their Valour in the Holy Land.

*The most Famous for Learning were*

Daniel Morley a famous Mathematician, Richard Prior of Hagulstad or Hexam, William Fitz-Stephens, who wrote the Life of Becket, Richard of the Devises, John Brompton, Historians; Robert de Bellofoco an excellent Philosopher, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, who dy'd at Tyre in Phoenicia, and wrote several Treatises of Divinity; Hubert his Successor in that See, William Bishop of Ely a great Politician, Richard the Abbot of the Order of Premonstratensis, and Nicholas Walkington.

## THE LIFE and REIGN OF King JOHN.

Earl John  
secures the  
Crown.

A. D.  
1199.  
Reg. 1.

**J**OH N, the Brother of Richard, and youngest Son of Henry the Second, being at his Brother's Death with his Army in the Field, and among all his Servants and Followers, had as good an Opportunity as he could have desir'd to secure his ambitious Aims of the Crown of *England*, by making his Interests with them; which he did by large Promises of Gifts and Rewards. Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, was then in *Normandy* about some Business, and John knowing him to be a Man of great Power and Interest in *England*, engages him to his Design, and

presently dispatches him into *England* with William Marshal Earl of Striguil, Jeffrey Fitz-Peter, and others, to prepare the People to receive him for their King. These Agents for John, upon their Arrival, began to treat with those whom they knew were most likely to oppose his Aim, and by their confident Promises, That he should restore their Rights, and govern the Kingdom with all due Moderation, so prevail'd with them, that they were content upon those Conditions to swear Fealty to him against all Men, and so an Entrance to the Crown was cleared for him

\* My Letchery I give to the Prelates of the Church, who have most Pleasure and Felicity therein. Hol.

† Lord Chief Justice.

‡ They held an Assembly of the States at Northampton, who agreed to accept of Prince John for their King. Hol.

among



A. D. 1199. among the *English*; which because they saw the King of *Scots* only could intercept and hinder, they send him word, That upon *John's* Settlement in the Throne, he should receive Satisfaction for his Claim in *England*, and so stopp'd him from any present Attempts. In the mean time, *Arthur* Earl of *Anjou*, Son of *John's* elder Brother *Jeffrey*, who had the Right of Succession by his Birth, was not unactive with the Nobility of *Anjou*, *Main*, and *Tureine*, to maintain and recover his Inheritance; And his Mother *Constance* put him under the Protection of the King of *France*, who receiv'd him, and undertook the Defence of his Right. *John* was not insensible of the Cloud that was gathering over his Head; and tho' he had reason to fear a violent Storm from it, yet judging it best to secure the Possession of *England* first, he having receiv'd the Investiture of *Normandy* with all the Rites of it, pass'd presently into *England* with his Mother *Eleanor* (who was a forward Assistant in this her Son's Promotion) and by way of Election, receiv'd the Crown upon *Ascension-Day*, the 26th of *May*, at the hands of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who in his Oration (as *M. Paris* relates it) before the Assembly of Nobles met at that Solemnity said, 'That by all Reason Divine and Humane, none ought to succeed in the Kingdom, but he who for his Vertue and Worthiness was unanimously chosen by the State, as this Man was, &c. which he then urg'd to put a fair Pretence upon that Action, because he saw the Right of Succession was against him; but after being question'd for it, he confess'd to his Friends, 'That he foresaw, that *John* would in the end obtain the Crown, whatever Blood and Trouble it cost; and therefore he thought it the best way to prevent Confusion, rather to make him King than that he should make himself, and that their Election would be a tie upon him to rule them well. Thus did *John* get the Crown of *England*, which he govern'd with as much Injustice as he got it, and involv'd the Kingdom in those Miseries and Troubles, which after produced desperate Effects, and made those Alterations in Government, which follow'd.

John goes against Philip King of France. *England* being thus secur'd, *John* returns into *Normandy*, having receiv'd Information of a general Revolt of his Dominions beyond Sea, procur'd by *Philip* the French King, who had conferr'd the Order of Knighthood upon *Arthur*, and taken his Homage for *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Main*, *Tureine*, and also *Normandy* it self, because (as he pretended) King *John* had neglected to come and do him Homage for the same. King *John* being unwilling to engage in so sudden a War, so soon after his new and doubtful Admission to the Crown, mediated for a Parley with the King of *France*, but to no purpose; for that King well understanding his own Advantage, and *John's* Circumstances, requir'd such unreasonable Conditions, as *John* could not with Honour comply with, and so they proceeded to decide the Quarrel with the Sword. The King of *France* had the better of *John*, and gain'd several Parts of his Dominions; but it was so plain that what he did was for himself, not for *Arthur*, as he pretended, that *Arthur* and his Mother *Constance* were induc'd (by the Persuasion of their Chief Minister *William de la Roche*) to commit themselves to the Protection of King *John*. But neither here could they find a safe Repose; for either through some

secret Jealousie, or (as some say) having Information of *John's* Purposes to imprison them, they got away the next Night after their coming secretly, and fled to *Algiers*. And so this young Prince, born to be crush'd between these two Potent Monarchs, (who only intended their own Ends and not his Advantage) gave an occasion to both to become his Enemies. The two Kings continu'd their Contest a while, but having made many Attempts on both sides with little Gain, they by the Mediation of the Pope's Legates came to a Treaty, wherein *John* buys his Peace upon these yielding Conditions; viz. That *Lewis*, the eldest Son to King *Philip* should marry his Niece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, and have with her for her Dower the City and County of *Eureux*, with several Castles in *Normandy*; and thirty thousand Marks in Silver: And farther promises, To leave him all his Territories in *France*, if he dy'd without Issue; and that he would not assist his Nephew *Otho* (lately elected Emperour) against *Philip* Brother to the late Emperour *Henry VI.* whom the King of *France* favour'd in Opposition to Pope *Innocent*, who took *Otho's* part.

After the Conclusion of this Peace, *Otho* taking it ill that his Uncle *John* had thus forsaken him, sends his two Brothers *Henry* Duke of *Saxony* and *William* of *Winton* (so call'd, because he was born at *Winchester*) to require of him the City of *Eureux* and County of *Poitou*, and two parts of the Treasure, which his Uncle King *Richard* had given him by Will, besides other of his Moveables: But they came too late. The Obligations of Kindred, and rendring of Dues, must give place to the present Necessities and Interests of State, and so they are sent away without any Answer to their Desires. To this unkind and unnatural Act he soon after added another, viz. The Divorce of his Wife, who was Daughter to the Earl of *Glocester*; alledging, that she was too near a Kin to him in the third Degree of Consanguinity, and marry'd *Isabel* the Daughter and Heiress of the Earl of *Angoulême*, who was before affianced to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, (a Peer of a great Estate and Alliance in *France*) by the Consent of King *Richard*, in whose Custody she then was. Having finish'd these distastful Business, he return'd into *England* to do as ungrateful things there; for he impos'd three Shillings upon every Plough-land, to discharge the great Dowry of thirty thousand Mark which he had promis'd with his Niece *Blanch*. *Jeffrey* the Archbishop of *York* oppos'd the Collection of it within his Province, and the King being before angry with him for not coming upon his Summons to his Treaty in *France*, immediately causes the Sheriff of the County of *York* to seize upon all his Temporalities. The Archbishop interdicts the whole Province of *York*, and excommunicates the Sheriff. But not long after, the King made his Progress into the Northern Parts as far as *Scotland*, exacting great Fines of such as had offended in his Forests, and in his Passage through *Yorkshire*, was by his Brother the Archbishop deny'd Wine, and the Honours of the Bells of *Beverly*; but by the Mediation of four Bishops and four Barons, and a great Sum of Money, a Reconciliation was made between them, and a Reformation promis'd on both sides.

Upon the *Easter* after his Progress into the North, the King was crown'd again at *Canterbury* with his Queen *Isabel*, by *Hubert* Archbishop

\* Duke of Bretagne.

† Holinshed says, Queen *Isabel* was crown'd on the 8th of *October*, and that King *John* was crown'd again by himself at *Canterbury* on the 24th of *April* 1202. by Archbishop *Hubert*.



A. D. of that See, and there he summon'd the Earls 1202. and Barons of *England* to be ready with Horse Reg. 4. and Armour to go over with him at *Whitfuntide* into *Normandy*; but they meeting at a Conference at *Leicester*, with one consent sent him word, *That unless he would restore them to their Rights and Liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdom.* But the King (saith *Hoveden*) using ill Counsels, took their Castles from them; and beginning with *William de Aubenye*, demanded his Castle of *Beauvoir*, which he refused, delivering him his Son as a Pledge of his Obedience. But notwithstanding this Refusal of his Lords, having settled the Government here, he sailed into *Normandy* with his Queen, where his Presence, with his great shew of Preparations, caused the Rebels to give over their Attempts for that time; and a farther Ratification of the Peace, with as strong Covenants and Cautions as could be devised, was made with *Philip King of France*; who thereupon feasted the King of *England* at *Paris* with all outward Demonstrations of real Friendship. And here both Kings, being solicited to it by the Pope's Legate, granted a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all their Subjects Revenues for one Year (by way of Alms) for the Relief the Christians in the Holy Land; for the levying whereof *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter*, then Chief Justice, sent out his Writs by way of Request and Persuasion, avoiding in it all Terms of Coaction or Due, lest it should be drawn into a President afterward.

A Conspiracy against John, and the King's Victory over the Authors of it.

Not many Months after this a Conspiracy broke out, which was begun and carry'd on by *Hugh le Brun*, who being greatly incensed at the taking away his Wife (a Wrong which makes the deepest Impression on Man's Nature) joyn'd with Duke *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poitou* and *Britain*, and they made a strong Party against him. The King of *France* (notwithstanding all the former Obligations of Amity) combined with them out of hopes of Interest, declared himself for *Arthur*, to whom he marry'd his youngest Daughter, requires King *John* to deliver to him all his Territories in *France*, and upon a certain Day to appear in Person at *Paris* to answer such Accusations as should be brought against him, and abide the Judgment of his Court; which *John* refusing, was by Sentence of Court adjudged to lose all that he held of that Crown. Then were his Dominions assaulted on all sides, by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, by Prince *Arthur* and the Barons in *Anjou*, who laid Siege to his Castle in *Mirabel*, defended by *Eleanor* the Queen-Mother; but near taking, when *John*, with greater Force and Expedition than was expected, came and defeated the whole Army of the Besiegers, taking *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun*, the Barons of *Poitou*, and above two hundred Knights, and Men of Command, Prisoners; all which he carry'd away bound in Carts, and dispersed into several Castles both in *Normandy* and *England*. This Victory, which might seem to have Establish'd him in his Throne, was his Undoing; for by the ill use of it he lost himself and his Reputation for ever. For Prince *Arthur* was shortly after (by his means, as was thought) murder'd in Prison, and many of the Prisoners and Hostages cruelly executed; which so exasperated the Nobility of *Britain*, *Anjou*, and *Poitou*, that they took up Arms against him, appealed

for Justice to the King of *France*, and summon'd him to appear in his Court; which he refusing, he was condemned to lose his Dutchy of *Normandy*, which his Ancestors had held three hundred Years, and all his other Dominions in *France*, which either through his own Negligence, or Treachery of his Ministers, who were disaffected to him, was brought about, and he wholly dispossessed of them<sup>b</sup>.

In this miserable Condition he returns into *England*, and charges the Lords and Barons with his Losses in *France*, and fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods for refusing their Assistance, not sparing the Church it self. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* exacted this rigorous Tax of the Clergy, and *Jeffrey Fitz-Peter* Chief Justice of *England* of the Laity. But all this Treasure was not sufficient to supply his Wants, and furnish him with Assistance to recover his Losses, (which was the end of raising it) and therefore in less than a Year he was forced to call a Parliament at *Oxford*, to obtain in a more satisfactory way another Tax, and by it got a Grant of two Marks and an half upon every Knight's Fee for a Military Aid, and a proportionable Contribution of the Clergy. But no sooner was this Money gather'd, but an Occasion was offer'd of spending it in *France*, that devouring Gulph of the *English* Treasure, by a Revolt begun in *Britain* by *Guido*, the Husband of *Constance*, *Arthur's* Mother, *Saveri de Malleon*, and *Almaric Lusignian*, with many other Confederates; who not receiving that Satisfaction they expected from their new Master, call'd in the old one again; shewing us, that only Men's private Interests sway their Affections, though they often pretend Honour and Justice. King *John* hearing of it, hastened over into *Normandy*, and by the Forces he carry'd and found there, won the Castle of *Mont-alban*, and a little after the City of *Angiers*, and was in a fair way of recovering more; but the King of *France*, by the Fortune of one Day, (wherein he overthrew and took Prisoners the chief Confederates, *Guido*, *Almaric*, and *Saveri*) forced him to accept of a Truce for two Years, and return into *England* for more Supplies, which he took his old methods to obtain, by imposing a Tax of the thirteenth part of every Man's Moveables, and others Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. But his Subjects now seeing their Estates consumed without success, and likely to be a continual Prey to his extravagant Designs, began to bethink themselves of recovering their ancient Immunities, which had been usurped by their late Kings, and ease themselves of those Burthens indirectly laid upon them. The Archbishop of *York* was the first Man that began the Quarrel between the King and his Subjects, by opposing the Collection of the Imposition, and solemnly Cursing the Receivers of it; and then conveyed himself out of the Kingdom, choosing rather to live in Banishment abroad, than under Oppression at home. And here began the miserable Breach between the King and his People, which cost more Noble Blood to make up again than all the foreign Wars since the Conquest. For this Contest (tho' it had several Intermissions) did not fully cease till the *Great Charter* (which was first obtain'd of this King *John*, and confirm'd by his Son *Henry III.*

<sup>a</sup> It is not certain that Prince *Arthur* was murder'd, tho' perhaps King *John* was charg'd with it: Kings themselves, if not lov'd, can't escape foul Aspersions. *Arthur* was King *John's* Prisoner of War, and such an one as it seems Adversity could not humble; for when the King in Prison promis'd him his Favour, if he would renounce his Amity with the King of *France*, and live peaceably, he was so far from compliance, that he threaten'd him; which oblig'd the King to keep him in stricter Imprisonment. And *Matt. Paris* says, To escape this tedious Confinement, he ventur'd to swim over the River *Seine*, and was drown'd. Others write, that he dy'd of Grief.

<sup>b</sup> *Rouen*, the Capital City of *Normandy*, and the last that held out for King *John*, was taken in the Year 1204.

<sup>c</sup> *Matt. Paris* calls it a Colloquium.



A. D. 1207. but was never observed by either) was freely ratified by that Judicious King, *Edward I.* in the 27th Year of his Reign, which was above eighty Years after. This was the first Civil Disfention between the King and his Nobles that we find upon Record since the Establishment of the *English* Kingdom; and to understand the Causes and Occasions of it, I shall take a View of the posture of Affairs at that time.

The Norman Nobility.

It was about an hundred and forty Years since *William* the Conqueror planted the *Norman* Nobility here, whose Posterity being now become meer *English*, were at this time very Numerous, Rich, and of great Spirits, being exercised in the Wars of *France*, where most of them were Commanders of Castles, and had great Estates, as well as in *England*. But being under this violent and unsuccessful King depriv'd both of their Employments and Estates abroad, they contriv'd all they could to preserve what they had left, and enrich themselves at home; which, because they could not do so long as they were perpetually harassed at the King's Will, they resolv'd to make use of their own Martial Courage, and the Privileges of the Nation to do it. Their Cause was much better than their Prosecution of it; which filled all things with Injustice and Disorder. The strange Corruption of the Times contributed much to the Mischief. An ambitious Clergy, polluted with Avarice, brought in a feigned Piety to be a Party in it. The Occasion of their Interposition in this Affair began about the Election of a new Archbishop of *Canterbury* after the Death of *Hubert*, after this manner: The Monks of that Convent pretending, that it belong'd to them by their ancient Privileges to elect an Archbishop, met in the Night, and chose one *Reginald* their Sub-prior, on purpose to prevent the King's Nomination, and taking an Oath of Secrecy of him, dispatch'd him to *Rome* to be install'd. But his great Joy for his Preferment soon brake out, and his Election was openly discover'd at his arrival in *Flanders*; which the Monks hearing, and fearing the King's Displeasure, they sent to crave leave to elect a fit Person for their See. The King thereupon nominates to them *John Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he favour'd much, and persuaded them to prefer, which, after long Debate, they yielded to: And so *John Gray* was advanced to the Chair, wherein (saith *Matt. Paris*) their last Error was worse than their first; and began that Contest, which proved an irreparable Damage to the whole Kingdom.

Both Elections null'd, and Stephen Langton chosen by the Pope.

This Election being made, the King sends to *Rome* some of the Monks of *Canterbury* (among whom was *Elias de Brantfield*, a trusty Servant of the King's) with a plentiful Provision for their Journey, to obtain the Pope's Confirmation of it. The Suffragan Bishops of the Church of *Canterbury* sent also their Complaints against the Monks, for Electing without their Concurrence, which by Right and Custom they ought to have; alledging, that three Archbishops had been by them elected. The Monks oppos'd their Allegation, and offer'd to bring proof, that they only, by the special Privilege of the *Roman* See, were accustomed to elect. The Pope appointed a certain Day for the deciding of this Controversie; and upon hearing of both sides fully, pronounced both Elections void, by the advice of the Cardinals; the first, because it was made in the Night, and not in a fit Season; and the other, because the first, tho' irregular, was not juridically made null: And then propounded unto the Monks a third Man, which was *Stephen de Langton*, an *English-*

man born, and a Cardinal of an high Spirit, whom A. D. he perswaded them to elect; alledging, that it was 1207. in their power by his Prerogative to make good Reg. 9. his Choice. *Stephen Langton* being thus chosen, and after consecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope dismisses the Monks and the King's Agents with Letters to King *John*, exhorting him to receive this Archbishop favourably, who was canonically Elected, a Native of his Kingdom, a Doctor of Divinity, and Learned in all the Sciences, and which exceeded his Learning, of a good Life and Conversation, every way fit to hold so great a Place, &c. He wrote also to the Prior and Monks of *Canterbury*, charging them by Virtue of their holy Obedience to receive the Archbishop for their Pastor, and obey him in all Spiritual and Temporal Matters. The Letters being brought to the King, with an account of what had been done at *Rome*, so enraged him, that in heat of Passion he sent *Fulke de Cantlo*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with some armed Men, to expel the Monks of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdom, and seize upon all they had, which was as hotly Executed as Commanded, and the Prior and all the Monks fled into *Flanders*, (except such as were not able through Sicknes to remove.)

Then he wrote a sharp Letter to the Pope, accusing him, that he had done him wrong in making the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich* void, being a Man he greatly favour'd, and advancing *Stephen Langton*, a Person unknown to him, and bred up in the Kingdom of *France*, among his Enemies; and which was more to his Prejudice, and against the Prerogative of his Crown, he had prefer'd him without his consent, which should first have been required. So that he much wonder'd, that the Pope and Court of *Rome* so little valued his Friendship; and did not consider, that his Kingdom of *England* yielded them more advantage than any Kingdom on this side the *Alps*. He also added, That he would vindicate the Liberties of his Crown to Death, and would not recede from the Election of the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he knew every way fit for the Place. And in the Conclusion threatens, that if he were not gratified in the Premises, he would hinder all resort to the Court of *Rome*; and that, if Necessity required, he had in his Kingdom of *England*, and his other Dominions, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, of so great Learning as could do the business of his Nation, without going to beg Justice of Strangers.

The Pope having received this Letter from the King, return'd answer to it, beginning with these words: 'Whereas we wrote to you concerning the business of the Church of *Canterbury*, exhorting and persuading you, humbly, earnestly, and mildly; you have written again to us (as I may with your leave say) in a contumacious manner, reproving and threatening us; and tho' we took care to give you more than your Right, you have not been careful to give us ours; respecting us less than becomes you: And if your Devotion be most necessary for us, ours is no less fit for you. And whereas we have honour'd no Prince so much as you, you have derogated from our Honour more than any other Prince in the like Case would have done; alledging certain frivolous Pretences, why you can't consent to the Election of our beloved Son *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal of *S. Chrysogonus*, made by the Monks of *Canterbury*, because he hath been bred among your Enemies, and his Person is altogether unknown to you. To which he re-

John offended at the Pope's Election, writes to him.

The Pope's Answer to the King.



A. D. 1207. Reg. 9. plies: That it was for his Reputation, not his Fault, that he had liv'd so long at *Paris*, where he had made so great Progress in his Studies as to be created a Doctor not only of the Learned Sciences but of Divinity; and for his Life, agreeable to his Learning, obtain'd a Prebend at *Paris*. Wherefore he could not but wonder, that a Man of so great note, and a Native of his Kingdom should be unknown to him, at least in Fame; especially since (saith he) you have written thrice unto him, since he hath been made a Cardinal by us, assuring him, That tho' you had a Desire to call him to your familiar Attendance, yet you rejoiced that he was exalted to an higher Office. Then he makes an Excuse to the King, that his Consent was not requir'd; Altho' (saith he) in Elections celebrated at the Apostolick See, the Consent of Princes is not to be expected, yet were two Monks deputed to go unto you to ask your Consent, who were stopp'd at *Dover*, so that they could not deliver the Message enjoin'd them, with many other things. So that at length (saith he) we resolv'd to do, as the Canonical Sanctions order'd, without declining to the Right Hand, or to the Left; that there might be no farther Delays to our pious Designs, lest the Lord's Flock should be without Pastoral Cure, and therefore it can't be revok'd. And in the Conclusion he useth these words; As we have had more Respect to your Honour, than we were oblig'd in Duty, do you give us that Honour which is our Due, that you may deserve God's Favour and ours; lest by doing otherwise, you bring your self into so great Troubles, as can't easily be remov'd. For he in the end must overcome, to whom all Knees bow both in Heaven and Earth and Hell, whose Vicegerency here below we (tho' unworthy) do exercise: Yield not therefore to their Counsels, who desire to involve you in Confusions, that themselves may fish in troubled Waters, but submit your self to our Pleasure, which will tend to your Praise and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to oppose God and the Church, for which the Blessed Martyr and Eminent Bishop *Thomas* lately dy'd; especially since your Father and Brother, of Glorious Memory, late Kings of *England*, have by the hands of the Legates of the Apostolick See, abjur'd that impious Custom: We, if you behave your self well, will sufficiently take care, that no Prejudice shall arise to you, or yours hereby. Dated at the *Lateran* in the 10th Year of our Pontificate. Thus did these two great and powerful Princes defend their Prerogatives with Words: But when the Pope understood with what Severity the King had proceeded against the Monks of *Canterbury*, he sends presently his Mandate to the Bishops of *London*, *Ely* and *Worcester*, commanding them to treat first mildly with the King, and exhort him to reform his Actions; but if he obstinately persisted, to interdict the whole Kingdom, and if that would not prevail, he would deal more severely with him himself: And withal, charged the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, by Virtue of their Obedience, to receive their Archbishop *Stephen*, and to obey him with all Respect. The Bishops, according to the Pope's Injunction, went to the King, and shewing him the Pope's Mandate, besought him, For the Love of God, to recall the Archbishop and Monks of *Canterbury*, and to use them with Kindness

The Pope's Command to the Bishops upon the Banishment of the Monks, and the King's Answer to it.

and Respect, that he might avoid the Trouble of an Interdiction, &c. The King interrupting the Bishops Speech, broke out into a violent Passion against the Pope and Cardinals, swearing by God's Teeth, That if they or any other should dare to put the Kingdom under Interdiction, he would send all the Clergy of *England* immediately to the Pope and confiscate their Goods: And if any Person sent from *Rome* for that end were found in any part of the Land, he would have their Eyes put out and Noses cut off, and so sent home, that by these Marks they might be known of other Nations, charging the Bishops to depart his Presence immediately, as they tender'd their own Safety. The Bishops soon after give the Pope an Account of the Success of their Message, and the Kingdom was thereupon interdicted, the Ministration of Sacraments ceased (except of Confession, Extrem Unction, and Baptism of Children) the dead were buried without Priest or Prayer. The Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Bath* and *Hereford*, fled secretly out of the Kingdom. The King to requite this Severity, sends his Sheriffs and other Ministers, to command all the Bishops and their Servants to depart forthwith out of the Kingdom, puts the Bishopricks, Abbies, and Priors into the hands of Lay-men, confiscating all their Revenues; but the Bishops got into the Monasteries, and would not depart, unless expell'd by Force, which the Officers would not do, because their Commission did not reach so far, wherefore they seiz'd on their Goods for the King's Use. The Monkish Writers of those Times give us a Tragical Account of the barbarous Usage the Clergy and Religious Men met withal from the King's Servants at this time, and 'tis probable the incensed King might encourage Men to injure and abuse them, from whom he suffer'd so much; but their rebellious Obstinacy deserv'd such Severities, that their credible Relations will pass for Forgeries.

The King not having been able to prevent this Curse, sets himself to hinder the ill Consequents of it. He was sensible, that this Breach with the Church would endanger his Peace, and probably cause a Defection among his Subjects; and therefore to avoid it, he sent a Body of Soldiers to all the most potent Men in his Kingdom, to require of them Hostages for their Fidelity, which many of them yielded to, sending some their Sons, other their Nephews, and others their nearest Kin. *William de Brause*, a Nobleman, being requir'd to deliver his Hostage, was prevented in his Answer by his Wife, who told the Commissioners, That the King should have none of her Sons to keep, because he kept *Arthur* his own Brother's Son so ill; which rash Speech the Baron sharply reproving his Wife for before the King's Servants, told them, That he was ready, if he had offended, to satisfy the King without any Pledge, according to the Judgment of his Court, or that of his Peers at any Time or Place whatsoever. But his Wife's Answer was taken more notice of than his, and reported to the King, who sends immediately to apprehend the Baron; but he having notice of it, or fearing what would follow, got away with his Wife and Children into *Ireland*, where this afflicted Lady sought all ways to pacify the King's Wrath, and presented the Queen with four hundred Milk-white Cows and a Bull: But this would not procure her Pardon. The King at length apprehended her and her Sons (the Baron himself

\* His usual Oath was, By God's Feet, and he swore so now.

\* Their Concubines, *Focaria*, are particularly nam'd by *Paris* to be taken from them, and the Priests and Clerks were forc'd to pay great Compositions to recover them.

\* As *M. Paris* says, in the Highways and Ditches.



A. D. 1208. escaping into France) and imprison'd them in Windsor Castle; where both she and her innocent Children were famish'd to Death, a sharp Punishment for a rash Tongue.

*The Exchequer removed from London.* 1209. The King displeased with the Londoners, removed his Exchequer to Northampton, and with a great Army marches towards Scotland, to make War upon that King for harbouring his Enemies, and assisting them against him. But by mediation a Peace was agreed upon, on these Conditions: That the King of Scots should pay eleven thousand Marks of Silver, and deliver up his two Daughters Hostages to secure the Peace. In his return he caused all the Inclosures of his Forests to be beaten down, to the great Grief of his Subjects; whom, though he never minded to satisfy, yet he sought all means to fasten them in their Obedience, (whereof Love, not Rigour, is the fastest tie) and therefore took Homage of all Free-Tenants, yea even of Children of twelve Years old throughout the Kingdom.

*King John Excommunicated.* After the Interdiction had lain upon the Kingdom two Years, to the Distraction of the People, but without the effect intended upon the King, the Pope thinking to bring him to compliance, proceeds to the Excommunication of his Person; a piece of Rigour, which his Predecessor Alexander, being better advised, would not use against Henry II. tho' accused of a more heinous Crime upon the Person of Thomas Becket; but this method failed also, and the King grew only the more enraged against the Clergy: So that, notwithstanding the Pope's Mandate, they durst not execute it for many Days after, but kept it close from his knowledge; but at length it came to his Ears, by the means of Jeffrey Arch-deacon of Norwich, an Officer in the King's Exchequer, who conferring with his Fellows about the Sentence, affirmed, That it was not lawful for any Beneficed Men to remain in the Service and Obedience of an Excommunicated King; and so without leave withdrew himself from his place to his own House. The King hearing of this Action was very angry, and presently sent Sir William Talbot with armed Men to apprehend him, and lay him in Fetters in close Imprisonment; and afterward, at the King's Command, he was put into a Sheet of Lead\*, in which, with the weight, and want of Victuals, he perish'd.

*Otho the Emperor Excommunicated.* This Excommunication of the King of England was accompany'd the same Year with another of the Emperor Otho, his Nephew, which like his Uncle's was look'd upon as a strain of the Pope's Pride and Injustice; because it was done in a Case of the Pope's own private Interest, seeking to extend his Authority beyond the bounds of a Spiritual Jurisdiction, which reaches only to their Souls, not Estates. For tho' the Pope had been very Instrumental in raising him to the Imperial Dignity, and opposing the Election of Philip, Son of Fredericke Barbarossa, for his own ends, because in the Vacancy of the Empire he had seized certain Parts of Italy belonging to it, and hoped so to keep them; yet when Otho sought to recover his Right, he procured the Pope's Displeasure, who sent him divers Messages to desist from the Prosecution of his Design, both in respect to himself, and Fredericke King of Sicily, who had put himself under the Protection of the Apostolick See. To these Messages the Emperor replied, That if the Pope desires unjustly to usurp any thing that belongs to the Empire, he must absolve me from the Oath which he caused me to take at my Coronation, which was, That

I should recall and recover the Rights which A. D. had been rent from the Empire, and I will desist. 1209. But the Pope refusing this, and the Emperor not desisting from his Claim, the Pope issued out his Excommunication against him, and absolved all the States of Germany from their Obedience to him. And thus were two of the greatest Princes in the World left to the Mercy of their Subjects, so far as lay in the Pope's power; but the Ligaments and Sinews of Government were not so wholly dissolved, especially in England, but the Kingdom continued still in some tolerable Order and Quiet, the Natural Affections of some, Sense of Duty and Obligations of Interest in others, keeping them firm to their Loyalty and Allegiance; so that most of the Nobles adhered to their King.

But because Ease and Idleness would probably corrupt his Loyal Subjects, and make them ready to hearken to the Suggestions of the Pope against him, therefore the King resolv'd to keep them in Employment; and having received an Intelligence of a Revolt of the Irish, he undertakes an Expedition into Ireland to secure his Dominions there. At his first arrival, all the great Men, which held the Castles and Champion Country near the Coasts, came in, and did their Homage and Fealty to him at Dublin; but those that lived in the more remote parts, and held the Forts, refused to come; of which Cathal King of Connaught was the strongest, and the Confidence of the rest. King John therefore attack'd and conquer'd him, and soon became absolute Master of the Country; which to reduce into better Order, he commanded to be govern'd by the Laws and Customs of England, caused English Money to be coined there, of equal Value and alike Current as in England, with many other Constitutions, which if they had been as carefully kept as they were wisely settled, might have kept that Kingdom in entire Obedience ever after, and saved all the Pains and Expence which it cost in after-Ages to preserve it. After three Months stay, having made John Gray Bishop of Norwich Chief Justice there, he return'd home, and presuming upon his strength, summon'd all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him at London, where he extorted from them for the Redemption of their Sees from the Laity an hundred thousand Pound Sterling. With this Sum he was enabled to go on with his Expedition into Wales, which then rebelled under Lewelin King of North-Wales, and reduced it to his Obedience in the twelfth Year of his Reign, taking twenty eight Children of their best Families for Pledges of their future Subjection. At his return, he exacted two Marks of every Knight that attended not upon his Army in that Expedition; and by the way at Northampton is pleased to receive the Pope's Agents, Pandulphus and Durandus, who came from the Pope to make Peace between the Kingdom and Clergy, and found the King so pliable to their Proposals and Advice, in Consideration of the State of the Kingdom, that he consented that the Archbishop and Monks of Canterbury, with all the exil'd Bishops, should return to their Places, but refused to make good their Estates which he had confiscated: At which the Agents of the Pope departing unsatisfied, brought greater Troubles upon the King. For the Pope finding him a little yielding, grew more intolerably Imperious, and would force him to what he pleased; and for that end absolv'd all his Subjects, of what Condition soever, from their Obedience, strictly forbidding them, under pain of Excommunication, the King's Table, Counsel

\* 'Twas a Leaden Cope. Matt. Paris.



A. D. 1212. and Conference; which notwithstanding prevail'd not so much as to keep his Subjects from paying their Service to him; tho' it caus'd a Revolt of the *Welsh*, and a Conspiracy of some of his People against him. The *Welsh* he hasten'd to subdue, and hang'd up their twenty eight Hostages for breach of Peace; but before he could effect it, the Conspiracy against his Person being discover'd, he was oblig'd to return to *London* to suppress the suspected Nobles, of which he got Pledges; but *Eustace de Vesey* and *Robert Fitz-Walter*, the Leaders of it, escap'd, the one into *France*, and the other into *Scotland*. The Pope being thus again disappointed of his Designs, proceeded to his last Efforts, and pronounced the greatest and most imperious Sentence that ever was given against any Sovereign Prince, viz. an absolute Deposition from the Royal Government of *England*; and wrote to the King of *France*, 'That as he desired to have Remission of his Sins, he should undertake to expel King *John* out of the Kingdom of *England*, and possess the same for himself and his Heirs for ever. And to the same effect he sent his Letters to other Princes, and great Men of other Nations, 'That they should assist the King of *France* in ejecting the Contumacious King of *England*, who had done so great Injury to the Universal Church; granting them the same Remission of Sins, as if they undertook the Holy War.

With the former Commission were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other banished Bishops, with *Pandulphus*, dispatch'd to the King of *France* for the Execution thereof; which notwithstanding the Pope seems to have done, rather to terrify King *John*, than greatness the King of *France*, whom the Pope desired not to make more powerful; for he order'd *Pandulphus* to condition thus with him apart: 'That if upon the preparations gather'd by him against King *John*, he could bring the King of *England* to such Conditions as he should propound, he should be absolved and restored. The King of *France*, upon this Request and Order of the Pope, and Solicitation of his Ministers, commands all his Nobility and Princes within his Dominions to assemble their Forces, with Horse, Armour, and all Ammunition, to assist him in this business, and be ready in the Spring under pain of being depriv'd of their Estates; preparing also a great Navy for their Transportation into *England*. King *John* having Information of these Designs against him, sends to all the Ports of his Kingdom, commanding, That all the Ships, which could possibly be gotten, be ready against the Spring for this Expedition; and summoning 'all Earls, Barons, and all Persons of every Condition whatsoever, that could bear Arms, to be ready at *Dover* immediately after *Easter*, furnish'd with Horse, Armour, and all other Military Provisions, to defend themselves and his Kingdom against the intended Invasion, under pain of Culvertag (i. e. being branded for Cowards) and perpetual Servitude. Whereupon so great numbers of People resorted to *Dover*, *Faversham*, *Ipswich*, and other places suspected for their landing, that sufficient Arms and Provision could not be got for them; so that Multitudes were sent home again as unnecessary, and only the choice

and abler sort reserved, which amounted to the number of sixty thousand, well provided for Battle, besides the Navy, much greater than the King of *France's*. King *John* thus prepared, stood in Expectation of his Enemies, when privately two Knights Templars, sent over by *Pandulphus*, came to propound a Treaty to him about a Pacification, which, notwithstanding all this preparation, the King accepted. *Pandulphus* being presently advertis'd of it, withdraws himself out of the *French* Army, and came over to treat with him; whom he so terrified with the Forces bent against him, and the Danger he was in, that he yielded to any Conditions whatsoever; and not only grants a Restitution and Satisfaction of whatever had been taken from the Archbishop and Monks of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, who were fled to the Archbishop, but also lays down his Crown, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, the Badges of his Royal Dignity, at the Feet of *Pandulphus*; delivering up therewith the Kingdom of *England* to the Pope, and submitting himself to the Judgment and Mercy of the Church. Two Days (some write, six) it was before the Legate would restore him his Crown; and at the receiving of it he swore, (his Earls undertaking for him) That he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of *England*, and the Lordship of *Ireland*, of the See of *Rome*, at the Yearly Tribute of a thousand Marks of Silver. And this, with his Homage and Fealty, he confirm'd by his Charter at an House of the Templars near *Dover*. The weighty Reasons which moved King *John* to condescend to such dishonourable Terms are said by the Historians of those Times to be these: 'The Sense of his own Sins against God, having lived five Years excommunicated, and the Troubles the Kingdom was in by the Interdiction. 2. The Greatness of his Enemies, the King of *France*, and his Adherents. 3. The doubtful Allegiance of his Nobility, whom he had offended. 4. The Approach of Ascension-day, after which one *Peter*, an Hermite and Southsayer, had prophesied, he should be no more King of *England*; which, tho' mistaken in the manner, was in some sort fulfilled by this Resignation. But the Southsayer and his Son was put to Death not long after for his otherwise Interpreted Divination. But notwithstanding this Submission of King *John*, the Interdiction of the Kingdom continu'd, and his own Absolution was deferr'd, till full Restitution was made to the Clergy, for whom eight thousand Marks of Silver was presently deliver'd to *Pandulphus*, who at the receiving thereof trampled it under his Feet, as contemning the base Matter in respect of the Grace conferr'd upon the Transgressor; and so return'd with it into *France*, where he declared what had pass'd in *England*; and forbids the King of *France*, upon pain of Excommunication, to proceed any farther in this Expedition, since King *John* has so much submitted himself to the Church.

The King of *France* being in a readiness for this great Invasion, and full of hopes of Victory, flew into a great Passion at the Receipt of this sudden and unexpected Message, and was hardly diverted from his Intentions, by reason of the great Charge he had been at, and through the

\* Tho' that was seventeen hundred Sail.

\* Many of the Peers, who were present at this Act of Resignation made by King *John* to *Pandulphus*, were much displeas'd, not only with the King for so much debasing himself, but more with *Pandulphus* for his insolent Behaviour in accepting and detaining his Regalities; and particularly *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin* protested against it, as an illegal Incroachment upon the Crown of *England*.

\* This Charter is extant at large in Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 230.

\* Sixty thousand Pounds.



A. D. 1213. Reg. 15. Dishonour of the thing; but at last, seeing his Confederates all discouraged by the Menaces of the Church, he gave it over, tho' unwillingly; but for his own Reputation, and through desire of Revenge, having so great Forces a-foot, and his Navy ready at the Mouth of the Seine, he resolv'd to undertake something that might give Satisfaction to the Adventurers, and his own People, who had embark'd in that Action. And because Ferrard Earl of Flanders, who was in Friendship with King John, refused to follow him in this Expedition, he falls upon him, who was next him, and enters his Port of Dam, vowing, *That Flanders should be France, or France Flanders.* Ferrard seeing this Tempest coming on him, sends to King John to assist him, who being glad that he had escap'd a defensive War at home, was eager to enter into an offensive one abroad, both to employ his Navy and keep his People in Action, who would be unsatisfied (he knew) if he dismiss'd them without Action; and therefore sends away five hundred Sail of Ships, with seven hundred Knights, unto Flanders, under the Conduct of his base Brother William Longespee Earl of Salisbury, and Reginald Earl of Bologne; whom being driven out of France for some Demerit, he had entertain'd in his Court, and allow'd him a Pension. These arriving at the Port of Dam found the French Navy in great Disorder, and without Defence (the Forces being gone out of it to invade the Country) and setting upon it defeated it wholly; and afterward, joining their Power with Ferrard's, drove the King of France's Army home with great Dishonour and exceeding great Loss.

John endeavours to recover his lost Dominion in France. King John being elevated with this Victory, and his Peace with the Church, resolves upon great Designs; and taking the Opportunity of this Overthrow of the King of France, contrives to recover all his Dominions on that side the Sea, by assailing that King on all sides, engaging his Nephew Otto, the Emperour, to joyn the Earl of Flanders and invade the East Parts of France, while he with all his Forces would enter the West; for the Execution of which purpose, he sends first a Supply of Money to his Captains in Flanders, and then assembles a great Army at Portsmouth to pass the Seas: But all his Contrivance was delay'd and spoil'd by the Revolt of his Nobility, who refus'd to assist or attend him in it till he were absolved, and had confirm'd their Liberties to them. This unexpected Opposition to his Affairs in hand much enrag'd him, but seeing no way to avoid it, he sends immediately for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops who were yet in France, and promis'd them Restitution and Satisfaction under the Hands and Seals of twenty four of his Barons, and Earls who undertook for the Performance thereof according to the Form of the Charter made on this account before. Pandulphus, with the rest of the exil'd Bishops, came over forthwith and find the King at Winchester, where he came forth to meet them, and on his Knees with Tears receiv'd them, beseeching them to have Compassion on him and of the Kingdom of England. He was absolv'd with great Repentance, and Compassion of all the Beholders express'd with Tears, and swears upon the Evangelists, 'To love, defend, and maintain Holy Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their Adversaries, to the utmost of his Power: That he would bring into Use again the good Laws of his Predecessors, and especially of King Ed-

ward, abrogating all unjust Laws: That he would judge all his Subjects according to the just Judgment of his Court; and that immediately after Easter next following, he would make a full Satisfaction of all that had been taken from the Church. Which being done, he return'd to Portsmouth with an Intention to pass over into France, committing the Government of the Kingdom to Jeffrey Fitz-Peter, and the Bishop of Winchester, injoining them to order all Affairs and Businesses by the Counsel of the Archbishop of Canterbury. And here a great Company of Soldiers repair'd to him, complaining, that by their long Attendance their Money was spent, so that they could not follow him, unless he would supply them out of his Exchequer; which the King refusing to do, he took Ship in a Rage, with his Family, and sail'd to the Isle of Jersey, expecting that his Nobles would follow him: But seeing none of them come, and the Season for Action being over, he was forced to return again into England, where he gather'd an Army to chastise his Barons, who had forsaken him. But the Archbishop of Canterbury follows him to Northampton, Urging, 'That it was against his Oath, taken at his Absolution, to proceed in that manner against any Man without the Judgment of his Court. To whom the King in great Passion replied, 'That he would not lay aside the Business of the Kingdom for his Pleasure, seeing the Judgment of the Laity did not belong to him, and so in a Fury marches to Nottingham. The Archbishop still pursues him, and plainly told him, 'That unless he would desist from his Intention, he would excommunicate all such as took up Arms against any Man, before he releas'd the Interdiction, and would not leave him till he had obtain'd a convenient Day for the Lords to come to his Court, which he at length granted. And a Parliament was soon after called, and met in St. Paul's Church, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury produced a Charter of King Henry I. by which he granted to his People their ancient Liberties (which had been violated by his Predecessors unjust Exactions) according to the Laws of King Edward, with those Amendments, which his Father by the Council of his Barons did ratify. This Charter (which is extant in *M. Paris*) being read among the Barons, they much rejoiced at it, and swore in the Presence of the Archbishop, That for these Liberties they would, if need requir'd, spend their Blood; and making an Agreement with the Archbishop to that end, the Parliament brake up.

Shortly after this dy'd Jeffrey Fitz-Peter, Chief Justice of England, a Man of a generous Spirit, learn'd in the Laws and skilful in Government; the only Man, who in those divided Times kept himself disengag'd, performing the part of an equal Counsellor and Officer between the King and his Subjects; whom tho' the King most used, he most feared and least loved, as bad Princes do their Worthiest Ministers, whose Gravity and Judgment keeps them in Awe. The King hearing of his Death, was much pleas'd, and said, *When he comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop Hubert, whom he will certainly find there;* and turning to those that attended, he swore by the Feet of God, *That now at length he was King and Lord of England, being now at Liberty (as he imagin'd) to free himself from the Oath he had made to his great Men against his Will, and*

\* The French Historians affirm the Expedition against the Earl of Flanders was before Pandulph came over.

\* They came to Winchester the 20th July, 1213. *Hel.*

\* 'Twas a Synod of that Clergy, with some Barons among them. *M. Paris.*



A. D. 1213. to break the Peace he had lately concluded. And first to make himself an absolute Master of his Subjects (of whose Combination against him he had gotten Intelligence) it is said, That he sent an Ambassage by *Thomas Hardington*, *Ralph Fitz-Nichols*, Knights, and *Robert of London*, Clerk, his Commissioners, to *Miramumalim* the Moor, the great King of *Africa*, *Morocco*, and *Spain*; who was then the Terror of all *Christendom*, with his mighty Army, promising him to resign his Kingdom to him and hold it ever after by Tribute from him, as his Sovereign Lord, to forsake the Christian Faith (which he held vain) and become a *Mahometan*, if he would lend him a sufficient Aid to accomplish his Designs; but they return'd with an ineffectual Answer, either because (as his Enemies the Monks relate) he disdain'd the Baseness and Impiety of the Offer, or he was made unable to do it by reason of the Overthrow of his great Army with the Death of his Son, which soon after happen'd. The King being disappointed in this Attempt, takes another way to bring about his Designs, and try Pope *Innocent* (a Person easie to be induc'd to do any thing for Money) with great Sums, and a repeated Assurance of his Subjection, which he shortly after confirm'd by a fresh Oath and a new Charter to the Pope's Legate, the Bishop of *Tusculum*, who was sent over by the Pope for that purpose, with a full Authority to compose all Differences between the King and the Church. Several Assemblies were had in divers places to settle this Agreement, and in the end the King having promis'd, and given Security to pay thirteen thousand Marks more in full Satisfaction for the Damages done to the Church. The Interdiction was released<sup>a</sup>, which had continu'd six Years, three Months, and fourteen Days, to the inestimable Loss of the Church and Churchmen, and the King recommended to the Court of *Rome* for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Son of the Church; and the Clergy, instead of a Satisfaction for their particular Damages which they brought in to the Legate, receiv'd a sharp Reprimand for their Obstinacy in opposing him.

John's Success in Poitou.

The King having referr'd the Determination of this whole Controversie to the Legate and some of his own Ministers (being fully assur'd of the Pope's Favour) was gone into *Poitou* to attack the King of *France*, according to his Design and Agreement with the Emperour *Otho*, who was to invade him by the way of *Flanders*. He landed at *Rochel* with his Queen, and having receiv'd the Fealty of many of the Barons of *Poitou*, march'd forward into the Country, and recover'd many Castles and Places of Importance (as appears by his Letters from *Parthenas* to the Justices of the Exchequer, in which also he says, that he had promis'd his Daughter *Joanna* in Marriage to the Earl of *Marche*'s Son, tho' the King of *France* had desir'd her for his Son, but fraudulently.) From thence he goes into *Britain*, takes the City of *Nantz*, and prepar'd to encounter *Lewis* the French King's Son, who was come into those Parts with a mighty Army to stop his Proceedings. But the *Poitevins* having discover'd the Force of the Enemy, refus'd to fight: Where-

upon the King to his extream Grief, forsook the Field, and was forced to come to a dishonourable Peace with the King of *France*, and so irrecoverably lost his Dominions there. But his Forces in *Flanders*, which were joyn'd with the Emperour's, and *Ferrand*'s, had far worse Luck; for the King of *France* having gather'd all his Forces he could together, encounter'd them at *Bouvines* Bridge, and overthrew the Emperour with all the Confederate Army, which consisted of one hundred fifty thousand Foot, besides Horse; of which fifteen hundred Knights were slain, and *Ferrand* Earl of *Flanders*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Bologne*, and (as the *Annals of Flanders* relate) the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Lemburg*, and the Earls of *Savoy* and *Luxemburgh* were taken Prisoners, the Emperour *Otho* IV. himself hardly escaping, who lived not long after.

The Barons of *England* hearing of the King's Misfortunes, and fearing his outrageous Anger at his return, assembled themselves at *St. Edmondsbury*; where after a long Conference about the late produced Charter of *Henry* the first, they swore to one another upon the high Altar, That if King *John* refused to restore and confirm to them their Liberties and the Rights of the Kingdom contain'd in it, they would make War upon him, till he had given them Satisfaction therein; and agreed, That after *Christmas* next they would petition him for the same, and in the mean time furnish themselves with Horses and Arms to be ready (if the King should recede from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the time of his Absolution, for the Confirmation of these Liberties) to compel him to ratifie their Demands. After *Christmas* accordingly the Barons came in a Military manner to the King, who then lay in the new Temple, urging their Desires with great Vehemency. The King seeing their Resolution and Inclination to War, made them Answer, 'That the Matter they desir'd being of Importance, he would take time to consider of it till *Easter*, and in the mean time takes upon him the Vow of the Cross rather through Fear than Devotion; thinking himself safer among Infidels than Rebellious Subjects. The Lords continuing their Resolution, and foreseeing that the King would grant them nothing but by Force of Arms, summon'd their Army to *Stamford*, wherein 'tis said were two thousand Knights besides Esquires among the Foot; and from thence march'd towards *Oxford*, where the King expected their coming, according to the time appointed for Answer to their Demands. The Barons being come to *Brackley* with their Army, the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* his Marshal, with other grave Counsellours, to demand of them what were those Laws and Liberties: To whom they gave a Schedule, or List of them, to deliver to the King; which when the Commissioners read to the King, he ask'd them in great Anger, 'Why the Barons did not likewise demand the Kingdom? And swore, That he would never grant those Liberties whereby himself should become a Slave. The Barons having receiv'd this Answer, and being as hasty as he was averse, resolve to seize upon the King's Castles; and having

<sup>a</sup> This Embassy to *Miramumalim*, the Moorish Emperour, is judg'd by our English Historians a Monkish Lye, invented to blacken the Memory of this King, because he had been so severe to them; for it was the common Calumny of the Monks, that they had no Religion who lov'd not their Orders. *Mat. Paris* is the only Author that relates this Story; yet it seems improbable, that he who liv'd and wrote in the Reign of this King's Son, and by his particular Encouragement, should dare to report such a scandalous Embassy if it was not true.

<sup>b</sup> Archbishop *Langton* (tho' a great Friend to the Roman See) and all the Nobility protested against this Act of King *John*, in subjecting his See to the Pope; and the Nobility declar'd, That one of the chief Causes of their making War upon him was, because he had illegally alienated his Kingdom: And upon this account it was, that this Subjection to the Pope was recall'd by Parliament. 3. *Edw.* 1. and 40. *Edw.* 3.

<sup>c</sup> The Interdiction was taken off in *St. Paul's Church* the 29th of *June*, 1214. *Hol.*



A. D. 1215. made Robert Fitz-Walter their General, whom they entitled, *The Marshal of the Army of God and Holy Church*, they presently march towards *Northampton*, which they besieged; but finding it in vain, departed to *Bedford*, where *William de Beuchamp* surrender'd to them; and the *Londoners* sent a private Message to them to invite them into their City, which they would deliver up to be ruled by them. The Barons, glad of this news, repair immediately thither, and are joyfully accepted. And now being in Possession of the greatest Strength of the Kingdom, they not only increased daily in their Party, but grew bolder with the King; making another solemn Protestation, never to give over the Prosecution of their intended Design, till they constrain'd the King (whom they held perjurd) to grant them their Rights. The King seeing himself in a manner wholly forsaken, having scarce seven Knights faithful to him, counterfeits the Bishops Seals, and writes in their Names to all Nations, 'That the *English* were turn'd Apostates; and who-so-ever would come to invade them, he by the Pope's consent would confer upon them all their Lands and Possessions. But this Device taking no effect, because of the small Confidence they had either in him or his People, a Parly by the mediation of the Earl Marshal and others was obtained with the Barons, to be had between *Windfor* and *Stanes*, in a Meadow call'd *Running Mead*, (a place anciently used for such Conferences) where, after many Meetings and much Debate, the King freely consented, for the Glory of God and Benefit of the Kingdom, to confirm those Laws and Liberties formerly restored, and in part ordained by *Henry the First* (contained now in the *Great Charter*, and *Charter Foresta*.) And that there might be no Differences in this kind for the future, he granted them a Security for the firm and long Enjoyment of these Laws and Liberties in this manner: 'That there should be twenty five Barons chosen out of their Number, whom they would, who to the utmost of their power should cause the same to be observed. And if the King, or his Chief Justice, should break any Article of those Laws, and their Offence be discover'd, four Barons of the twenty five should come to the King, or in his absence out of the Kingdom, to his Justice, and signify the Offence, requiring a Redress without delay; which, if it were not made within forty Days after notice given, then those four should refer the Cause to the rest of the twenty five, who with the Commons of the Land, may compel and force him by all means they could, viz. by seizing his Castles and Revenues, (his own, Queen's and Childrens Persons excepted) till redress be made according to their Arbitration. And that whosoever would, should take their Oath for the Execution of it, and obey the Command of the twenty five Barons without prohibition; and if any of them dissented, or would not assemble, the major part shall have the same power of proceeding. And for the greater Caution, the four Governours of the Castles of *Northampton*, *Kenselworth*, *Nottingham*, and *Scarborough*, should be sworn to obey the Command of the twenty five Barons, or the major part of them, in whatsoever they thought fit concerning those Castles, and none should be placed in them, but such as were faithful, and would observe that Oath, &c. That several Strangers, of which divers are expressly nam'd, should be ban-

nish'd the Kingdom, and a general Pardon for all Persons concern'd in this Difference and Contest from first to last: That both Parties should engage by Oath to keep this Agreement inviolable in all its Articles. The King also sends his Letters Patents to all the Sheriffs of his Kingdom, to cause all his Subjects, of what Degree soever, within their several Shires, to swear to observe those Laws and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

After this manner, and no better, were the Rights of the Kingdom recover'd; whereof, tho' the Nobles and People seem'd to have had the *Livery*, yet they wanted the *Seisin*. For the King being among evil Counsellors<sup>a</sup>, who told him, that by this Grant he had made himself a King without a Kingdom, a Lord without Dominions, and a Subject to his Subjects; presently pretends, that what he had done was by Force, and therefore he had no Obligation to perform it, and resolv'd that he would not; and so withdraws himself into the Isle of *Wight*. From hence he sends his Agents to *Rome* (where he could do almost any thing) to complain of this forced Act to the Pope, who by his definitive Sentence first condemns and makes void what had been done, and after excommunicates the Barons. During the King's absence in this Retreat, the Barons knowing the Violence of his Nature, and sensible of their own Danger, kept themselves in and about the City of *London*, and under a shew of Tournaments, and exercise of Arms, retain'd with them such a number of Men as was sufficient for their own defence; neither seeking to surprize his Person, nor intercept his Agents, both which they could easily have done, had they acted as Enemies, and not as Subjects, who sought not the Destruction of their Prince, but Restitution of their own Liberties, and the Rights of the Kingdom. Nor was the King idle in this his Retreat in the Isle, tho' he seem'd so; but in order to put his Designs in Execution, he dispatch'd the Bishop of *Worcester*, then Chancellor of *England*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, and others, with his Seal to procure him Forces from such foreign Princes as held Correspondency with him, appointing them to repair to *Dover* about *Michaelmas* following. In the mean time, without any Equipage, (except a few Servants, and Mariners) he spent his time in Fishing, and Excursions at Sea; insomuch that the common Reports ran, That he was a Fisherman, Merchant, or Pyrate. But at the appointed time he meets at *Dover*, with those Forces which had been gather'd for him out of *Poitou*, *Gascony*, *Lovain*, and *Brabant*, under the Conduct of *Savarie de Maleon*, *Jeffrey* and *Oliver Buteville* Brothers, *Walter Bucke*, and others, all desperate Adventures, leading as desperate a Multitude of Soldiers, whose low Fortunes made them forward in any the most hazardous Attempt. With these the King sets upon his Subjects, who could hardly be call'd *Rebellious*; and had not *Hugh de Boves*, who was come from *Calis* with a farther addition of forty thousand Men, been drowned in the Passage, he had no doubt made a more general Conquest of *England* than the *Norman* did, considering what he effected with the Survivors. For after he had recover'd the Castle of *Rochester* (which *William de Albines* with memorable Courage held out three Months against him, and was forced to resign, because the Barons dare not relieve him) he marched over the whole Kingdom almost, and within half a Year got in all the Castles of the

Magna  
Chartra first  
granted, and  
sworn to be  
observed.

The King  
revokes his  
Grant of the  
Magna  
Chartra.

The Barons  
again arm.

John with  
foreign  
Forces con-  
quers the  
Barons.

<sup>a</sup> In *Rummede*, which (as *Matt. of Westminster* observes) signifies the Mead of Counsel.

<sup>b</sup> *Matt. Paris* says, These wicked Counsellors were the Officers of his Standing Army of *Mercenaries*, *Raptarii*, *Brabanders*, and *Flemish* Horse.



A. D. 1215. Barons, as far as the Borders of Scotland, and was absolute Master of all England, except the City of London, on which he was afraid to adventure, because of the united Power of the Barons, who had vow'd to die together in the defence of it: But dividing his Forces, with one part he cut off all ways of Supply, that he might annoy them; himself with another part marching Northward, and laying waste the Countries as he went, as far as *Berwick*. He was intended to have invaded Scotland, as appear'd from his threatening *Alexander* King of the Scots, *That he would hunt the Fox out of his Hole*; alluding to his red Hair: But the

1216. news of some fresh Designs plotted by the Barons brought him back from those parts. For they seeing themselves depriv'd of their Estates, (which were given to Strangers) their Wives and Daughters raviſh'd, and all their Substance consum'd, desperately fall upon another extrem, and fend for assistance to *Lewis* the French King's Son, promising him by their free Election to invest him with the Crown of England, and engaged to give him Pledges for the Performance; being persuaded, that upon the approach of the French, King *John's* French Forces would forsake him. *Lewis* gave a good entertainment to the Message, and in a Parliament call'd for that purpose by his Father *Philip*, it was resolv'd upon, and a Message sent to the Barons, that he would speedily send them Relief, and be not long behind them himself in Person; having hopes of the Crown of England, not only from their proffer'd Election, but also upon the Title which he pretended from *Blanch* his Wife, King *John's* Sister's Daughter. The Intelligence of this Design soon flew to Rome, and got to the Pope's Ears, who presently sends his Agent to the King of France with Letters to intreat him not to suffer his Son to invade or disquiet the King of England, but rather to defend him, in regard he was a Vassal of the Roman Church, and the Kingdom, as to the Dominion of it, did belong thereunto. The King of France answers: 'That the Kingdom of England never was, nor is, nor ever shall be, the Patrimony of St. Peter; and that King *John* was never lawful King thereof, and if he were, he had forfeited it by the Murther of Prince *Arthur*, for which he was condemned in his Court; neither could he give away the Kingdom without the Consent of the Barons, who are bound to defend the same: And if the Pope would maintain this Error, 'twould be a pernicious Example to all Kingdoms. With this Answer the Pope's Agents depart, but unsatisfied; and *Lewis* first having dispatch'd Commissioners to Rome, to declare his Right, and justifie his Undertakings, sets forth from *Calis* with six hundred Ships, and eighty other Vessels, and lands at *Sandwich* with his Army. King *John* waited at *Dover* for his landing, with purpose to encounter him; but upon notice of his great Forces, and distrusting the

Faith of his Mercenaries, forsook the Field; and having committed the keeping of the Castle to *Hubert de Burgh*, flies first to *Winchester*, and after to *Glocester*, and leaves all to the Will of his Enemy *Lewis*; who, after he had gotten the Submission of all Kent, (except of *Dover*-Castle, which he never could obtain) he march'd to London, where he is received by the Barons with great Joy; and upon his Oath to restore their Laws, and preserve their Rights, hath Homage and Fealty done to him as their Sovereign Lord. To him also came the Earls *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, and *William Marshall* the younger, with many others, forsaking King *John*, and render'd themselves to him. *Guallo*, the Pope's Agent, pursu'd *Lewis*; and tho' he passed through many Dangers by *Lewis's* party, got to *Glocester*, shews King *John* the Pope's Care and Zeal for him, and in a solemn manner pronounces the Sentence of Excommunication against *Lewis*, and all his Adherents: Which, tho' it brought some little Comfort to *John* for the present, yet did his Enemy little or no harm, nor could confirm his hired Soldiers in their Fidelity to him: For soon after most of them left him, and either went over to *Lewis*, or return'd home with the Spoils they had gotten; yet was he not so utterly forsaken, but he had Forces enough to annoy, tho' not to encounter his Enemy, and some Ministers at a distance from him, that stood firm to him. *Dover*-Castle held out with a small Company against all the Forces *Lewis* could bring against it; and *Windsor*-Castle, with sixty Men, stood out against all the Barons could do; and *Nottingham* and *Lincoln* Castles made a resolute Resistance, and could not be gain'd. Nothing was effected almost, but the Ruine and Destruction of the open and undefended Country, and that in the most fruitful and plentiful parts of the Nation, viz. about *Glocester*, the Marches of *Wales*, *Lincolnshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Kent*, and *London*, which were the Seat of the War. But this Mischiefe, which had continued all that Summer, came to an end about the latter end of *October*, when a burning Fever seized upon this fiery King. The Cause of it was thought to be from the extrem Grief he had conceiv'd by the loss of his Carriages, which passing over the Sands between *Lin* and *Boston*, were lost<sup>a</sup>, and was increased by a Surfeit of Peaches and New Ale, gotten at the Abby of *Swinshead*; from whence he was convey'd in great Weakness to *Newark*, where, after he had receiv'd the Eucharist, and taken Order for the Succession of his Son *Henry*, he dy'd in the one and fiftieth Year of his Age, having Reigned eighteen Years, five Months, and four Days<sup>c</sup>. The Abbot of *Crockerston*, a Person well skill'd in Physick, and at that time the King's Physician, disbowell'd him, and would no doubt have given notice to the World had his Master (as it was afterward reported) been poison'd by a Monk of *Swinshead*-Abby;

Lewis the French King's Son sent for.

Lewis goes into England with a great Army.

<sup>a</sup> This French Parliament unanimously declar'd, That no King or Prince, by his single Authority, had power to give away, or make over his Kingdom, and thereby enslave his People.

<sup>b</sup> Daughter to *Eleanor* Queen of Castile, Wife to *Alphonso* VIII.

<sup>c</sup> He landed at *Stanmore* in the Isle of *Thanet* on the 12th of May, 1216.

<sup>d</sup> *Matt. Paris* writes, That the Earth open'd, and Men, Horses and Carriages sunk down into the Gulph. The Abbot of *Cogshall* says, They were overtaken by the Tide in the Washes, and lost in the Water and Quickſands.

<sup>e</sup> He dy'd on the 18th of *October*, 1216. He was elected King the 27th of May, 1199. He Reign'd therefore seventeen Years, four Months, and three Weeks; or reckoning from the Death of King *Richard* on the 6th of April, 1199. seventeen Years, six Months, and twelve Days.

<sup>f</sup> Mr. *Daniell* seems to be of Opinion, That the Relation that King *John* was kill'd by Poison, which is follow'd by most of our modern English Historians, as Mr. *Fox*, *Speed*, and *Fuller*, is forg'd, depending upon the Authority of *Matt. Paris*, who liv'd in those Times, for the Truth of what he says. But since many ancient Historians, both Printed and Manuscripts, which are quoted by Mr. *Speed*, assert it, and *Paris* himself relates a Passage in King *Henry* his Son's Life, which intimates as tho' the King himself believ'd his Father was poison'd by the Monks, tho' perhaps he could get no clear proof of it; it is more reasonable that *Matt. Paris* should conceal so dangerous a Crime in his Son's Life, than the other Monks, who wrote afterward, should so grossly bely their own Order by an Invention, which became so famous, that it must needs meet with great Contradiction. *Caxton* was the first that told the Story of his being poison'd, in English; and no Author who liv'd within sixty Years of the time ever mention'd it. *Caxton* also writes, That the Monk poison'd himself so poison the King, drinking first of the same Bowl. *Walter Herisingford* relates, He was poison'd by a Dish of Pears. And their Difference in their Report, adds to the Discredit of it.







Lev  
his  
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A. D. 1216. dom; they took up such an aversion against him, that many of them relinquished their sworn Fidelity, and left him; as many more would have done, had it not been for the Fame of Inconstancy, and the Danger of their Pledges which remained in France. Of those that came over to Henry from Lewis, the chief Men were William Earl of Salisbury, the King's Uncle, who brought over a considerable Party with him; the Earls of Arundel and Warren; and William the Son and Heir of the Great Marshal, who having been six Months in the Service of Lewis, more out of Policy than Disaffection, return'd again to their Fidelity to their Natural King. Yet Lewis found Assistants enough to keep London, with all the Countries about, a whole Year after: So that the young King was obliged to remain about Gloucester, Worcester, and Bristol, till his vigilant and politick Ministers could find out ways to break their united Forces, and draw them from their strong Hold, the Head of the Kingdom. And this they did first by besieging the Castle of Montfourel in Leicestershire, which belonged to Saer de Quincy Earl of Winchester, a principal Man of Lewis's Party, to relieve which a considerable Body was sent from London, and the adjoining parts, who after went to Lincoln, and possessed themselves of that City, all but the Castle, which was defended against them for a whole Year by a Noble Lady named Philippa, a Woman of Masculine Courage; tho' of what Family she was, Time hath depriv'd us of the knowledge.

Lewis and his Party overthrown. The French Forces having here posted themselves, the Earl Marshal, the Protector of the King and Kingdom, with his Son William, the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Chester; the Earls of Salisbury, Ferrers, and Albemarle; William de Albini, John Marshall, Jeffrey Lucy, and many other Barons and great Captains, with all the young King's Army (which increas'd daily in their March) came to a place call'd Stom, within eight Miles of Lincoln, where Guallo the Legate (to inspire the Army with Courage and Resolution) caused, upon the Confession of their Sins, the Eucharist to be administer'd to them, and gave them a plenary Absolution of all their Sins; and having afterward accursed Lewis, with all his Adherents, as separated from the Church, they set forward to besiege the City, and assaulted it so violently on all sides, that notwithstanding they made a gallant defence (in which the Earl of Perch was slain, valiantly fighting) the City was taken, and all their principal Men made Prisoners; of which these are named, Saer Earl of Winchester, Henry de Bobun Earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Gant, made Earl of Lincoln by Lewis, Robert Fitz-Walter, Richard Montfitchet, William Mowbray, William Beauchamp, William Maudit, Oliver Harcourt, Robert Cressy, William Coleville, William de Ros, Robert de Ropsey, and Ralph Chanduit, Barons, besides four hundred Knights, or Men of Arms, with their Servants, Horse and Foot; by which Victory the King gave Lewis such a blow, that it was the last Battel he ever fought in England. The Spoils of the City, which fell to the King's Party, were very great, it being at that time a place full of Rich Merchants; whom, while they pillaged, they term'd it in Derision Lewis's Fair. Some of the Besiged escap'd out of

the Overthrow, but were most of them slain by the Country People in their Passage towards London to Lewis, who upon this Loss sends for more Men into France, and summons all his Party in England to London. The Earl Marshal, with the young King, bend all their Forces immediately thither, intending either to assault the City in their Distraction and Trouble for their Loss, or bring Lewis to some Agreement to relinquish the Kingdom. At their approach, the first being found difficult and dangerous, the latter was propounded; but would not at all be listen'd to by Lewis, until he had received the news, that his Recruits coming out of France were beaten by Philip de Albenie and Hugh de Burgh, with the Forces of the Cinque Ports; and then, being void of all hopes of any future Success, or staying with Safety, he came to this Agreement, 'That upon the Payment of fifteen thousand Marks for his Voyage he would abjure his Claim to this Kingdom, and procure, as far as in him lay, that the King's Father should restore the Provinces of France, which belong'd to the Kingdom of England; and when himself came to the Crown of France, to restore them in a peaceable manner, which he promis'd by Oath to perform. On the other side, Henry takes his Oath, and the Legate and Protector for him, to restore unto the Barons of this Realm, and all his other Subjects, all their Rights and Inheritances, with those Liberties, for which the Contest between the King and People began. A General Pardon is granted, and all Prisoners released on both sides; Lewis is honourably dismiss'd, and attended as far as Dover, from whence he pass'd out of England about Michaelmas, two Years after his first arrival, having been received for the most of that time as King, and more likely to have establish'd himself, and made a Conquest of the Kingdom, than the Norman, because he was invited hither by a strong Party, and maintain'd by others Arms: But God, who is the wise Disposer of all things, order'd it otherwise, and sav'd us from a foreign Enemy. Thus were the Destructions wrought among the English by the Violences and Oppressions of an unruly King again compos'd, and the Son, notwithstanding the Father's Faults, received by the People, who are naturally given to love and obey their Princes, unless forced by Oppression, and despair of Redress, to vindicate their own Rights and Privileges. In this Settlement Guallo was a chief Instrument, tho' more for his own Ends, and the Pope's Interest, than the real advantage of the Kingdom; and so what he did was less worthy of Thanks or Reward: Yet, because his Service was advantageous to the King, he was well paid for his pains; and notwithstanding the great distress of the Kingdom, carry'd away with him to Rome twelve thousand Marks.

The Nation being thus eased of the principal Cause of her Disturbance, began to hope for Days of Peace and Quietness; but this could not be effected, so long as many troublesome Members, who had no way to live but in Wars and Confusion, remain'd in it. For many of the Nobles, who had sided with the King, being unsatisfied in their Expectations, and having no Estates to maintain their Greatness, fell to mutiny,

A. D. 1217. Reg. 2.

Lewis his Agreement to depart the Kingdom.

1218.

Guallo rewarded for his Service.

An Expedition into the Holy Land, to ease it of Malecontents.

\* On the 19th of May, 1217.

\* The Welsh, who had assisted Lewis, were not included in it, nor the Clergy, because Wallo assum'd the Power of Punishing them; which, having made strict Enquiry after the Guilty, he did by Deprivation and Fines, viz. He fin'd the Bishop of Lincoln a thousand Marks to the Pope, and an hundred to himself, and others proportionably.

\* On one side King Henry, the Legate, and the Marshal met, and Prince Lewis and the Barons on the other, in an Island in the Thames near Stains, where the Peace was made on the 11th of September.

\* Having first borrow'd five thousand Pounds of the City of London to pay his Debts.



A. D. 1218. surprizing Castles and making Spoils in the Country; of which were the Earl of *Albemarle*<sup>a</sup>, *Robert de Veypont*, *Fulke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, *Hugh de Baliol*, and many others, but these were also appeased: And because 'twas not likely they would continue long from Wars, who had always been bred in them, therefore an Expedition into the Holy Land was set on foot by the Protector, and *Ralph Earl of Chester*, *Saer de Quincy Earl of Winchester*, *William de Albany Earl of Arundel*, *Robert Harcourt*, and many others, sent with great Forces thither; by which means, together with an Order, which was put out at the same time to command all Strangers, except Merchants, to depart the Land, the Nation was at once rid of all the troublesome and burthensome Members of it. Things being thus compos'd and settled by the Vigilance and Care of the Protector the Earl of *Pembroke*, the State receiv'd a fresh Calamity by his Death, which happen'd immediately after, to the great Loss and Sorrow of the whole Kingdom, leaving behind him a great Name for his admirable Courage, Policy, and Love of his Country and King.<sup>b</sup> The Bishop of *Winchester* was immediately upon his decease chosen Protector of the young King, and together with such of the Nobility as he thought fit to joyn in Council with him, administr'd the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom. While the King was under his Care, he was again crown'd<sup>c</sup>, and had by a Parliament granted to him for Elcuage two Marks of Silver of every Knight's Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom and the Recovery of his Dominions beyond the Sea, which was now design'd; and *Malleon de Savery the Poictovine*, with *William Longsword Earl of Salisbury*, sent over into *Guien* to try the Affections of that People to the King of *England*, and found them inclinable to yield Obedience to him. The King of *France* also was requir'd to make Restitution of what he had usurped from the *English* Crown, but returned Answer, 'That what he had got-ten by Forfeiture and Law of Arms, he would keep. To hold Friendship with *Scotland*, and secure Peace at home, *Joanna* the King's Sister, was marry'd to *Alexander* King of *Scots*; and *Margaret*, *Alexander's* Sister<sup>d</sup>, to *Hubert de Burgh* Chief Justice of *England*, and the Chief Person that manag'd the great Affairs of the Kingdom. At this time likewise the *Welsh* under their Prince *Leweline* revolted, and gave the Nation some Trouble and Charge, till not long after they were subdued wholly. *Hugh Lacy* also rais'd a Commotion in *Ireland*, but it was soon appeased by *William Earl of Pembroke*, Son to the late great Marshal; and so the Kingdom remain'd quiet for some Years, saving that *Fulke de Brent*, with certain Governours of Castles (the Dreggs of War) having fortified the Castles of *Bedford*, and some other Forts, committed several Outrages to the Disturbance of the Peace, till they were taken by Assault.

The King come to Age of Management. 1222. The King being now arriv'd at Years of Understanding (*viz. An. Regn. 7.* and the 17th Year of his Age) was now in a Parliament assembled at *London*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Stephen Langton*, put in mind of his Oath made by himself, and taken by others for him at the Con-

clusion of the Peace with *Lewis*, to confirm the Liberties of the Kingdom; for which there had been such bloody Contentions with his Father, and without which the Peace now settled would not hold, advising him timely to prevent the miserable Inconveniences of such Contests, and ratifie their Ancient Laws and Liberties. Some of his Ministers oppos'd the Proposition (of whom one *William Brewer* a Counsellor was one) and urged, That his Promise and Oath was constrain'd, and ought not to be perform'd, but their Advice prevail'd not so far as to hinder it: For the King promis'd to ratifie them, and to that end twelve Knights, or other sufficient Men of every Shire were sent into the Nation, and charged to examine the Laws and Liberties, which the Kingdom enjoy'd under his Grandfather, and return the same by a certain Day. This Delay shew'd too great a Compliance with those that counsell'd him against it, and was look'd upon as a shift by several of the Nobility, whose Affections towards him cooled upon this Denial: For presently the Earls of *Chester* and *Albemarle*, with many other great Men and Officers, met at *Leicester* to consult upon removing from the King *Hugh de Burgh*, Chief Justice, and other Officers about him, who were suppos'd to hinder this Motion. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with his Spiritual Power, and the rest of the Nobility, who were careful to preserve the Peace of the Kingdom, stood up in the Defence of the King, and would not suffer any violent Proceedings in that kind as yet; and so the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were constrain'd to come in and submit themselves. At this Parliament the King by an Act resum'd such Lands, as had been alienated from the Crown by his Ancestors<sup>e</sup>, that he might have Revenue sufficient to maintain his Kingly Dignity without pressing his Subjects; but these were not enough to do it, for in the next Year another Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein he requir'd the 50th part of all moveable Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Recovery of those Countries in *France*, which *Lewis* the present King, contrary to his Oath and Promise, made in *England* before his Departure, with-held from this Crown: And tho' this Motion much concern'd the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom (being the Inheritance of the King, and most of his Nobility, which no doubt they were very desirous to recover) yet they would not grant this Subsidy until their Liberties were confirm'd; which in the end they obtain'd in the same Words and Form as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters aforesaid, and twelve Knights or sufficient Men were chosen in every Shire, and sworn to part the old Forests from the new, and all such Forests as had been made since, or Lands added to Forests, since the first Coronation of *Henry II.* to be disforested and disposed to such Persons as were the lawful Owners of them. Whereupon they were plowed, and improved to the great Comfort and Advantage of the Subjects, and Men better maintain'd by the Use of those Lands, which before were left to the wild Beasts, Industry making those Places fruitful, which Pleasure had caused to lie barren.

<sup>a</sup> They did not revolt till the Year 1221. *M. Paris.*

<sup>b</sup> *Peter de Rupibus.* For Queen *Isabel* was marry'd to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, in *France*, and other Kindred he had none fit to manage so great a Charge.

<sup>c</sup> On the 17th of May, 1220. By *Stephen Langton.*

<sup>d</sup> These Marriages were not celebrated till the Year 1221. The Resumptions began in the Year 1224. and were not done by Authority of Parliament. The King began with the Earl of *Chester*, and demanded Restitution of certain Lands that had formerly belong'd to the Crown, the Earl being too weak to stand out against the King, now the Nation was in Peace, resign'd them, and other Barons follow'd his Example. *Hol. p. 205.*

<sup>e</sup> In this Parliament the Barons granted the King the Wards and Marriages of their Heirs, which prov'd what it was call'd at first by such as had a large Prospect into the Consequences of things, *Infantum Mali.*



A. D. 1225. Two Years were these Liberties enjoy'd by the Kingdom with general Peace and Content, where the King called a Parliament at Oxford, and there declaring himself to be of Age, and free from a Guardianship, to dispose of the Affairs of the Kingdom, he disannuls and cancels the Charter of Forests, as being granted in his Non-age, when he had no Power of himself or Seal, and therefore of no Force; and causes Proclamation to be made, That the Clergy and all others, that would enjoy their Liberties, must come and have their Charters renew'd and confirm'd again under his new Seal; for which they were forc'd to pay, not according to their Abilities, but as the Chief Justice *Hugh de Burgh* pleas'd, who bore the Blame of the Fact, and the Hatred of all the People; but this bred a new Insurrection of the Nobility against the King upon this Occasion. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, had the Castle of *Barkamsted* belonging to his Earldom, which the King seiz'd upon without the Earl's Consent, and put it into the Custody of one *Walleran*, a Dutchman. The Earl returning out of *Gascoigne* with Forces, flush'd with Honour, seizes upon his Castle, and turn'd out *Walleran*. The King hearing it, commands his Brother to restore the Castle to *Walleran*, which he had given him for his good Services, or depart the Kingdom. The Earl answers, *That he would do neither, without the Judgment of his Peers*; and so departed to his House, leaving the King much disturb'd at his Answer. *Hugh de Burgh*, Chief Justice, fearing a Disturbance of the Peace, advises the King to apprehend the Earl, and commit him to close Custody; but the Earl either guessing at the Effect of the King's Anger, or having notice of his Design, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William* Earl *Marshal* his Friend and Confederate by Oath, with whom he went to *Stamford*. While he remain'd here, the Nobility, who were lately under a great Discontent for his cancelling of their Liberties and Charters, flocked to him, and seem'd to abett his Quarrel. The Heads and Leaders of them were the Earls of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Warwick*, *Ferrers*, and many others, who being attended with a considerable Force of arm'd Men, send to the King to advise him to desist from injuring his Brother, of which they accus'd *Hugh de Burgh* of being the Cause and not himself, and require Restitution to be made immediately of the Liberties of the Forests, which he had lately cancell'd at *Oxford*; which if he refus'd to do, they would compel him to it by the Sword. The King, to avoid this impending Danger, appoints them a Day to meet them in a Parliament at *Northampton*, where they at length came to an Agreement; and the King to satisfy his Brother, restor'd to him his Castle, and gave him besides, his Mother's Dower, and all the Lands that the Earls of *Britain* and *Bologne* held in *England*, and so the Parliament was dismiss'd. After the Dissolution of this Parliament, there was a Motion made for the Holy War, which found so great Entertainment in that credulous and zealous Age, that sixty thousand able Men are said to have undertaken that Voyage under the Command of *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *William* Bishop of *Exeter*.

About this time the King receiv'd a fresh Invitation by *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*, who

had marry'd his Mother, from the Nobles of *A. D. Gascoigne*, *Poitou*, and *Normandy*, to come over 1227. in Person into *France* to recover his Right, upon Reg. 12. the great Alterations which happen'd there on this Occasion. *Lewis* VIII. the Son and Successor of *Philip* II. being dead, after his great Siege of *Avignon*, and his War with the *Albigenses* in *Provence*, left his Son *Lewis*, a Child of twelve Years old, to inherit his Throne; who being too young to manage the Affairs of a Kingdom, his Mother *Blanch* took the Regency of it upon her in his Minority. This Action so discontented the Princes of the Blood, that they rebell'd, as holding it both dishonourable and dangerous, that a Woman and a Stranger should by the Counsel of the Spaniards (whom she entertain'd and preferr'd above the Natives of the Kingdom) govern all according to her Pleasure, and therefore joyn'd in a League against her. The Chief of them were *Philip* Earl of *Bologne*, the King's Uncle by Father side, *Robert* Earl of *Champagne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Britain*, and *Robert* Earl of *Dreux* his Brother, and with them *Hugh* the Earl of *March* took part, being instigated to it by his Wife the late Queen of *England*, who was angry with the Queen Regent for requiring her Husband to do Homage to her Son *Alphonso* lately made Duke of *Poitou*, by which she thought her Greatness would be much lessen'd, and drew in his Brother the Earl of *Lusignan* into that Conspiracy: But not thinking themselves able to oppose the Power of the Queen, they invited the King of *England* over to assist them. *Henry* readily accepts their Desires; and having supply'd himself with Money for this Occasion, by exacting great Sums of the Clergy, and the City of *London* for their Liberties; and by taking a third part of all the Goods of the Jews, pass'd over with a great Army, lands at *St. Malo's*, and is there met by many Nobles of *Poitou*, who with the Earl of *Britain* did him Homage, and assisted him in making great Preparations to obtain his Provinces, which had been gotten from his Father by the King of *France*. The Queen Regent raises a powerful Army to stop the Proceedings of the King of *England*, and much Mischief was done by both sides in *Poitou*, *Xaintonges*, and *Angoumois*, as well to their Friends as Enemies; but at length they were both weary of their fruitless Quarrel, and came to a Peace. The King of *England* having expended a great Mass of Treasure, and lost divers of his Nobles and valiant Men in this Expedition, returned home; bringing with him the Earl of *Britain*, and many of the chief Men of *Poitou* to receive their promis'd Reward, for which farther Sums must be wrung from the poor People of *England*. And first to the Earl of *Britain*, by whose Counsels he was now chiefly directed and dissuaded from a Marriage with the King of *Scots* Sister, which he had entertain'd with great dislike of his Nobility, he gave five thousand Marks, and to the *Poitevins* the Preferments which he got by displacing his Officers, Receivers, and such as he thought fit to call to an account, and cast out under a Pretence of defrauding him; of whom the chief were *Ralph* *Bretton*, Treasurer of his Chamber, whom he imprison'd and fin'd, and *Hugh de Burgh* his Chief Justice, who had been a principal Man with him, was cast out of his Office, and *Steven de Segrave*, a worse

1230.

Henry calls his Officers to account.

\* At this Parliament it happen'd, that *Fulke de Brent* took Judge *Braibroke* in his Circuit, and imprison'd him in *Bedford* Castle, which was look'd upon as so bold an Affront of the Justice and Authority of the Nation, that as soon as it was known to the King and Parliament they all went down in Person, besieg'd the Castle; and having after three Month's Siege taken it, level'd it with the Ground, banish'd *Fulke*, hang'd his Assistants, and so freed the Judge. This Parliament met the 3d of August, 1227.

† He gave the Citizens at this time a Privilege of passing Toll-free thro' all *England*.

‡ On the 3d of May, 1230.

Minister



A. D. 1228. Minister a great deal for the Kingdom put in: But no sooner was this great Man fall'n under the King's Displeasure, but whole Loads of Accusations were brought against him. The Citizens of London charge him with the Murder of one *Constantine*, who was slain in a Riot in *St. James's Fields* some Years before, and crave Justice for his Blood. Others bring all the Crimes that Malice could invent or urge against him: So that to avoid the Rage of his Enemies<sup>a</sup>, he was forced to fly to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, but the Sacredness of the Place could not protect him from his Enemies; for being pursu'd by arm'd Men he was drawn out by Force, and committed to Prison. This Breach of Privilege of Sanctuary being heard of by the Bishop of London, in whose Diocese it was; he made his Complaint to the King, and prevail'd so far with him, that *Hubert* was brought back again to the same Chapel. But this would not secure him from the King's Displeasure; for the King commanded the Sheriffs of *Hartford* and *Sussex* to set a strong Guard about the Chapel, that no Sustenance could be brought to him, and so starv'd him into a Compliance: So that he came out and submitted himself to the King's Mercy, and by him was sent Prisoner to the *Devises*; and his Money, then in the Custody of the *Templars*, seiz'd upon for the King's Use, as stol'n out of the Exchequer. *Walter*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, was put out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon*, Knight, deprived of his Place of Marshal of the King's House, and all the Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom, were removed for Distrust, and Strangers put into their Places; *Peter*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis* being blam'd as the Authors of these Changes.

The Lords combine for the Defence of the Kingdom, and refuse to come to a Parliament at Oxford.

These injurious and arbitrary Actions in the King so exasperated the Nobility, that many of them under the Command of *Richard* Earl Marshal enter'd into a League for the Defence of the publick Liberties, boldly shewing the King his Error, and unadvised Actings, in preferring Strangers to be the chief Officers about him to the Disgrace and Injury of his own Natural Subjects, contrary to their Laws and Liberties; and telling him, That unless he would reform these Abuses, whereby his Crown and Dignity was in imminent Danger, they would withdraw themselves from his Council. The Bishop of *Winchester* return'd them Answer; That it was lawful for the King to employ what Strangers he pleas'd, about him, for the Defence of his Crown and Kingdom, that he might by that means bring his proud and rebellious Subjects to their Duty and Allegiance. This Reply bred such Dissatisfaction in the Lords, that they went away in great Anger, and vow'd, That in a Cause of that general Concern to all *Englishmen*, they would spend their Lives. The King fearing what might follow, immediately sent for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal summon'd the Lords to a Parliament in *Oxford*, to try whether they would come or no to it;

but the Lords seeing themselves despised at Court, and not thinking it safe to venture themselves among such Multitudes of Strangers as the King had about him, refused to come; nor would be persuaded to it by a second and third Citation. And now the Signs of a publick Breach became so evident, that *Robert Bacon*, a Preaching Friar, from the Pulpit in a grave Discourse, and *Roger Bacon* in a jesting way, told the King plainly, That he would make Shipwreck of his Kingdom, if he did not avoid what the Seamen chiefly feared, *Petra & Rupes* wittily alluding to the Advice of *Peter de Rupibus*, Bishop of *Winchester*, by whom he was misled at this Juncture. But the King proceeded in other Methods, and call'd another Parliament at *Westminster*, and summon'd the Lords to it; but they dealt now more plainly with him, and sent him word, That they would not come, unless he would remove the Bishop of *Winchester* and the *Poictovins* from his Court; which, if he refused to do, they would expel him and his evil Counsellors out of the Realm, and create a new King. These bold Threats, which sounded harsh in the King's Ears, caused him to require of all his Nobility Pledges of their Allegiance by a certain Day, and to issue out his Writs to all, who held any Lands of him by Knights Service to repair to him at *Glocester*; which being both refus'd by the Earl Marshal and his Confederates, the King without the Judgment of his Court, or their Peers, proclaim'd them Outlaws, and seiz'd upon their Lands, which he gave to the *Poictovins*, and sent out his Writs to attach their Bodies in any Place of his Kingdom. The Bishop of *Winchester* to weaken the Earl Marshal's Party, drew away from them the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* by a Gift of a thousand Marks, and the King by his Kindness won from them his Brother the Earl of *Cornwall*. The Lords being a little weaken'd by these Losses, withdrew into *Wales*, and there strengthen'd their Party by a Confederacy with *Lewelin*, and the other great Men of that Country; who with *Hugh de Burgh*, who was then lately escaped out of the *Devises* Castle, took an Oath one to another, that they would not come to any Agreement with the King. The King, soon after their Departure, pursues them with an Army into *Wales*, engages them, but with so much Loss, that he return'd with great Dishonour to *Glocester*; and tho' he sought to recover it by new Recruits of Strangers, yet he mis'd of Success. And now Force being found useless, another Stratagem was invented to heal the Difference, by sending a Friar of the Order of *Minors*, to confer with the Earl Marshal, and persuade him to come in and submit to the King's Mercy, who was inclinable to pardon him, restore him to his Estate, and give him so great a part of *Herefordshire* besides, as should maintain him in great State and Grandure. The Fryar pressed him very earnestly to submit, telling him, That as it was his Duty, so 'twould be his Advantage and Safety: But the Earl being nothing moved told him, That the King's

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Daniel delivers this Story of *Hubert's* taking Sanctuary very confusedly and unruly; for the Sanctuary at *Merton* was not a Chapel, but the Abby-Church, nor was it in the Diocese of the Bishop of London, nor was *Hubert* taken out of the Sanctuary at *Merton* by Force: But the Course of this Affair was thus; *Hubert* having fled to Sanctuary to the Abby-Church at *Merton* in *Surrey*, the Citizens of London would have taken him by Force from thence, and were marching in a Body of twenty thousand thither, but were countermanded by the King; and so *Hubert* abode safe there. After some time *Hubert* left Sanctuary at *Merton*, and endeavour'd to get to *Bury* to his Wife. The King having Intelligence of it, sent Sir *Godfrey Crancumb* and his Soldiers to intercept him in his Passage; of whom *Hubert* seeing himself in Danger, took Sanctuary again in *Brentwood* Chapel in *Essex*, but Sir *Godfrey* took him from thence by Force. *Roger* Bishop of London, in whose Diocese it was, complain'd to the King of Sir *Godfrey's* Breach of Sanctuary, and procur'd that *Hubert* was return'd to the Chapel again; but being guarded by the Sheriffs of *Hartford* and *Essex* (not *Sussex*) so that no Provision could be brought to him, he was forc'd to yield himself to the King's Mercy. This Event happen'd in the Year 1232.

<sup>b</sup> King Henry fought the Welsh about Michaelmas, and *Hubert de Burgh* was in Sanctuary in the Church of the *Devises* on the 15th of October, as appears by the King's Letter (on the Record of the Tower) to the Good Men of *Wiltshire*, informing them, That he had sent *Ralph de Mowbray* and *Ralph de Norwich*, his Justices, to take *Hubert de Burgh's* Abjuration of the Kingdom, if he would not come out of the Church and stand to the Law, and if he would do neither, to guard the Church and starve him there.

Promises



A. D. 1232. Promises could not be depended upon so long as he had those evil Counsellors about him, who intended only Mischief to all Loyal Subjects. The Fryar farther urged the Danger he was in from the King's Power: But the Earl concluded, That he fear'd no Danger, and never would relinquish the Justice of his Cause to yield to the King's Will, which was guided by no Reason, and was the Cause of so much Injustice; for he valu'd Right and Honour more than all Worldly Possessions. This Negotiation therefore proving ineffectual, the War went on furiously on both sides with an Effusion of Blood, all the Borders of *Wales* as far as *Shrewsbury* being laid waste. But at length a way was found to draw the Earl Marshal into *Ireland* to defend his Estate there, which being very large, was seiz'd upon and spoil'd by the King's Commillion: And here in recovering of his Estate, he lost his Life by Treachery, to the great Grief both of his Enemies and Friends; to whom the King disown'd his Commillion, to excuse himself from the Blame of his Death. Two Years these Disturbances continu'd in the Nation, when the King called a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishop gravely advis'd the King from the Consideration of his Father's Example, and the Mischief of these civil Dissentions, to come to an Agreement with his People, and remove those Strangers and others from his Person, who were the Cause of these Troubles, and made him disaffected to his Subjects; and besought him to govern his People by his own Subjects and Laws, as other well-govern'd Nations do, otherwise they would proceed with Ecclesiastical Censures both against his Counsellors and himself. The King seeing now no way to compass his Designs, yields and consents to call home his Lords out of *Wales*, and to restore them to their Places and Estates, to remove all the Strangers from him, and call his new Officers to an Account; whereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen Segrave*, took Sanctuary, but upon Mediation, and the Payment of great Fines, were restor'd to their Liberty, dearly paying for their two Years Preferment.

1235. The King having thus settled Affairs in Peace, gave his Sister *Isabel* to the Emperour *Frederick II.* who succeeded *Otto* in the Empire, and was Grandchild to *Frederick Barbarossa*. The Archbishop of *Cologne* and Duke of *Lorain* were sent for her, she was conducted to *Sandwich* by the King, with a thousand Horse, and was married at *Wormes*. Henry gave the Emperour with her thirty thousand Marks, besides an Imperial Crown<sup>b</sup>, and other Ornaments of great Value, to furnish out which he had two Marks upon every Hide of Land, and propounded to himself great Advantages by the Alliance; but this Emperour was engag'd in such continual Wars abroad, with four Popes successively (*viz. Innocent III. Honorius, Innocent IV. and Gregory IX.*) who endeavour'd to extort from him his Hereditary Countries in *Italy*, with his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, besides the Troubles he underwent at home by Excommunications, that he was not able to assist his Friends. He left a Son and Successor *Conradus*, but with him dy'd all his Imperial Power in *Italy*. He had one Son by *Isabel* King *Henry's* Sister, to whom he gave the

Kingdom of *Sicily*, and a thousand Ounces of A. D. Gold; but he liv'd not to enjoy them. The 1236. next Year Henry himself marry'd *Eleanor* the Reg. 20. Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, an Alliance necessary by reason of some private Promises made to her Father, but in it self disadvantageous having no Dower with her, and many poor Kindred to depend upon her: However, there was no Consideration of these Circumstances at first. The Marriage was solemniz'd with great Magnificence<sup>c</sup>, and soon after a Parliament call'd to meet in the *Tower*<sup>d</sup>; but because the Lords were not willing to assemble there, it was remov'd to a Place of greater Freedom. In this Parliament, after many things propounded for the Good of the Kingdom, it was order'd, That such Sheriffs as were found guilty of Bribery should be displac'd, and Men of abler Estates and Integrity should be put in, who should take an Oath, To receive no Gifts, but of Provision, and that but moderately. In it also he removed his Steward, and some other of his Counsellors, and offer'd to take the Great Seal from the Bishop of *Chichester* his Chancellor; but the Bishop refus'd to deliver it, alledging, That it was entrusted to him by the Common Council of the Kingdom, and without the Consent of the same he would not resign it; and having carry'd himself well in his Office, he was much favour'd by the People. *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen Segrave*, were again received into Favour, a great Argument of the mutable Temper of this King, which begat no good Opinion of him among his People. At this time also he would have revok'd some Grants, by the Pope's Authority, which he had made formerly; because they were done, as he pretended, without the Consent of the Church, and beyond his Power, which increased the Displeasure of the People, before taken up against him.

In the twenty first Year of his Reign another Ninth Parliament was held, or rather the same met by Parliament. Adjournment at *London*, where in Consideration 1237. of his own and Sister's Marriage, he requir'd a 30th Part of the Moveables both of the Clergy and Laity: But he met with great Opposition from the whole Assembly, who recounted the several Taxes he had already receiv'd of 20th, 30th, and 40th Parts; and alledged, That it was unreasonable to suffer a King, who never did any good to the Kingdom, either by driving out or subduing an Enemy, or enlarging its Dominions, but had rather lessen'd it and made it subject to Strangers, to extort so many great Sums from his People. The King hearing this, and being desirous to pacifie this general Murmur, promised by Oath, That he would never injure the Nobles of the Kingdom, if they would relieve his present Wants, since he had exhausted his Treasure by the Marriage of his Sister and himself; but they plainly reply'd, 'That both were done without their Advice, and they ought not to bear the Punishment of that, which was not their Fault. Yet after four Days Consultation, the King having promised to use the Counsel of his Natural Subjects only, and granted them an inviolable Observation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, he had the thirtieth part of every Man's Moveables granted him (reserving to them their ready Mo-

<sup>a</sup> They took Sanctuary not to avoid their Accounts, but to avoid the impending Storm which was coming upon them for procuring a Commission to seize the Earl Marshal's Estate in *Ireland*; in the Defence of which he lost his Life.

<sup>b</sup> She was marry'd to the Emperour about March 1235. and in May 1236. an Agent came from her Husband to demand the Money which was promis'd him with the Princess *Isabel*; for notwithstanding the Tax, it seems 'twas not then paid.

<sup>c</sup> On the 14th of January 1236.

<sup>d</sup> The Assembly or Parliament was summon'd to meet at *London*, and at the opening of the Session the King remov'd to the *Tower*; but the Lords refusing to come thither, he was forc'd to go back to his Palace at *Westminster*.



A. D. 1237. Reg. 21. ney, Horse and Armour for the Service of the Common-wealth.) For the Collection of this Subsidy, four Knights of every Shire, and one of the King's Clerks were appointed, and sworn to deliver it, after they had gather'd it, either to some Abby, or Castle, to be reserved there; that if the King failed in the performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Country from whence it was collected. Before this Parliament broke up, the King, to shew the Realty of his Intentions in performing that promise, which he had frequently repeated, of using the Counsel of his own Subjects only, caused the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz-Jeffrey*, to be sworn his Counsellors; but after it was dismissed, he neither gave the Kingdom satisfaction concerning Strangers, nor observed such a method in levying the Tax as was easie and convenient for his Subjects. For he caused Men's Estates to be over-valued, and made *William Valentine*, the young Queen's Uncle, his Chief Counsellor; invited over the Earl of *Provence*, a poor Prince, to share in his Treasure; marry'd *Simon de Monford*\*, a Frenchman, secretly to his Sister *Eleanor*, (Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Great Marshal) and by the Right of his Mother *Amice*, Daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leicester*, made him Earl of that County. These Actions of the King much incensed the Nobility, and all the King's Subjects in general, and put them into a new Commotion, of which *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, an ambitious Youth, and Heir apparent to the Crown, was chosen the Head; it chiefly concerning him (as they said) to preserve the Good of the Kingdom, and remove all destructive Grievances from it. *Richard* accepts this Employment, and going to the King, represents the Discontents of his People to him, and reproves him for his lavish Expence of his Treasure upon Strangers, his heavy Exactions from his People, his impious Gains made of the Vacancies of Arch-bishopricks and Bishopricks, Abbies, Earldoms, Baronies, Wardship, and Monasteries; and yet his Treasure, which should be the strength of his Nation, empty. Moreover, he objected to him his Obsequiousness to the *Roman* See, and his Fondness of the Pope's Legate, without whose Advice and Consent he would do nothing: So that he seem'd perfectly the Pope's Feudary, which troubled his People at the Heart. The King upon this plain and severe Remonstrance of his Brother, fearing a Rebellion (after he had try'd the Affections of the *Londoners*, and found them averse to him, and by the Pope's Legate sought to draw his Brother over to him in vain) call'd a Parliament at *London*, where the Lords came arm'd, both for their own defence, and to constrain the King (if he refused) to observe his former Promises, and reform his Courses. In this Meeting, after several Debates, the King (having sworn) refers the whole Controversie to the Determination of certain Grave Men of his Kingdom, and Articles between both Parties are drawn, sealed, and publickly set up, with the Seals of the Legate, and several great Men. But

A Commotion of the Nobility.

Tenth Parliament.

before any thing was agreed, *Simon de Monford* A. D. 1238. and the Earl of *Lincoln* having made their Peace with the Earl of *Cornwall*, he grew cold in the business; and the other Earls being discouraged by his Indifferency, fell off from that Enterprize, and so nothing was effected, but the Miseries of the Kingdom continu'd as they had been.

Shortly after this, the King being displeas'd with *Gilbert* Earl of *Pembroke* (the third Son of *William* the Great Marshal) shut him out of his Court at *Winchester*, whereupon he retired into the North. And to shew his Inconstancy in disposing his Favours, he removed *Simon Norman*, the Master of his Seal, yea, as he was call'd, Master of the King, Court, and Kingdom, took his Seal from him with disgrace, and gave it to the Abbot of *Evesham*. Likewise he turn'd his Brother *Jeffrey*, a Knight-Templar, out of his Council, because they would not yield to grant Reg. 21. to *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, the Queen's Uncle, a Groat upon every Sack of Wool; in which Action, tho' they lost the King's Favour, yet they regain'd the good Opinion of the Nobility and People of the Nation, who having often desired their Removal from the King's Council, as corrupt Officers, were found by this Deed better Friends to the Kingdom than they were imagined; and proved, that Officers under bad Princes are not many times so faulty as the World thinks them. But notwithstanding this, the King granted to the Earl of *Flanders* three hundred Marks to be paid annually out of his Exchequer.

Besides the great Exactions of this King, the Bishop of *Rome*, to maintain his Wars against the Emperor, extorted great Sums from the Kingdom through the permission of the King; which encouraged the Pope, that he was so bold as to seize upon their Possessions, sending over three hundred of the *Roman*-Clergy, and commanding by his Mandate that they should be prefer'd to the first Benefices that fell, which much amazed the Clergy in general; and especially *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who foreseeing that these Encroachments upon the Liberties of the Church would tend to his disgrace and damage, who should withstand it, gave over all, and retired into the Abby of *Pontinac* in *France*, to spend his Life in Contemplation; but before his departure, he gave eight hundred Marks to the Pope as a Ransom for his Church. But the other Clergy bore not the Pope's Usurpations so cowardly; for besides their open and daily Exclamations against the Pope's Avarice, they made as strong an Opposition to his Rapine as they could; and that they might do it the most effectually, they repair to the King, and represent it to him, how prejudicial and derogatory it was to his Regal Power, and Liberty of the Kingdom, to suffer such Proceedings, which none of his Predecessors would ever endure, and would be of dangerous Consequence to his Successors. The King, either not apprehensive of the Mischief, or content to joyn with the Pope to punish and awe his Kingdom, not only refers all to the Legate, but offers to deliver up the chief Op-

\* Younger Son of *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* in *France*, who left the *French* Court in Disgust, by reason of some Dispute with the Queen-Regent, Mother of *Lewis* the Ninth; the King himself gave him in Marriage to his Sister, and this Name and Family grew very Great afterwards in *England*.

† He was Canoniz'd by the Council of *Lyons*.

‡ The Students in *Oxford*, griev'd and incens'd at the Oppressions of the Church, assaulted the Legate's House in his abode there, and kill'd his own Brother; for which Fact the University was interdicted, and could not be releas'd from that Infliction but by thirty Students going Barefoot to the Legate's House from *St. Paul's*, which was a Mile. *Matt. Paris* writes, He was honourably receiv'd by the Scholars, and that the Occasion of the Quarrel was this: A poor *Irish* Student begging Alms at the Kitchen-Door of *Osney*-Abby, where the Legate lay, his Cook threw a Ladle full of Boiling Water in his Face; a *Welsh* Parson or Clerk seeing this, and having a Bow in his Hand, shot the Legate's Cook through the Body with an Arrow, and a Fray ensu'd between his Servants and the Scholars; the King sent Earl *Warren* with some Soldiers to assist the Legate, the Earl brought him off; and with much ado the haughty Prelate was prevail'd upon to accept of the slavish Submission the Scholars were forc'd to make him.



A. D. 1239. posers of the Pope's Impositions to him; which so encouraged the Pope's Legate, that he more pre- Reg. 23. remptorily urges them to supply the Pope's present Wants, and calls a Convocation at London for effecting the same. The Clergy, tho' deserted by the King, yet stood stoutly to the Privileges of their Nation, and told the Legate, ' That the Contribution now required of them by the Pope for the Destruction of the Emperor, and the Effusion of Christian Blood, was unlawful; he not being an Heretick, nor condemn'd as such by the Judgment of the Church, tho' Excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of England, being required under pain of Ecclesiastical Censure, as a thing of Servitude and Compulsion: That they had heretofore given a Tenth to the Pope, upon Condition that he should not exact any thing of them for the future, lest it be drawn into a Custom; for as much as *Binus actus inducat consuetudinem*: That they should create an Enemy to themselves by it, and hinder their Passage to Rome through the Emperor's Dominions: That they should impoverish the King by it, who had many Enemies, and could not live without War long, which would not be safe for the Kingdom: That the Church having made divers Contributions for the furnishing out many Noblemen for the Holy War, was so poor as hardly to be able to sustain it self: That General Contributions were to be made by a General Council, &c. These Reasons somewhat stagger'd the Legate, but not daring to desist from his attempt, he first won the most powerful Opponents with Promises of Preferment, after which the rest were forced to yield: And so the Pope prevail'd in this business by Treachery, and Division of the Council.

Edward the Prince born. The King about this time had a Son born, whom he named *Edward*; and *Richard* Earl of Cornwall, having also issue, was at this time allow'd by the Nation to undertake the Cross, (which he was deny'd before) with whom his Uncle *William Longsword* Earl of *Salisbury*, and many other Noblemen, joyn in the Expedition. After their departure, *Peter* of *Savoy*, another of the Queen's Uncles, comes into *England*, is feasted sumptuously, Knighted, and made Earl of *Richmond*, besides many Gifts bestow'd on him out of the *Jews* Pockets, who were compell'd by the King that Year to pay twenty thousand Marks; and *Boniface*, the Son of *Peter* of *Savoy*, the Queen's Nephew, was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. After this the King made another Expedition into Wales, which had often put him to great Charge and Trouble, but all in vain, so long as *Llewellyn* the Prince or King of *North-Wales* liv'd; but he being dead, his two Sons, *David* and *Griffin*, among whom his State was divided, fell into Quarrels one with another, and so made themselves a Prey to their common Enemy. For *David* calling *Henry* to his assistance, did him Homage for his own part to assist him to conquer the other; and so without Labour or Charge (for *David* paid the Charges of his Journey) he became Master of that which he could not purchase before with much Blood.

Henry goes again into France to recover his Dominions. The Earl of *March*, with his Wife, the Queen Dowager, and many other great Lords of *Poitou*, solicit the King again to undertake an Expedition into *France*, to recover his Dominions there, and by their Assurances of Success, so prevail'd with him, that he resolves upon it, and moves it to a Parliament for their Assistance: But the De-

sign met with a general Opposition, it being al- A. D. ledg'd, ' That it was a great Expence, and the 1241. last Attempt was very prejudicial to the King- Reg. 25. dom; and besides, That it was unlawful to break the Truce made with the King of *France*, who was now too strong for them to do any good, &c. Yet these Arguments did not deter many of the Nobility from listening to it, being allur'd by fair Promises, and hopes of Recovery of their Estates; and so the Action was resolv'd on, and an Aid demanded for it. But a Motion for Money, after so many Taxes as this King had had from the beginning of his Reign, was very distasteful, and begat nothing but a fresh Memory of the heavy Impositions of Carucage, Hydage, Escuage, Escheats, Amercements, and several parts of their Moveables, which the King had received of them, besides the Exactions of the Pope, and their Expences for the Holy War, they would grant no more, especially considering, that the thirtieth part of their Moveables, which was levy'd about four Years before, and laid up in the Castles, and not to be deliver'd out but by the allowance of four Peers, could not be spent, the King to their knowledge having had no necessary occasion to employ it for the Publick. The King seeing this, comes in Person to the Parliament, and in a most submissive manner craves their Aid at this time; shewing them a Letter from the Pope to persuade them. But all he could do prov'd in vain, they had vow'd not to yield to any Solicitations, and so they held out. Whereupon the King was forced to get what he could of private Men, either by Loan or Gift; with whom he found so much Interest, as that he carry'd over with him thirty Barrels of Money; and so taking the Queen along with him, he went over into *France*, leaving the Government to the Archbishop of *Tork*, having contracted for his greater Security an Alliance with the King of *Scots*, by the Marriage of his Infant Daughter *Margaret* to his eldest Son *Alexander*, to whom he committed the Government of the *Marches*. This second Expedition was as unsuccessful and unfortunate to him as the first; for in it he spent all his Treasure upon Strangers, discontented the *English* Nobility, (who for that reason left him) and being deceived by the *Poictovines*, whom he trusted, was after an whole Year's stay forced to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of *France*; nor could return home, till he had received Provision out of *England*, and a Tax of Escuage to defray the Charges of his Passage.

After his return he imposed another Tax upon 1243. the *Jews* for their Redemption, requires a Con- A Tax im- tribution of the *Londoners*, and was visited by posed upon his Wife's Mother, the Countess of *Provence*, who the Jews and Lon- bringing with her her Daughter *Zanobia*, was doners. sumptuously Feasted, and a Marriage shortly after solemnized between the young Lady and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, whose Wife was lately dead, and himself returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her departure was presented with many Rich Gifts, besides the four thousand Marks which she had yearly from the King, upon an Agreement, that he should after her decease have the Earldom of *Provence*; which yet she disappointed him of soon after her return home, giving the same with her youngest Daughter *Beatrice* to *Charles* the French King's Brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicily*: So that she liv'd to see all her four Daughters Queens, *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* being elected King of the *Romans*.

\* On the 16th of June, 1239.

\* For which he was to pay five thousand Pound Sterling every Year. *M. Paris*.

\* He took from one Jew, *Aaron* of *Tork*, four Marks of Gold, and four thousand Marks of Silver.



A. D. 1244. After these large Expences of the King's in Marriages and Entertainments, there happen'd an occasion for farther Supplies for the necessary Defence of the Kingdom against the Inroads of the *Scots* and *Welsh*, who now revolted. The King had now no way to raise Money but by the Parliament, which was therefore assembled at *Westminster* this Year, *Anno Regn. 28.* and the King's just Occasions urged and pressed upon them, but nothing could be effected without an Assurance of a Reformation, and the due Execution of Laws, tho' the King came to it in Person; and to this end it was insisted on, That four of the most grave and prudent Peers should be chosen *Conservators of the Kingdom*, and being sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council, should see Justice duly administered, the Treasure frugally and wisely expended, and always attend upon the King: That the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Chancellor, two Justices of the Benches, and two Barons of the Exchequer, should be chosen by the Parliament: That as their Office was publick, so should their Election be. But while these things were debating, the Enemy of Mankind, and the Disturber of Peace, the Devil (saith *Matt. Paris*) hinder'd the Accomplishment of them by the coming of one *Martin*, a new Legate from the Pope, with a larger Power to exact Money upon the Kingdom than ever, which he supposed was now moulded so, as to yield to any thing; but he soon found himself mistaken: For the Parliament gave him a bad Reception, and sent him home with this unpleasant Message, 'That the Kingdom was poor, and involv'd in Wars: That the Church was in debt, and not able to give any thing: That these Impositions were of ill Consequence to the Kingdom, which would thus seem expos'd to the Pope's Pleasure; and therefore since a General Council was shortly to meet at *Lyons*, if the Church wanted any Relief, it is fit it should be done by a General Consent in that Council. And indeed the Parliament were encouraged the rather to give this Answer to the Pope at this time, because they had received Letters from the Emperor *Fredericke*, which were read in the Assembly, desiring, 'That the Pope might have no Supplies out of *England*, which were only to uphold him in his Oppression of the Empire, whose Cities and Castles he had, contrary to all Justice and Piety, seized; and to detain them from him, had proceeded against him in all foul and hostile ways, to Excommunicate and make War against him: That he had referred his Cause to the Arbitration of the Kings of *England* and *France*, and the Barons of both Kingdoms, and hoped that they would not take part with his Enemy, whom he had made his Judges: Adding in the Conclusion, 'That if the King would be advis'd by him, he should free his Kingdom from that unjust Tribute which *Innocent III.* and other Popes had laid upon it. The Interposition of this Affair took up so much time, that nothing was done in this Parliament more, besides a Tax granted to the King for the Marriage of his Daughter, twenty Shillings of every Knight's Fee, and that with much unwillingness, and a Repetition of all his former Taxes. Having obtained it, he undertook an Expedition against *Alexander King of Scots*,

and commanded all his Barons, both Laymen and Ecclesiastick, which held any Lands of him *in Capite*, to attend him with all military Provisions, and *Thomas Earl of Flanders*, with sixty Knights, and an hundred Servants, came over to assist him; which was taken ill by the Barons, because it shew'd, that the Strength of the Kingdom was not thought sufficient for that Action; but it was suddenly ended by a fair Conclusion of a Peace with that King, who is highly commended by the Writers of those Times for a Virtuous Prince. Being arrived at *London* again, he calls another Parliament in the Winter, and moves for a Tax to enable him to go against the *Welsh*, and pay his other Debts, which, as he urged, were so great, that he could not stir out of his Chamber for the Clamour of such as he ow'd Money to for Wine, and other Necessaries of his House; but they told him unanimously to his Face, they would grant him nothing. Whereupon he fell upon violent Courses to supply his Wants, viz. He quarrell'd with the *Londoners*, and made them pay fifteen thousand Marks: He gives a Commission to one *Passeleve* his Clerk to enquire out all such as had encroached upon his Forests, and fine them severely; which he did with so much Rigour, that tho' he undid many of the King's Subjects, he filled the King's Treasure, and had gotten himself a Bishoprick, as a Reward of his Fidelity, (viz. the Bishoprick of *Chichester*) but that the Bishops oppos'd the King in it.

And now, that the King might be acquainted with the State of the Nation, and the Oppression of the Popes, it was appointed, that an Enquiry should be made throughout the Kingdom, what Revenues the *Romans* and *Italians* had out of *England*; and it was found that they received sixty thousand Marks, which was more than the Yearly Revenues of the Crown of *England*; which so moved the King, that he caus'd the same to be represented to the General Assembly at *Lyons*, with other the Pope's Exactions. This Complaint (with the ill usage of his Legate *Martin*) so angered the Pope, that he is said to have utter'd these words, *It is high time that we make a quick end with the Emperor, that we may crush these petty Kings, (viz. of France and England) For if the Dragon be once appeased or destroyed, the lesser Snakes will soon be trodden down.* This impious Speech from a Mouth which should have utter'd nothing but Words of Peace and Charity, gave great Offence, and awaken'd those Princes to secure themselves; but chiefly the King and Clergy of *England*, who were always most forward to vindicate the State and Church from his Oppression: For upon the Pope's rejecting the Consideration of the Grievances of *England*, particularly deliver'd to him by the King's Procurators at this Council at *Lyons*, and despising the King's Message, (who, he said, began to *Frederize*) it was peremptorily ordain'd, under great Penalty, That no Contribution of Money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*; and the King so strenuously oppos'd these Exactions, as gave some hopes that they would now cease. But being of a timorous and fickle Temper, he soon gave over the pursuit of what he had bravely begun; and so the Pope continued his Rapine. And tho' through the Exclamations of the Clergy he pro-

\* An Elegant Epistle was written to the Council of *Lyons* in the Name of the General Body of the Kingdom; which Epistle was carry'd to the Assembly by the Earl Roger Bigod. John Fitz-Jeffrey, William de Cantilupe, Philip Basset, and other Barons, who, having no satisfactory Answer from the Council, made a solemn Oath or Protestation, That they would never pay, nor permit to be paid to the Roman See, that detestable Tribute granted by King John.

The King himself gave the Parliament a List of those Grievances which the Kingdom labour'd under, and which requir'd a speedy Redress. 1. That the Pope extorted great Sums of Money from his Subjects without his assent. 2. That he depriv'd Patrons of their Right of Presentations to Benefices by his Provisions. 3. That he oppress'd his Subjects by insufferable Penfions, by requiring Appeals, by dispensing with Oaths, Customs and Grants, and the King was zealous to have them reform'd by Law.



A. D. 1246. mised never to send any more Legates into England, yet he employ'd other Ministers, under the Name of Clerks, who had the same power, and wrought as mischievous things in this Realm.

And as the Church, so also the State, found great Cause of Complaint. For Peter de Savoy, Earl of Richmond, brought over several young Virgins to be marry'd to the King's Wards, young Noblemen of Edgland, of which Edmund Earl of Lincoln had one, and Richard de Burgh another; and the same Year three of the King's Brothers, by Mother-side, viz. Guy de Lusignan, William de Valence, and Athelmer Clerk, were sent over to be provided of Estates and Preferment in England.

1247. Thomas of Savoy also (some time Earl of Flanders, in right of his Wife) came with his Sister Beatrix, Countess of Provence, the Queen's Mother, and they were greatly Treated and Gifted at the Expence of the People. These things were also represented to the King by the Parliament, which met in London in Candlemas-Term, and boldly reproved the King for his breach of Promise (upon his requiring another Supply) having vow'd and declar'd (at the Grant of the last Tax) by his Charter, 'That he would never

injure the State again in that kind: They blame him also for taking up Provisions of Wine, Dyet, Silks, &c. of the Sellers against their Wills, to the great Discouragement of Merchandize: That his Judges went their Circuits under a pretence of doing Justice to fleece the People; and Robert de Passeleve had extorted great Sums from such as border'd upon his Forests, and therefore they wonder'd he could desire any Relief from the Commons he had so much impoverish'd, and advise him to take what he wanted of his Favourites, and resume the old Lands belonging to the Crown. They reprove him also for holding the Bishopricks and Abbies in his Hands vacant, contrary to the Liberties of the Church, and his Oath made at his Coronation. Lastly, They all complain'd in general, that the Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer, were not made by the Common Council of the Kingdom, as they had been in the time of his Predecessors, as was convenient they should; but such were advanced to those places of Trust, as wholly sought how to please him, and profit themselves, without regarding the Advantage of the Kingdom. The King patiently endured all this Reproof, and gives them Promises of Redress, in hopes to obtain his Desires; but nothing was granted, because they were resolv'd to see how the King would behave himself towards them first, and accordingly obey and satisfy him; and after many Debates they were prorogu'd till Midsummer. But this Delay produced no good Advantage: The King grew more harsh and severe to his People, insomuch that at the next Session he made a Speech to them to this effect: 'Would you curb your King and Lord at your pleasure, and impose a servile Condition upon him? Will you proudly deny him that which every one of you hath power to do? It is lawful for every one of you to take whose Counsel he pleases, and for every Master of a Family to prefer whom he pleases to any Office, and remove him from it as he will; and will you rashly deny your Lord and Sovereign to do the like? Servants ought not to judge their Masters, nor Subjects their Prince, or hold them to Conditions: For the Servant is not above his Lord, nor the Disciple above his Master. Neither is he your King, but Servant,

1248. 'who must submit to your pleasure. Wherefore he answers them plainly, That he would not remove the Chief Justice, Chancellor, or Treasurer at their Desire; and so he replied to their other Objections, requiring positively a Tax, which he said concern'd their Right as well as his: And so the Parliament broke up in great Discontent. The King being now left to furnish his own Wants, sold all his Plate and Jewels, being told, That as Rivers return'd to the Sea, so they would revert to him again. The City of London bought them; which, when the King heard, he inveigh'd against it, and fought all ways to draw the Trade from it.

The Christmas following he pass'd without any Royal Magnificence, meanly requiring New-years Gifts of the Londoners; and shortly after writes to them imperious Letters to aid him with Money, which at length with much unwillingness they consented to do, to the Sum of twenty thousand Pound; for which, the next Year after, he craved Pardon of them, sending for them to Westminster Hall. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all Provisions for his House, yet he so lessen'd his Hospitality, (introducing, say they, the Roman way of Living) that it was held very dishonourable, and unusual to the English Magnificence of their Kings. Then, whereas he could obtain nothing of his Parliament, he either sends for, or writes to every Nobleman apart, declaring his Poverty, and that he was bound by a Charter in a Debt of thirty thousand Pound to those of Burdeaux, and the Gascoignes, ever since he was last in France; notwithstanding which, he required nothing of them, but in Favour; which, where he found, he would return the like. But he could obtain nothing of them, no more than of the Bishops, to whom he address'd the same Requests. By much Importunity he got an hundred Pound of the Abbot of Ramsey; but the Abbot of Brough deny'd him the like Sum, tho' the King told him, That it was more Alms to give to him, than to a Beggar that went from Door to Door. The Abbot of St. Albans was more yielding, and gave him sixty Marks. To such a lowness did the Necessities of this King, through his own Lavishness, bring him. But tho' his own Subjects felt not the weight of his Wants, yet the Jews did, whom he always polled at every low ebb of his Fortunes.

One Abraham, who was found delinquent, was forced to pay seven hundred Marks for his Redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested, That the King had since his Voyage into France taken from him at times thirty thousand Marks of Silver, besides two hundred Marks of Gold, which he had presented to the Queen. And in like manner he used many other of the Jews.

The Lords meet again at London, and urge the King with his Promise made to them, That the Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer should be constituted by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by reason that Richard Earl of Cornwall was not present, which was thought to have been on purpose, they could not obtain their Desire; so that the Discontents of both sides still remained, to the great Distraction of the Nation, and great Strugglings were on both parts. But tho' the King could get nothing for himself, he was very zealous to gain something for others, especially to prefer his Brother Athelmar to the Bishoprick of Durham; and to that end, endeavours all he could to persuade the Covent to chuse him. But he could not prevail, because of his Youth and Insufficiency: Wherefore he tells them,

A. D. 1248. Reg. 32. The King's Friends provided for.

The King's mean ways of getting Money.

1249. His Exaltation on the Jews.

The King grows severe.

1250. The King prefers his Brother Athelmar.

\* He was marry'd to the Daughter of Guarin de Muntgenst, and created Earl of Pembroke.  
\* Saying, On my Conscience the City of London were able to purchase the Treasure of Augustus.



A. D. 1250. That he would keep it eight or nine Years in his hands, till he was grown to a greater Age. Shortly after the Bishoprick of *Winchester* became void, and thither he immediately sends his Agents to prepare the Monks of that Cathedral to elect his Brother; and that he might not meet with a Denial from them, he went down thither in Person, enters the Chapter House, as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the President's Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes this Text, *Justice and Peace have kissed each other*; and thereupon uses these Words, 'To me and other Kings, and to our Princes and Judges, who are to govern the People, belongs the Administration of Judgment and Justice. To you, who are Men of Religion and Piety, Peace and Tranquillity: And this Day I hear that you have for your own Advantage been favourable to my Request, and so Justice and Peace have kissed each other. I was angry once with you for opposing me in the Election of *William Rale*, your late Bishop, a Man that I lik'd not; but now I am Friends with you for this Election, and will both remember and reward your Kindness. As by a Woman came the Destruction of the World, so by a Woman came the Remedy. I to satisfy my Wife, who was desirous to prefer her Uncle *William Valentine*, disquieted and damned you; so now being willing to advance my Brother by the Mother, will reconcile myself to you, &c. Consider, that in this City I was born, and in this Church baptiz'd; and therefore you are bound to me in a straighter Bond of Affection, &c. Then he commended the high Birth and good Parts of his Brother, and what Honour and Benefit they would have by electing him, but concluded with some Threatnings: So that the Monks seeing him thus to require the Bishoprick, thought it in vain to deny him, and *Atbelmar* is elected; but with this Reservation, If the Pope allow'd thereof. Soon after happen'd the Memorable Cause of *Sir Henry Bath*,<sup>a</sup> one of the Judges of this Kingdom, and a great Counsellor to the King; who having gotten a great Estate in his Place by Bribery and Corruption (for he is said to have gotten 200 *l. per Annum* in one Circuit) was at length accused by *Sir Philip D'arcy* of Injustice in his Office, and Treason; which so incens'd the King, that in the Parliament holden about this time at *London*, Proclamation was made, That every Person that had any Action or Complaint against *Sir Henry Bath*, he might come in and should be heard; whereupon one of his Fellow-Judges accus'd him of acquitting a Malefactor for a Bribe. But *Sir Henry* was so strong in Relations and Friends, who were at hand ready arm'd for his Rescue, that the King saw he could not be punish'd openly; and therefore he breaks out into a Rage, and said, That whosoever would kill *Henry de Bath*, should be acquitted for that Deed. But this Heat was soon after allay'd, by the Mediation of the Earl of *Cornwal* and Bishop of *London*, who urging the Danger of the Time, and the Discontents of the Kingdom, and that his severe Proceedings with one that had serv'd him in so great Business, would discourage others from serving such a Master; who upon malicious Accusations would forsake them, whose Places are ever expos'd to Detraction, so prevail'd with the King, that *Sir Henry* upon the Payment of two thousand Marks, was restor'd to his former Place and Favour. The King keep-

*Sir Henry Bath's Cause.*  
1251.

Fifteenth Parliament

ing his *Christmas* at *Tork*, the Marriage between *Alexander* King of *Scots* and *Margaret* his Daughter was solemniz'd there with very great Costliness of Apparel and Provision, the Archbishop giving sixty fat Oxen to be spent at one Feast, and four thousand Marks for other Charges, which shews that the Poverty of the Church was not so great as was pretended, seeing the Churchmen could find Money to shew their Greatness, tho' they deny'd it at other times.<sup>b</sup>

The Pope, and *Alphonfus* King of *Castile*, solicit the King to undertake the Cross, the latter offering to accompany him in Person to rescue the King of *France*; who having empty'd his Country both of his Treasure and Nobility, was taken Prisoner by the Sultan, and kept in miserable Captivity, out of which he could not easily be redeem'd; because the Money, which with much Difficulty had been collected for his Ransom, was lost in a Tempest at Sea. This made the Captive King seek other means, and offer the King of *England* to restore *Normandy*, if he would undertake to rescue him; which tho' the Nobility of *France* took ill, and blam'd the Weakness of their King for, yet upon the Pope's Solicitation, and a Grant of a Tenth both of the Clergy and Laity for three Years to come, the King of *England* undertakes the Cross; yet rather to get the Money (which had it been collected, would have amounted to 600000 *l.*) than to perform the Journey, which he saw was nothing but a political Device of the Pope's to impoverish his Kingdom, and the other Princes of *Europe*, that he might enlarge his own Power and Dominion. However the King, as if his Design had been real, first summon'd the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there by the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Gloucester* declares his Intention to them, who added their Exhortations to the People to attend him, but few were moved by their Persuasions; only three Knights, and they of no great Note, are nominated, whom the King embrac'd, kiss'd, and call'd Brethren, checking the Backwardness of the *Londoners* in so pious an Action, and swearing to set forth on *Midsummer-Day*. After this, the Parliament was call'd at *London* to confirm the Tenth granted by the Pope, not by the People; and the Bishops Consent in this so pious a Work was first requir'd to induce the rest, but they absolutely refus'd the same: Which Example the Lords so closely follow'd, that the King in a Rage drove them out of his Chamber. Then the King tries to persuade them to it severally, and first began with the Bishop of *Ely*, and in a mild manner tells him, 'How many Favours he had receiv'd from his hands, and how forward he had formerly found him to supply his Occasions, and therefore intreats him now to give a good Example to others. The Bishop reply'd, 'That he was glad, that he had at any time done him good Service; but in this he besought his Highness not to expect a Compliance, since he thought it a dishonest Act to recede from the Universal Determination of the Nation, and therefore dissuades him from that Journey by the Example of the King of *France*, on whom he saw the Judgment of God fall'n for robbing his People to enrich his Enemies, who were grown fat with the vast Treasure that Christian Princes had transported thither. The King hearing this positive Answer of the Bishop, commanded his Servants in a great Passion to thrust him out of his Palace; and judg-

<sup>a</sup> He was a great Lawyer, and the King's Favourite, yet his Master refus'd to take Bail for him when he was arrested.  
<sup>b</sup> When this Marriage was solemniz'd, King *Henry* would have had the *Scots* King do him Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as he had done for *Lothian* and other Places, which he held of the King of *England*; but *Alexander* evaded it, and King *Henry* was not in Circumstances to oblige him to do it.



A. D. 1252. ing by him what he was to expect of the rest, fell to his old Courses of raising Money by Violence and Extortion. During this Parliament (an ill time for Suitors) *Isabel Countess of Arundel*, a young Widow, came to him about a Ward detain'd from her by reason of a small parcel of Land held of the King *in Capite*, which depriv'd her of her Wardship for the rest. The King gave her a sharp Answer, and turn'd away from her: Whereupon she said to him, 'My Lord, Why turn you away your Face from Justice, that we can't obtain our Rights in your Court? You are God's Vicegerent, but you neither govern your self nor us wisely, but shamefully oppress your Nobles and the Kingdom. To this Speech the King reply'd in Disdain, 'Lady Countess, Have the Lords made you a Charter to be their Advocate, and sent you, being an Eloquent Speaker, to defend their Cause? No, Sir, she said; 'I have no Charter, but that which your Father and you made, and have sworn so often to observe, that you might get Money from your Subjects, but you do unworthily transgress. Where are the Liberties of England so often granted and bought? I thought a Woman, and with me all your Natural Subjects, appeal against you to the Tribunal of the most High Judge to avenge us. At these words the King being disturb'd, ask'd her, 'If she expected no Favour from him, being his Kinswoman. She said, 'How can I hope for Favour from you, when you deny me Right? I appeal to Christ against those Counsellors of yours, who have infatuated and bewitch'd you for their own Gain. As boldly, tho' in fewer words, did the Master of the Hospital of *Jernusalem* at *Clerkenwell* reprove him; who coming to complain of an Injury done them against their Charter, the King told him, 'That the Bishops, but especially the Templars and Hospitallers, had so many Liberties and Charters, that their Riches made them proud and their Pride mad; and 'tis best for them, that those things which were unadvisedly granted should be revok'd; alledging, 'That the Popes had often recall'd their Grants by a *Non-obstante*, and why might not he disannul those Charters, which his Predecessors had inconsiderately granted? The Prior answer'd, 'God forbid you should do as you say: 'So long as you observe Justice, you may be a King, but if you violate it, you will cease to be a King. The Fryars, call'd *Minors*, when he sent them a Load of Freeze to cloath them, sent it back again, with this Message; 'That he ought not give Alms of what he had extorted from the Poor, nor would they accept of such an abominable Gift. Such Affronts did this King meet withal from his Subjects, whose Duty should have taught them more Manners to a worse Prince; but when Princes have once lost the Love of their People, and their Reputation, every one will be ready to shake off their Power, and put off all Reverence to them.

This ill Behaviour of the *English* to the King harden'd him every Day more and more against them, and made him encourage the Insolencies of Strangers against his People; who proud of the King's Favour, were ready enough to gratifie his Anger, in committing many Riots and Oppressions upon them. Thus *William de Valence*, an hot and fiery Youth, going from his Castle of *Hartford* to a Park of the Bishop of *Ely's*, which lay near his Manour of *Hatfield*; he destroy'd the Game, and after entering the Bishop's House, where he found no other Drink but Ale, he caus'd the Cellar-door to be broken open by his Attendants, and when they had drank their fill,

let out the rest upon the Floor. The Bishop A. D. Elect of *Winchester* also did great Wrongs to an Official of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Guy de Lusignan* being entertain'd by the Abbot of *S. Albans*, violates all the Laws of Hospitality and Civility, and many others did the like Injuries to the *English*; insomuch, that their general Complaint was, 'Our Inheritance is given to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers, which notwithstanding the King sought the more to prefer: For a Daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earl of *Angoulesm*, is marry'd to *Richard* (or *Gilbert*) *de Clare* Earl of *Gloucester*, an eminent Man, and much lov'd of the Nobility, learn'd in the Laws, and a great Patriot of the Rights of the Subject; from which this near Alliance to the King could not keep his hands, but he would still defend the Liberties of the Nation. The King promis'd to the Earl five thousand Marks for a Dower, and sought to borrow it of many, but could not; wherefore he again compels the *Londoners* to contribute a thousand Marks.

The People of *Gascoigne* being about to revolt, unless a speedy Remedy were taken, the King caus'd general Musters to be made, and gave order, That whoever could expend 13 *l. per Annum*, should furnish out an Horse for that Expedition. This, with the extream Wants of the King, occasion'd another Parliament, wherein the States wisely considering, that all their Opposition did no good, the King's Wants must be supply'd one way or other; and that it was heavier for private Men to do it, than for the Kingdom in general, agreed to relieve him rather by the usual way, than force him to those extravagant Courses he took: Yet upon condition, that he would reform the Government, and ratifie their ancient Laws and Charters, which (after fifteen Days Consultation about the way of raising a sufficient Sum for this Expedition, which was at length agreed to be done by a Tenth from the Clergy for three Years, and three Marks of every Knight's Fee) was done after the most summan manner, and with as much Ceremony as Religion and State could devise; for the King, with all the Chief Nobility, and Bishops in their Robes, and with Candles burning in their hands, being assembled, the Charters granted by King *John* his Father were openly read, and the terrible Sentence of Excommunication being pronounc'd against all the Breakers of the same in these Words; '*Autoritate Dei Omnipotentis*, &c. they all threw down their Candles, which lay smoaking on the Ground, and all cry'd out, 'So let them who incur this Sentence, be extinct and stink in Hell. And the King, who laid his hand on his Breast all the while the Sentence was read, said with a loud Voice, 'As God shall help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crown'd and anointed, inviolably observe all these things. And at this the Bells rung out, and all the People shouted for Joy: So that never Laws were publish'd with more Ceremony than these, except those of God himself from Mount *Sinai*; and if Prayers could have procur'd the same Thundrings and Lightnings, it should have been done to make them reverently to be observ'd, and the Breach of them formidable. After this, the Business of *Gascoigne* was readily taken into Consideration, being the thing that requir'd their present Care; which to understand, we must look back a little to the Original. The King, by the Counsel of the Lords, had twenty seven Years before this, freely granted to his Brother *Richard* all that Province of *Gascoigne*, which thereupon receiv'd him as their Lord, and swore Fealty to him.

The People of Gascoigne ready to revolt.  
Seventeenth Parliament.  
The Charters solemnly ratified.  
1253.

The



A. D. 1253. The Queen, after the King had a Son by her, solicits him to revoke his Grant to his Brother, Reg. 37. and confer it upon his eldest Son *Edward*, which he immediately did. But *Richard*, tho' he were depriv'd of the Possession, would not yield to forego his Right; so that when the King was last in *Gascoigne*, the People were doubtful whom to attend. The King therefore in great Displeasure commands his Brother to resign his Charter, and renounce his Right; which he refusing to do, the King commanded the People of *Burdeaux* to take him and imprison him; but they considering his Greatness, and the Mutability of the King's Temper, would not venture to do it till he promised them a large Reward of Money; by which the Earl perceiving he was in danger, escaped from *Burdeaux*, and got into *England*. The King after his departure assembles the Nobility of *Gascoigne* at *Burdeaux*, where having much inveigh'd against his Brother, as a covetous Oppressor, and promised them not only a better Governour, but thirty thousand Marks, (which they required him to confirm to them by his Charter and Oath) he nulled the Charter of Donation to his Brother, and takes their Homage and Fealty to himself. In which, tho' they pleased him, yet by holding him to the performance of his Oath, they afterward lost his Love; and to be reveng'd of them, he sent *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leicester*, a rough and warlike Man, to curb their Pride, gave him a Charter for six Years, and furnished him with ten thousand Marks, that he might execute his Command the better. *Montfort* by his severe management so discontented the People of *Gascoigne*, that they after three Years Sufferings send over the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, with other great Men, to complain of his hard Dealings, and accuse of several heinous Crimes, who were heard before the King and Council. *Montfort* is sent for over to answer for himself; but was so abetted and befriended by the Earl of *Cornwall*, and the Lords his Friends, that the King taking the People of *Gascoigne*'s part, more to curb his Nobles, than in favour to them. *Montfort* in an undutiful manner upbraided the King with his Expenceful Service and Breach of Promise, gave him the Lye, and threaten'd to make him repent of that Action, if his Regal Dignity did not protect him, called him no Christian, with many like Abuses; which caused the King to tell him, That he repented that he had admitted him into *England*, and so much preferred him. The *Gascoignes* after this were sent for privately by the King, who comforted them, and encouraged them against *Montfort*, whom he told them he would send over again to his Charge with clipt Wings, that they might be reveng'd of him; and confirmed the State of *Gascoigne* to his Son *Edward*, whom he promised shortly to send over to them, wherewith they were well pleased; and having done him Homage, depart. The effect of this Contrivance was but bad. *Montfort* returns in Flames, plagues the *Gascoignes*, and they in like manner him; but he by his great Alliance in *France*, got so many Forces, as overmatch'd that People, and so spoil'd their Estates. The People being thus oppressed by a powerful Army, send over their Complaints again; alledging, That unless they were speedily reliev'd, they must of necessity put their Country into some other hands to protect them. In this State was *Gascoigne* at the meeting of this Parliament. Wherefore the King, as soon as he obtain'd the Supply (laying

afide his *Eastern* design) goes over with three hundred Sail of great Ships, and lands at *Burdeaux* in *August*, in the 38th Year of his Reign, having first deposed *Simon Montfort* from his Government, and made void his Charter by Proclamation. *Montfort* retires, and is offer'd Entertainment by the *French*, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had pretty well appeased the Country, and taken those Castles which had long held out against him, and the late Governour. For they having put themselves under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, who was a near Neighbour, to maintain the Factions of the Country, the King was forced to be more quick in dispatching that Affair; and the rather, because the King of *Spain* pretended a Title to *Aquitain*; of whom, that *Henry* might be the more secure, he sends to him to treat of a Marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*; to which the King of *Spain* willingly consented. After this the King kept his Christmas at *Burdeaux*, whither the Queen sends him a New-years Gift of five hundred Marks; and the next Summer she went over to him with the Prince, and the Marriage was solemnized at *Bourges*, where the King of *Spain* knighted the Prince, and by his Charter quits his Claim to *Aquitain* for him and his Heirs for ever. The King of *England* also invests the Prince and his Wife therein; and besides, gives him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantbam*; which being dispatched, the King prepares for his Return, having consumed all his Treasure in these Journeys, which was reckon'd 2700000*l.*\* more than all the Lands which he had in those Countries were worth, had they been sold right-out; which, when he was told of, he desired it might not be published to his Disgrace. The Seas being dangerous in the Winter, the King obtains leave of the King of *France* (lately released from his Captivity) to pass through his Country homeward; and in his Passage goes to *Paris* with a Retinue of a thousand Horse, besides Sumpters and Carts, where he staid eight Days, and was magnificently feasted by the King of *France*, which he returned with equal Charge and Pomp, in respect to the two Queens with him, and the Countesses of *Cornwall* and *Provence*. About Christmas the King arriv'd in *England*, and was presented by the *Londoners* with an hundred Pounds in Silver, which being received without Thanks, they gave him a piece of Plate of double the Value, which had a more kind acceptance, though it could not excuse them from greater Sums afterwards.

The main business of the King after his arrival being to recruit his Treasure, and ease himself of his Debts, which he had by his Prodigality contracted, and now lay heavy upon him, he studied all ways to raise Money. And first he begins to supply himself for the present with Loans, and borrows great Sums of the Earl of *Cornwall* upon Pawn. The *Londoners* were also compelled to pay him three thousand Marks for suffering a Prisoner to escape; and the poor Jews are again squeeze'd, and then let out to farm to the rich Earl of *Cornwall* to make the best of them. At length he calls a Parliament in *Easter Term*, of which he expected large Contributions to his Wants; but instead of that, he meets with nothing but Complaints of Breaches of their Charter, and other Grievances from them, who insisted upon their pretended Rights of chusing the Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer: About

S. Montfort  
made Go-  
vernour of  
Gascoigne,  
who man-  
ages ill.

King Henry  
keeps his  
Christmas  
at Bur-  
deaux.

His ways to  
raise Money.

Eighteenth  
Parliament  
1257.

\* *Matt. Paris* says, 'Twas 20700*l.* and 30000 Marks, spent on his *Poisson* half Brothers. He begg'd some that told him of it, not to mention it any more: Ob for the Head of God (his Oath) say no more of it, lest the very Relation make Men wonder, and stand amaz'd.

which



A. D. 1247. which things, when there had been much Debate to no purpose, the Parliament was adjourn'd to Michaelmas, without any Grant of Money to him; because, as was pretended, many Peers were not summon'd according to the Tenure of *Magna Charta*. But tho' the King got no Supplies, he had fresh occasions for Charge. *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queen's Brother, is at War with the City of *Tburen*, and must be supply'd with Money by the King and Queen, and *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Brother. The Bishop of *Toledo* Elect, the King of *Spain's* Brother, came over, with other Great Men of that Nation, stay at the King's Charge, and are richly Presented. Shortly after *Eleanor*, the Prince's Wife, visits the King, with a multitude of *Spaniards*; and she must be met, and received by the *Londoners* in a costly manner, and is after much Feasting sent home with Rich Presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of Investiture to *Edmund*, the King's second Son, for the Kingdom of *Sicily* (with which *Innocent IV.* had deluded the King himself before) and he also was sent back with great Rewards. Then arrives *Rustandus*, with power to collect the Tenths of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for the use of the Pope and King, and absolve the King from his Oath for the Holy War, upon Condition that he should come to destroy *Manfred*, the Emperor *Fredericke's* Son, who was now in Possession of the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Apulia*, and put his Son *Edmund* in that Kingdom; which the King was so pleased with, that he vow'd to go presently upon that Expedition; being encouraged to it by a Report, that *Manfred* had received a Defeat by the Pope's Power in *Apulia*, which proved false; for *Manfred* had conquer'd the Pope's Army, and was established in his Government by the general Consent of the *Sicilians*, who were angry with the Pope for giving away their Country without their consent to Strangers. But *Rustandus* could not obtain that he came for of the Clergy, (tho' he got a rich Present at *Tork* of the King) who protested, That they would rather lose their Lives and Livings, than yield in this thing either to the Will of the Pope or King, who, they said, were as the Shepherd and the Wolf, who combined to destroy the Flock.

The Complaint of the Merchants of Gascoigne. The King this Year keeps his Christmas at *Winchester*, and here the Merchants of *Gascoigne*, who had their Wines taken from them by the King's Officers, without due Satisfaction for them, complain of it to the Prince, who was now their Lord, and tell him, 'That they had better trade with *Sarazens* and *Infidels*, than the *English*, if they were thus used. The Prince addresses himself to his Father, and begs a Redress; but was so far from gaining it, that he brought the Storm upon himself. For the Officers having preposited the King, that their Complaints were false and unjust, he brake out in a great Rage at the Prince's Motion, and said, 'That his own Bowels, his Son, afflicted and opposed him, as his Brother had done; and the Miseries of his Grandfather *Henry II.* were come upon him. But this Passion being allay'd by his Council, he gave order, That those Injuries should be redressed. However, the Prince fearing future ill effects of his Father's Displeasure, enlarged his Train, and rode with two hundred Horse for his Guard. While the Prince, who was very young, rash, and unexperienced, remained in *England* with a Train of Strangers, most of them of no Estates, and of youthful and violent Spirits (said to be more Ravenous than the Crew which *Lewis*

brought with him out of *France*) many Outrages were committed to the great Trouble of the King's Subjects; for they made every thing a Prey that they could get into their power; yea, and the Prince himself is laid upon the Road to have caused the Ear of a young Man to be cut off, and one of his Eyes put out, whom he met travelling about his business; which foul Act made many to have no good Opinion of his Disposition, and fear what he would after prove. But long Experience in Travel, and an innate Nobleness of Mind, so suppressed his Vices, that he after proved a very worthy Prince. But for the present he suffered some Disgrace for his Youthful Follies; which the *Welsh* not having that Patience to endure as the *English* had, broke out into open Rebellion against him, who was then their Governour. He craved the Assistance of his Father, Mother, and Uncle *Richard*, to suppress them: But the King's Treasure was gone over the *Alps* with *Edmund*, the Queen's to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Earl *Richard* had lent more already than he could get again; and so nothing was done, but only a rough Message sent him, That 'twas his Princedom, and he must find ways to defend it. But the King used all the Shifts he could to supply his own everlasting Wants. He comes himself into his Exchequer, and with his own Voice order'd, 'That every Sheriff which appeared not yearly in the *Ostaves* of *S. Michael* with his Money, as well of his Farms, as of Fines and other Dues, for the first Day he should be fined five Marks, for the second ten, for the third fifteen, and for the fourth at the King's pleasure. In like manner, that all Cities and Free-Towns, which answer by their Bailiffs, should be fined for the same Defaults, and the fourth Day to lose their Freedom. Besides every Sheriff throughout *England* was fined five Marks, because they did not distrain within their Countries all that held ten Pound Land *per Annum*, and came not to be made a Knight, or freed by the King. Then he fell to the Examination of Measures for Wine and Ale, Bushels and Weights, which brought him in some small Sums; and every Year he had a Quarrel with the *Londoners* for one thing or another, and got something out of them. Thus by various ways supporting his great Charge.

But now happen'd a business, which as it took up some time, so it was look'd upon by all the World as advantageous to the *English*, viz. The Election of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* to be King of the *Romans*, by the general Consent of all the Electors, who sent for him to receive that Crown. It was first debated in the Council, whether he should accept of the Offer: Some, who thought his Presence necessary for the Affairs of this Kingdom, were against it, and dissuaded him from it by the Examples of two lately elected to that Dignity, *Henry Landgrave* of *Turing*, and *William* Earl of *Holland*, who were miserably destroyed. But others, of which the King himself was one, persuaded him to it, judging him too great for a Subject, and very useful if a foreign Prince: This the Earl yielded to, tho' with a seeming unwillingness. But the *German* Writers (who are best Witnesses of their own Affairs) give a different account of it, and say, That after the Murther of the Earl of *Holland* the Electors were divided about a Successor; some were for their old Custom of electing a Native, others were for a Stranger, who might support their declining State, which was most politick, and at last prevailed. But in this they had some difference about the Competitors, *Alphonfus* King of *Spain*, and *Richard* Earl

Welsh rebel against the Prince.

Richard Earl of Cornwall made King of the Romans.

\* His Natural Son.

\* The Elector of *Treves*, and several other Princes, oppos'd his Election.



A. D. 1257. In the Conclusion *Richard*, who was nearest in Person and Money readiest, was prefer'd and crown'd at *Aquisgrave*. He behav'd himself, say they, with great Tyranny and Severity to those who had oppos'd his Election, thinking thereby to confirm himself in his Power, but it proved contrary: For having consum'd his Riches by purchasing their Votes, and by giving great Gifts afterward, he was forsaken and dispossest by his Subjects, and forc'd to return into *England* to his Brother *Henry*, who was then in War with his Nobles. Thus they deliver it, but in our Histories we find it thus: Before the Earl departed out of *England*, the Earl of *Glocester* and Sir *John Mansell* were sent into *Germany* to try their Affections towards him, who return'd well satisfied of the Business; and shortly after the Archbishop of *Cologne* came to conduct him over, and the Earl bestow'd five hundred Marks on him towards his Charges, and a rich Mitre set with precious Stones. This Prince, the Earl of *Cornwal*, is reported to have been able to expend an hundred Marks a Day for ten Years, besides his Revenues in *England*. The *French*, and especially the King of *Spain*, were much displeased with this Choice, and complain'd to the Pope and King of *England*, that he was supplanted by the Earl, *Spain* pretending that he was first elected: But he being a Philosopher, and studious of Mathematicks (which he reviv'd in *Europe*) he was drawing Lines when he should have drawn his Purse, and so lost his Hopes, and *Richard* slept in before him.

And sent for over.

Nineteenth Parliament  
The King desires Money to furnish out Edmund his Son to be King of Sicily.

1258.

About the time that Earl *Richard* departed out of *England*, while the Kingdom was yet in its Jollity for this new Promotion, the King calls a Parliament to set forward another, of his Son *Edmund*, whom bringing forth to them in an *Apulian* Habit, he thus spake to the Assembly. 'Behold, my good Subjects, here my Son *Edmund*, whom God of his Grace hath called to the Dignity of Regal Excellency, how worthy is he of your Favour, and how inhumane will it be in you, in so important an Affair, to deny him your Counsel and Aid? And then he shews them, how by the Advice and Kindness of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for the attaining of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, bound himself under a Covenant of losing his Kingdom of *England* in the Sum of an hundred forty thousand Marks; That he had obtain'd a Tenth of the Clergy for three Years to come of all their Benefices to be valu'd at the full Rate, without Deduction of Expences, unless very necessary, besides their First-fruits for three Years; which Declaration was not very pleasant to the Clergy, as may be judg'd from their former Grumbings. Nevertheless, after some insufficient Excuses for their Poverty, they promis'd, upon the usual Condition, That *Magna Charta*, and the Liberties of the Kingdom should be finally establish'd, which had been so often bought before, fifty two thousand Marks, tho' this satisfied him not. Wherefore the next Year he summons another Parliament at *London*, wherein he press'd them hard for such Supplies as might enable him to pay his Debts to the Pope; but the Lords tell him plainly, 'That they would not yield to pay him any thing, and if he had without their Consent, unadvisedly bought the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and was cheated, he should impute it to his own Weakness, and have taken Example by his

Brother; who when it was offer'd him by the Pope's Agent, absolutely refus'd it, because it lay so far off; so many Nations were between, the Pope full of Cavils, the People unfaithful, and the Pretender powerful, &c. Then they repeated their own Grievances, how that he had broke his Promises, contemning both the Keys of the Church, and the Charter he had solemnly sworn to observe; how insulting his Brethren, and other Strangers were, against whom no Writ, by his own Order, was to pass in any Cause whatsoever out of Chancery; That their Pride was intolerable, especially of *William de Valence*, who had given the Lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and was not punish'd for it upon Complaint; That they abounded in Riches, and kept him so poor, that he could not suppress the small Forces of the *Welsh*, who wasted the Borders of *England*, but going the last Year against them, return'd with Dishonour. The King hearing this, grew sensible of his Fault; and being urg'd with Necessity humbled himself, and told them, 'That he had indeed been seduc'd by ill Counsel, but promis'd by Oath, which he took upon *S. Edward's* Tomb, to reform all these Errors. But the Lords not knowing how to hold this ever-changing *Proteus* (as *Paris* says) got the Parliament to be adjourn'd till *S. Barnabas's* Day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In the mean time, the Earls of *Glocester*, *Leicester* and *Hereford*, the Earl Marshal *Bygot*, *Spencers*, and other great Men, enter into a Confederacy, and provide Force sufficient to effect their Desires; whilst the King put to great Straights for Money, procures the Abbot of *Westminster* by Promises of great Preferments, to give him a Deed seal'd with the Seal of the Covent for three hundred Marks; to encourage others to do the like; which he sent by some trusty Officers to the several Monasteries with his Letters, and his said Deed, to effect. But all the Art and Threats that they could use, could not bring them to yield to such Deeds. They were told, That their King was Lord of all they had, and therefore they ought readily to offer a small part for the Supply of his Wants; but they reply'd, That they acknowledg'd the King Lord of all they had, but it was to defend and enrich, not to destroy and undo them. So the Officers return'd without Success, and the King was disappointed; and the Prince, who shar'd in the Miseries of his Father's Wants, forc'd to mortgage the Towns of *Stamford*, *Brabam*, and many other Places, to *William de Valence*; that out of his Stores he might supply his Father and himself with Money, which prov'd the Breach of all Love and Favour between them.

And now drew on the time for the Parliament's meeting at *Oxford* in an hot time, but in Arms at *Oxford*. The Discontents of the Nation, which burst out then into furious Flames, were much hotter than the Season. The Lords appear'd with a very great Train, as for War, which indeed they pretended to be design'd against the *Welsh*, and landing of Foreigners at the several Ports; but the Orders given by them to the *Londoners* to keep their Gates shut, and the Association under Hands, and with Oaths which they had enter'd into one with another, proved some other Design. At the opening of the Parliament they began to call for their former Liberties, and require strictly the Observation of them, according to the King's Oath formerly made, That the

\* He was crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle* in May, 1257.

b 'Tis said he carry'd over 700000 l. with him into *Germany*, an immense Sum in those times.

c He oblig'd his Covent for 2500 Marks. *M. Paris*.



A. D. 1258. Chief Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurer should be chosen by the People; That twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom be appointed, twelve by the Election of the King, and twelve of the Lords, and many things else which they imagin'd to be for their Security. The King seeing their Strength, and observing after what manner they requir'd these things, swears solemnly again to the Confirmation of them, and causes his Son the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords were not thus satisfied, the King's Brethren, all the *Poictovines* and Strangers must be presently remov'd, and the Kingdom clear'd of them; and this they would have all the Peers of the Nation to see done: But the Prince, Earl Warren, and Henry the eldest Son of Richard, now King of the *Romans*\*, strongly oppos'd it, the last refusing to take his Oath without his Father's Leave: Whereupon the rest told him, 'That if his Father would not joyn with the Barons in this Case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in *England*. In the end, the King's Brethren, and all their Followers, are deprived of their Estates, and banish'd by Proscription under the King's own hand, directed to the Earls of *Hereford* and *Surrey*, with a Charge not to suffer them to pass either with Money, Arms, or Equipage, other than as the Lords appointed; and after their departure, he enjoy'd the City of *Bristol* and other Ports, not to permit any Strangers or Kinsman of his to enter the Kingdom, unless they behav'd themselves as both he and the Lords should like. The *Poictovines* flying to *Bologne* in *France*, sent to King *Lewis* to beg a safe Passage through his Country into *Poitou*; but by the *French* Queen's means, who had heard they had disgrac'd her Sister of *England*, they were deny'd, and Henry Son to the Earl of *Leicester* is sent to incense the *French* against them. And now, as Envy is always ready to thrust headlong, such as are falling, the *Poictovines* have all the Mischiefs laid to their Charge imaginable. The Sickness and Death of divers great Men, which happen'd soon after this Fatal Parliament, are imputed to Poisons made and given by these Gentlemen, and some executed, as *Walter Scoyny*, the Earl of *Glocester*'s Steward, because his Master and his Brother had been dangerously sick, tho' they could prove nothing against him. *Elias*, a converted *Jew*, asserted, That the Poison was prepar'd in his House, but it was when he was a Devil, not a Christian: Every Man that had receiv'd any Wrong by these great Men, put up their Complaints, and are heard with Aggravations of their Insolence and Injustice. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poictovine*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rochester*, is banish'd, and all his Goods confiscated; *William Bussey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and cruelly used as an Instrument of his Master's Insolencies; *Richard Gray*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Castle, is set to intercept whatever the *Poictovines* carried that way to convey out of *England*, who took a great deal of Treasure from them, and the Elect of *Winchester*, besides great Sums which they had put in the new Temple, all which were seiz'd into the King's Hand. And that the People in this Execution of Justice, as 'twas thought, tho' much Wrong was done under that Umbrage, might not think themselves forgotten, the new Chief Justice *Hugh Bygot* the Marshal's Brother (who was chosen by the Parliament) procures, that four Knights in every

Shire should inquire into the Oppressions of the Poor, done by those great Men, and certifie the same under their Hands and Seals to the Barons, that Redress might be made. Moreover Order was taken, 'That from thenceforth no Man should give any thing (but Provisions) for Justice, or to hinder it; but the Corrupter and corrupted to be grievously punish'd. But notwithstanding this Care for the Publick, yet the Lords oppress'd the King's Tenants that dwelt near them, and became *Totidem Tyranni*: For they furnish'd the chief Forts of the Kingdom with Garrisons of their own, sworn to be faithful to the State, and to the like Assurance of all the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Coroners, and other publick Officers, inquiring by Oath into the Behaviour of many Commissioners; and to make their Cause the more popular, they gave it out, that the King's Necessities must be supply'd out of the Peoples Estates, and that he would not want while they had it: Whereupon the King issues out his Proclamation, declaring, 'That whereas certain malicious Persons had falsly and seditiously reported, that he design'd unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and subvert the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and by such false Suggestions, drew the Hearts of his People from him; he desir'd them not to give Credit to such Disturbers of their Peace, because he was resolv'd to defend all Rights and Customs belonging to them; and that they might be assur'd of it, he had caused these his Letters to be made Patents.

And now *Montfort*, *Glocester*, and *Spencer*, who had by the late Constitution of the twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom, gotten the whole Management of all things into their hand, forc'd the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where the whole Authority of the twenty four was devolv'd upon them, and Order taken, That three of them at the least should always attend at Court to dispose of the Custody of Castles, and manage other Busineses of the Kingdom, to direct the Chancellor, Chief Justice and Treasurer, and all other Officers both great and small; and besides, oblige the King to loose them from their Obedience whensoever he broke his Charter. In this State and Condition was the Kingdom, when there came Intelligence to the Lords, that *Richard King of the Romans* was coming over into *England*; which being not expected, gave them grounds to suspect, that he was sent for by the King to come over with an Army to overthrow their Constitution, as King *John* had done: Whereupon they sent to him to know the Cause of his coming, and require an Oath of him before he landed, that he would do nothing prejudicial to their Establishment newly made in the Kingdom. But the King of the *Romans* gave them a stern Answer and Refusal, saying, 'He had no Peer in *England*, being the Son and Brother of a King, and therefore was above their Power; and if they saw it necessary to reform the Kingdom, they ought first to have sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a Business of so great Importance without him. The Lords, upon the hearing of this Answer, sent down a Force to guard the Ports, and came down well arm'd, and attended to encounter him if necessary; but finding his Train small, viz. only his Queen, two *German* Earls, and eight Knights, they permitted him to land upon his Promise of taking their Oath, which they propounded to him; but would not permit him nor the King, who also came

Strangers to be banish'd.

The Poictovines cruelly used in their departure.

The Lords usurp the Royal Power.

1259.

Twentieth Parliament

Richard King of the Romans comes into England.

\* The Judges also making some shew of Opposition, incur'd the Odium of the People so much, that they would not admit them to do their Office in their Circuits.



A. D. 1258. down to meet him, to enter into *Dover* Castle. At *Canterbury* they brought him into the Chapter-house, and the Earl of *Glocester* standing forth in the midst, called out the Earl, not by the Name of *King*, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who in a reverent manner came forth, and took his Oath in this form: 'Hear all Men, that I *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall* do here swear upon the Holy Evangelists, to be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of *England*, which hath by the Counsel of wicked Persons been heretofore much disorder'd; be an effectual Assistant with you to expel the Rebels and Disturbers of the same: And this Oath I will inviolably observe under the penalty of losing all the Land I have in *England*. So help me God.' By this means the Lords endeavour'd to joyn this Earl to them, supposing that his Power was greater than it really was; which at length they found to be nothing but an airy Title. For having in two Years consumed all those vast Riches which he had gather'd with great frugality in many, he return'd home poor, and forsaken of the *Germans*, without any Means to trust to, but what he had in *England*.

1259. Upon the Earl's return into *England* the King takes heart, and sought all means to recover his Power, which the Barons had retrench'd; and to that end first of all sends his Ambassadors to *Rome* to procure an Absolution from his forced Oath made to them, and then sends into *Scotland* to the King, and Queen his Daughter, for Aids to be ready upon occasion. And that he might not be diverted in his Design by the King of *France*, he makes an absolute Resignation of his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Turene*, and *Main*; for which he was to receive of the King of *France* three hundred thousand Pounds (some say Crowns) of *Angloine* Money, and to be secured in the Enjoyment of all *Guien* beyond the River *Garonne*, all the Country of *Xantonge* as far as the River *Charente*, the Countries of *Lanousin* and *Quercy*, for him and his Successors, doing their Homage and Fealty to the Crown of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitain*, and a Peer of that Kingdom. The Lords likewise, on the other side, seek all ways to strengthen their Association, by keeping each other to their Oaths, and Observation of their Orders, which was very hard for them to do, being of several Inclinations, and sometimes at odds among themselves. For the Earl of *Leicester*, (a chief Leader of the Faction) finding the Earl of *Glocester* a little staggering, told him plainly, 'That he cared not to live with Men of such mutable and uncertain Tempers, as my Lord of *Glocester* seem'd to be; who, as he was the most eminent, so he was the most obliged to stand to what had been

undertaken for the good of the Kingdom. By these Heats he incensed many, being animated in them by *Walter* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who enjoyned him upon Remission of his Sins to prosecute the Cause unto Death; affirming, 'That the Peace of the Church of *England* could never be established but by the Material Sword. Many also were drawn by various Temptations to leave them, especially after the King of *France* had given his Sentence against them, being chosen an Arbiter in the Quarrel; for tho' he allowed the Confirmation of King *John's* Charter, yet he condemned all the Provisions of *Oxford*; which, tho' they pretended to be grounded upon the Charter, yet it much advantaged the King's Cause, and made them thought unlawful; so that many dispensed with their Oaths, and left their Party: Among whom were *Henry* the Son of the Earl of *Cornwall* (on whom the Prince had bestow'd the Honour of *Tickbill*) who coming to the Earl of *Leicester*, told him, 'That he would not be against his Father the King, nor his Allies; but added, 'My Lord, I will never bear Arms against you, and therefore I crave leave to depart. The Earl cheerfully replied: 'My Lord, *Henry*, I am not sorry for your Departure, but for your Inconstancy; Go, return with your Arms, and I fear them not at all. This Example was followed by *Roger de Clifford*, *Roger de Leiborn*, *Haymo Le-Strange*, and many others, who were won by Gifts, to forsake the Barons. Shortly after this *Roger Mortimer*, who was for the King, begins the Quarrel about three Years after the Parliament at *Oxford*, entering into the Lands of the Earl of *Leicester*, and spoiling all before him, because the said Earl combining with *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, had sent Forces to seize upon *Mortimer's* Lands in those parts. The Prince joyns with *Mortimer*, and surprizes the Castle of *Brecknock*, with other places of Strength, which he delivers into his Custody. The Earl of *Leicester* recovers the Town and Castle of *Glocester*, and forces the Citizens to pay a thousand Pound for their Redemption; then goes with his Army to *Worcester*, where he possessed himself of the Castle; and so went to *Shrewsbury*, and so comes about to the Isle of *Ely*, conquers the same, and became very powerful. The King not being fully ready for him, and fearing lest his approach to *London* should prove prejudicial to him, mediates for a Peace, and obtains it upon these Conditions: 'That all the King's Castles should be put into the keeping of the Barons; That the Provisions of *Oxford* should be inviolably observed; That all Strangers by a certain time should depart the Kingdom, except only such as by a general

Diffentions among the Lords, and several desert them, and go over to the King.

\* The Earl of *Leicester* protested against this Resignation in right of his Wife, who, as King *Henry's* Sister, had a Title expectant.

\* *Henry* is said to have repented of this Bargain, tho' under vast Necessities, and never to have taken the Money.

\* The Reference made to the King of *France*, which Mr. *Daniell* gives no account of, and so leaves this part of the History, concerning the Breach between the King and his Barons, in the dark, was thus: Soon after the arrival of the King of the *Romans* in *England*, *Henry* assum'd of his too easie Condescensions to the Barons Encroachments upon his Prerogative, especially by the late Provisions of *Oxford*, calls a Meeting in the same City, and declar'd plainly to his Lords, 'That for as much as he evidently saw, that they sought not the Kingdom's, and his, but their own advantage, and went about to subvert the Regal Authority to their Wills, he would no longer be rul'd by them or their Council, but provide some way to secure his Dignity from them. The Lords, as resolute to hold what they had, as zealous to get it, boldly Answer, 'That they would hold to the Provisions at *Oxford*, and maintain them to their Lives end: And so were departing. But the Bishops seeing what would ensue, interpos'd between the King and Barons, and persuaded them to refer the Controversie to the King of *France*, which both Parties agreed to; yet did not cease to make Preparations for their own Defence on both sides. The King of *France* gave Sentence wholly for the King, and therefore the Quarrel ought to have ended, tho' it did not. Some Lords indeed came over to the King upon it; but the Earl of *Leicester* had a strong Party still, which held out against King *Henry*. Some other Authors say, The Barons were so far from referring the Matter to the French King, that when *Lewis* the Ninth propos'd to have the foreign Lords, who had been banish'd by Procurement of the Barons, restor'd to their Places and Estates, the Earl of *Leicester*, in the Names of the English Lords, reply'd, 'That they were not oblig'd to give any account of what had been done in *England* in the Court of *France*, but only in that of their own Prince, and that only by Judgment of their Peers. (*Annals of St. August.* and a Manuscript Hist. in the Cottonian Library.) Yet afterwards, by the Persuasion of the Bishops, the Lords consented, that *Lewis* should be Arbitrator of their Differences; and the King of *France*, who was after his Death canoniz'd for his Piety, gave this Sentence, the 3d of Febr. 1263. 'That the Provisions of *Oxford* were null and void; That notwithstanding the ancient Laws and Constitutions, the King might nominate his Chief Justice, Chancellor, Treasurer, and all other Officers of the Kingdom; and that Foreigners were as capable of Offices and Dignities in *England* as the Natives.



A. D. 1264. Reg. 48. *Consent should be judged faithful, and profitable for the same. All this he granted to get time only to greaten his Party. The Prince had fortified Windsor-Castle, well victual'd it, and put in Strangers to defend it; himself marching to Bristol, where in a Quarrel between his Men and the Citizens, he had the worst; and was forced to send for the Bishop of Worcester (a considerable Man on the Barons side) to protect him, and conduct him back. When he came near Windsor, he got into the Castle, which the Earl of Leicester was come to besiege; and being about Kingstone, the Prince met him to treat of a Peace; but the Earl refusing it, lays Siege to the Castle, which was surrender'd to him; and the Strangers being turn'd out, were sent into France. The King, to get a little more time, calls another Parliament at London, wherein he gained many Lords to his Party; with whom, and the Prince, Richard Earl of Cornwall, Henry his Son, and William de Valence, with the rest of his Brethren, he marched to Oxford, where several Lords of Scotland came to his assistance, viz. John Comin, John Baliol, Lord of Galloway, Robert Bruce, and others, as also several of the Northern Barons, as Clifford, Percy, Bassett, &c. From Oxford with all his Forces he marched to Northampton, where he took Simon Montfort the younger, with fourteen other great Men, Prisoners; and from thence he passed to Nottingham, laying waste the Estates of the Barons which lay in those parts. The Earl of Leicester draws towards London in the mean time to gain that City, as of greatest Importance, and seeks to secure Kent, and the Ports; but the King, to stop his proceedings, sends Relief to the Castle of Rochester, which was then besieged; and was so successful, that the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, in behalf of themselves and their Party, write to the King, humbly protesting their Loyalty, and declaring, That they opposed not him, but such only as were his and the Kingdom's Enemies. The King returns them answer, That they were the Disturbers of his Kingdom, and Enemies of his Person, and sought the Destruction of both, and therefore defies them. The Prince also and Earl of Cornwall sent their Letters of Defiance to them. The Barons, notwithstanding this, distrusting their Strength, and unwilling to put all to the hazard of a Battel, send the Bishops of London and Worcester to mediate for a Peace, offering thirty thousand Marks to the King for the Damages done in these Wars, so that the Statutes of Oxford might be observed. But this yielding Grant procured them no advantage, being interpreted as an Argument of their own Weakness and Distrust; and the King, secure of Victory, would hearken to no Proposals of Peace. The Earl of Leicester seeing that there was a necessity of venturing the Fortune of a Battel, and being a Man skilful in such Affairs, studies to supply the want of Hands with Wit, gets ready sooner than was expected, and having placed his Soldiers very advantageously upon the side of an Hill, near Lewis, (his Men wearing white Crosses to denote the Justice of his Cause) offer'd to give the King Battel; which he, confident in his own Power, as readily embraced. The Battel was very bloody, but the Victory fell to the Earl of Leicester; Simon*

*Twenty first Parliament*  
*The King's Party increases*  
*The Barons seek a Peace*  
*The Battel of Lewis, in which the Barons had the Victory.*

*de Montfort, and the King, Prince, Earl of Cornwall, and his Son Henry, the Earls of Arundel and Hereford, and all the Scotch Lords, taken Prisoners. Reg. 48. The Earl Warren, William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, the King's Brethren, with Hugh Bigod the Earl Marshal, saved themselves by flight; and five thousand were slain in the Combat. The Earl of Leicester for a Year and a half kept his Royal Prisoners in his power, and carry'd the King about with him to countenance his Actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles of the Kingdom into his Hands. He seem'd now a King, even of Kings, and England wholly his, when on a sudden Providence made way for a Change, to humble prosperous Rebellion several ways. The Prince made his escape out of Hereford Castle, and got a Party to recover his Father's Losses; which yet was despicable in the Eyes of the great Earl, till an addition was made to it by his own Party upon this occasion: The Earls of Leicester and Gloucester coming to make a Dividend of their Gains by Victory, according to the Agreement of their Confederacy, fell into a sharp Debate; and Gloucester taxes Leicester (as Fortune often makes Men forget themselves) of neglecting the common Good to promote his own private and particular Interests, in that he took to himself the benefit and disposal of the King's Castles, assumed the Power of the Redemption of Prisoners as he pleased; and to prolong the business, would not use the means of a Parliament to end it. This Charge incensed Leicester, but more angered his Sons, who, exalted with their Father's Greatness, behav'd themselves with strange Insolence to him; which Gloucester took so ill, that he left him, and betook himself to the Prince, to whom he carry'd over a great Party with him, by which he was enabled to gain many places of Strength in England and Wales. The Earl of Leicester, to stop the proceedings of this mighty Prince, (who was now with his Army about Worcester) encamps in a Plain near Evesham to give him Battel; and as the Prince's Forces drew up to him, observing their orderly approach, he said to his Followers: These Men come on bravely, they learnt it not of themselves, but of me. And seeing himself likely to be beset and overpower'd with Numbers, he advised his Friends, Hugh Spencer, Ralph Bassett, and several others to shift for themselves; which, when he saw they refused to do, he said, Let us commit our Souls to God, for our Bodies are theirs; and so undertaking the main stress of the Battel, perished in it; and with him were slain his Son Henry, and eleven other Barons, with many thousands of common Soldiers. At the time of the Earl's Death there happen'd so terrible a Thunder, Lightning, and Darknes, as affrighted them more than their terrible Slaughter. And thus dy'd the great Earl of Leicester, the worthiest Man of his time, had he been as good a Subject; yet so much honoured by the People after his Death, that they would have worshipp'd him as a Saint, if the succeeding Kings would have permitted it. This Battel delivered the Captive King, and rid him of his Goaler, Montfort, whom he hated, and long feared, more than any Man living. After his Deliverance, the King, with the victorious Prince, who had redeemed both him*

*A. D. 1264. Reg. 48.*  
*1265.*  
*The Battel of Evesham, in which the Prince overthrew the Barons.*

\* In this Skirmish with the Barons, it is said, That those Students, which the King had sent from Oxford, when he entered that City, were the strongest Party which fought against him; which so angered the King, that he made a Resolution to hang all of them that were taken, and was hardly dissuaded from it by his Lords.

\* The Copies of these Letters of Defiance may be seen by the curious Inquirer in Mr. Fox's *Annals and Mon.* p. 301, 302.

\* The King was at the Abbey of Lewis in Sussex at this time, and the Lords about six Miles distant from it.

\* The King of the Romans, and Henry his Son, the Earl imprison'd in the Tower, Prince Edward in Wallingford-Castle, but the King he carry'd about with him where-ever he went in Triumph.

\* The Earl of Gloucester claim'd his share of the Ransom-Money paid by the Prisoners, and particularly demanded the King of the Romans, and Henry his Son, who surrender'd themselves to him at the Battel of Lewis.

\* This Battel was fought on the 4th of August, 1265.



A. D. 1265. and the Kingdom, went to *Winchester*, and call'd a Parliament; in which all who adher'd to *Simon Montfort*, were depriv'd of their Estates, which were conferr'd upon others at the King's Pleasure. The *Londoners* had their Liberties taken from them; *Simon and Guy de Montfort*, the Sons of the Earl of *Leicester*, with the disseized Barons, and others, who had escap'd the Battel of *Evesham*, took and defended the Isle of *Ely*. The Castle of *Killingworth* was defended by the Servants of the late Earl, tho' it were in the Heart of the Kingdom, and maintain'd a Siege of half a Year against the King and his Army; but in the end, their Victuals failing, yielded upon Condition, 'That they should depart with their Lives, Members, and Goods safe: And thus concluded this Rebellion. And it is worthy of our Observation, That we find no Executions of Men put to Death, except in open Battel, in all these Combuſtions; or any Nobleman dying on the Scaffold, either in this King's Reign or any other since the Conqueror, which is now almost three hundred Years. Only in the 26th Year of this King, *William Marshal* the Son of *Jeffrey Marshal*, a Nobleman of *Ireland*, being condemn'd for Piracy and Treason was hang'd, headed and quarter'd, which is the first Example of that kind of Punishment, which we read in our Histories.

Gay and  
Simon de  
Montfort  
submit to  
the King.

After this Parliament at *Winchester*, the King marches with an Army against the disseized Barons and their Adherents, who were many desperate Persons strongly linked together; but being come to *Northampton*, *Simon and Guy de Montfort*, by the Mediation of Friends and Promises of Favour, came and submitted themselves to the King; who at the Request of the Earl of *Cornwall* their Uncle, and the Lord *Philip Basset*, had restor'd them to their Estates: But *Glocester* and some others, who doubted their Affections, perswaded the King to keep them under; so that they were forc'd in the end to flee the Kingdom and make their Fortunes, the elder in *France* and the younger in *Italy*, where they rais'd two great Families. Their Mother was banish'd soon after the Battel of *Evesham*: 'She was a Lady of great Worth, the Daughter and Sister to a King, culpable only by her Fortune; who being spoil'd of her Coronet of miserable Honour, betook her self to a Religious Life, and dy'd a Nun at *Montargis* in *France*. Three Years the disseized Barons held out in those Fortresses of the Kingdom, where they could best defend themselves, making many Salles to the great Damage and Vexation of the King's Subjects. At length Conditions of Surrender are propos'd, but the King's Council was divided concerning them. *Mortimer*, an eminent Man, and much in Favour with the King, who was possess'd of many disseiz'd Barons Estates, opposes their Restoration to them, alledging, 'That it is a great piece of Injustice to have that taken from them again, which the King had for their Labour and Fidelity bestow'd on them, and was forfeited by them for their Treason and Rebellion, and therefore they would hold what they had. *Glocester*, and twelve more, who were empower'd to settle the Peace of the State, stood for a Restoration, and his Friends with him; but not obtaining his Design as he ex-

New Trou-  
bles revive.

pected, he takes up new Displeasure, retreats from Court, refuses to come to the King's Feast on *S. Edward's Day*, and sends Messengers to warn the King, 'To remove Strangers from his Council, and observe the Provisions of *Oxford*, according to his last Promise made at *Evesham*; otherwise that he should not marvel, if he himself did what he pleased. Thus Victory could not settle Peace in these factious and discontented Times; wherefore it was thought fit to have recourse at last to a Parliament, the surest way to cure these Distempers, and accordingly one was call'd at *Bury*, whither all Persons who held Lands by Knights Service were summon'd to appear with sufficient Horse and Armour, to subdue those depriv'd Malecontents, who contrary to the Peace of the Kingdom held the Isle of *Ely*. From hence *John de Warren* Earl of *Surry*, and *William de Valentia*, are sent to persuade the Earl of *Glocester* (who had gotten an Army on the Borders of *Wales*) to come peaceably to the Parliament; which tho' he refused, yet he gave the Earls thus much under his Hand and Seal, 'That he would not ever take up Arms against the King, or his Son *Edward*, but defend himself, and pursue *Roger Mortimer* and his other Enemies, for which he pretended, that he took up Arms. After this, the Business of the Parliament went on, and the first Demand was made by the King and the Legate, 'That the Clergy should grant a Tenth for three Years to come, and for the Year past so much as they gave the Barons to defend the Ports against the landing of Strangers. To this they answer'd, 'That the War, which was begun upon ill Motives, and yet continu'd, made it more necessary to deliberate of settling the Peace of the Kingdom, than to set on foot such Demands, that this Parliament might prove for the Benefit of the Nation and not Damage, as the extorting Money from them would prove, since the Land had been so miserably harass'd by War, as that it would scarce ever recover it. 2. Then it was requir'd, That the Clergy should be tax'd by Lay-men, according to the true Value of their Revenues. They answer, 'Twas no reason, but unjust, that Lay-men should collect Tenths which they would never consent to, but would have the ancient Valuation to stand. 3. Then it was requir'd, That they should pay the Tenths of their Baronies and Temporalities, according to the utmost Value. They answer'd, That they were impoverish'd by their Attendance upon the King in his Wars, and that their Lands lay wast by reason of them. 4. Then it was requir'd, That the Clergy should in lieu of a Tenth, give amongst them thirty thousand Marks to discharge the King's Debts, contracted for *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*. They answer, They would give nothing, because those Expences were not converted to his own, or the Kingdom's Benefit. 5. All this being deny'd, demand is made, 'That all Clergy-men that held Baronies, or other Temporalities, should serve the King in his Wars. They answer, They were not to fight with the Material, but Spiritual Sword; That their Baronies were given them as Alms. 6. Then it was requir'd, That the whole Clergy should discharge the 9000 *l.*

\* The Lord Mayor, and forty of the Principal Citizens, were thrown into Prison. The King gave the Estates of sixty of the most Eminent Citizens to his Favourites, and requir'd fifty thousand Marks Composition of the rest, which on their humble Submission and Petition he forgave.

\* The Isle of *Axholm* in *Lincolnshire*, as some think.

\* *Simon Montfort* was to have five hundred Marks a Year Pension, on which Consideration he agreed to leave the Kingdom; but afterwards he fell off from his Agreement, and join'd with the Privaters of the Cinque Ports.

\* At this Feast *Ottobon*, the Pope's Nuncio, sat above the King.

which



A. D. 1267. Reg. 51. which the Bishops of *Rocheſter* and *Bath*, and Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, were bound for to the Pope's Merchants for the King's Service, when they were at *Rome*. They answer, They never conſented to any ſuch Loan, and therefore were not bound to diſcharge it. 7. Then the Legate from the Pope requir'd, 'That they ſhould thro' the whole Kingdom exhort Men to take the Croſs for the Holy War. To this they ſaid, 'That the Nation was almoſt conſum'd already by the Sword; and if they ſhould put Men upon this Action, the Nation would not be able to defend it ſelf, but be a Prey to Strangers. 8. Laſtly, It was urg'd, 'That the Clergy had ſworn to yield to all the King's Demands by their Oath at *Coventry*, where they ſwore to aſſiſt him in all they could. They answer, 'That when they took that Oath they meant no more than ſpiritual and whoſome Counſel. So the King met with Denials only in this Parliament, and obtain'd nothing of the Clergy.

The Barons who were depriv'd of their Eſtates held Ely againſt the King, who ſubſequent to ſubmit.

The Legate alſo ſent certain Perſons to the diſinherited Lords, which held the Iſle of *Ely*, to ſolicit them, 'To return to the Faith and Unity of the Church, their Duty and Allegiance to the King, according to the Proviſion made at *Coventry*, for redeeming their Eſtates from ſuch as held them by Gift from the King for ſeven Years Profits, and to leave off their Robberies. The Lords return'd this Answer to the Legate, 'That they retain'd the Faith, which they receiv'd from their Catholick Fathers, and paid Obedience to the *Roman* Church, as the Mother Church of all Chriſtians, but would not ſubmit to the Covetouſneſs and cruel Exactions of thoſe that govern'd the ſame: 'That they accounted themſelves unjuſtly diſinherited of their Lands, left them by their Predeceſſours, who had purchas'd it by Conqueſt: 'That they had formerly taken an Oath to defend the Kingdom and Holy Church, the Bishops thundring out Excommunications againſt ſuch as oppos'd them, and they were ready to venture their Lives to make good that Oath; and ſince they made War for the Safety of the Kingdom and Holy Church, they ought to live upon the Goods of thoſe Enemies who kept their Eſtates from them: That the Legate ought to ſee their Eſtates reſtor'd, that they might not be forc'd to prey upon others: That the Spoils they had taken were not ſo great as was reported, but that the Prince committed great Robberies, and laid them on their Party to make them odious; wherefore they deſir'd the Legate not to give Credit to ſuch Reports, becauſe if any among them had done ſuch things, they themſelves would have puniſh'd them for it. Farther, they declar'd to the Legate, That he had taken out of the Kingdom the Bishops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, and *Chicheſter*, Men of great Caution and deep Judgment, whereby the Council of the Kingdom was much weaken'd to the great Danger of it; wherefore they adviſed him to take Care of the Reformation of the ſame, and that they might be reſtor'd to their Lands without Redemption: That the Proviſions of *Oxford* might be obſerv'd: That they might have Hoſtages

ſent to them into the Iſle to hold the ſame A. D. 1267. peaceably for five Years to come, until they could ſee how the King would perform his Promiſes. Thus did theſe Lords treat with the King, not as reduc'd to the loweſt Ebbs of Fortune, but as Men of Power to capitulate, being elevated either with the Opinion of their Cauſe, or Hope of their Party. But this Stubbornneſs of theirs ſo exasperated the King, that the next Year he gather'd a very great Army, beſet the Iſle: So that they were confin'd to it, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges made of Boats enter'd it in ſeveral Places, and compell'd them to yield. In the mean time the Earl of *Gloceſter*, with his Army which he had gather'd upon the Borders of *Wales* to aſſiſt them, came up to *London* and were receiv'd by the Citizens: But the Legate, who then reſided in the Tower, ſo prevail'd with him, that he ſurrender'd himſelf up to the King's Mercy, and by the Mediation of the King of the *Romans* and Lord *Philip Baſſet*, was reconcil'd upon Condition, that he ſhould forfeit twelve thouſand Marks if he ſhould raiſe any Commotions again. Having ſettled things thus at home, the King goes with his Army into *Wales* againſt Prince *Lewellin*, for aſſiſting *Simon Monfort* and the Earl of *Gloceſter* in their late Rebellions againſt him; but his Wrath being appeaſed by a Gift of 32000 *l.* Sterling, a Peace was concluded between them, and four Cantreds of his Country reſtor'd to him by the King, which had been taken away by the War. And here was an end of the firſt Barons Wars in *England*, wherein both ſides got nothing but Trouble and Vexation to themſelves; and whilſt the one ſtruggled to do more than they ſhould, and the other leſs than he ought, both Parts ſuffer'd heavily, according to the uſual Fate of ſuch National Conteſts and Differences.

The Prince forces the Barons in Ely to ſubmit.

Earl of Gloceſter ſubmits.

The next Year after this Pacification, the Legate *Ottobon* ſigns with the Croſſado both the King's Sons *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, with many other Noblemen, whom by his earneſt Solicitation he had induc'd to undertake the Holy War, with the King of *France*; who notwithstanding his former Miſfortune in this Action, would again adventure in it, either to recover his Honour, or merit another World. Prince *Edward* wanted Money to furniſh himſelf and Company out, and therefore borrow'd thirty thouſand Marks of the King of *France*, for which he mortgag'd *Gascoigne* to him, which might ſeem a piece of Policy rather than Piety in this King, to engage an active Prince in foreign Wars, to keep his own Dominions in quiet at home. And now, while this Preparation is in hand, King *Henry* is labouring to ſettle his Kingdom in perfect Peace, and reform thoſe Extravagancies the War had bred, cauſing by his Proclamation Stealth of Cattel to be made a Capital Crime; and the firſt that ſuffer'd for it was one of *Dunſtable*, who had ſtollen twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being purſu'd to *Redburn*, was by the Bailiff of *S. Albans* (according to the King's Proclamation) condemn'd and beheaded. And the ſame Year the King aſſembled his Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes bearing that Title were enacted.

1269.

Prince Edward and others go to the Holy War.

Twenty third Parliament at Marlborough.

\* He was admitted into the City by Order of the Nuntio, whom he had deceiv'd with his fair Pretence of Loyalty.  
\* The King alſo promiſ'd, 1. That he would do nothing without the Conſent of nine Counſellors, or two parts of them, choſen by the Nation. 2. That the Church ſhould be reform'd. 3. That all his Officers in his Court ſhould be *Engliſhmen*. 4. That all their Party ſhould be pardon'd. And 5. That the old Cuſtoms of the Realm ſhould be obſerv'd.  
\* *Mat. of Weſt.* writes, That he only gave ten thouſand Marks Security, that he would no more make War againſt the King.  
\* *Riſhanger*, the Continuator of *Mat. Paris's* Hiſtory, ſays, he only mortgag'd the Revenues of *Bordeaux*, and the Charter or Deed of Agreement between King *Lewis* and Prince *Edward* witneſſes, that the Money was to be rais'd out of the Cuſtoms of the City of *Bordeaux*.  
\* *Colney*, belonging to the Abby of *S. Albans*, *Cony* in *Hertfordſhire*.  
\* It appears by the Title of the Statutes of *Marlbridge* in *Pulton's* Edit. of Statutes, that the Parliament of *Marlborough* was holden in the fifty ſecond Year of this King's Reign, Anno 1268. tho' Mr. *Daniel* and Dr. *Brady* place it in the following Year.



A. D. 1271. Near two Years it was after the Prince had undertaken the Cross, before he set forth in that Expedition; a time long enough to have alter'd his Resolutions, if they could have been shaken, for going on with so hazardous an Enterprize; but so strong were his Desires, that no Worldly Respects could deter him from it, otherwise he had Discouragements more than enough to have done it. His Father *Henry* was aged, and broken with Labour and Troubles, so that the Kingdom, if not at present, yet shortly must need his Person to govern it. His Wife *Eleanor*, who resolv'd it seems to accompany him in all his Fortunes, was newly with Child. The King of *France*, who with two of his Sons, the King of *Navarr*, and a mighty Army, was gone before, and by the way besieged the City of *Tunis* in *Africa*, (then in the Possession of the *Sarazens*, who much infested *Christendom*) died of the Pestilence, that raged in his Army, and with him one of his Sons, and many of his Nobility; whereby their Design was utterly quash'd. *Charles* King of *Sicily*, Brother to the King of *France*, who came to assist him, lost the greatest part of his Navy in his return home. Yet such was the undaunted Courage of this Prince, that all these sad Examples of others Calamities, would not deter him from proceeding; but he set forward for the Holy Land. In his Passage many of his own People were desirous to return home; at which the Prince being

The Prince's  
undaunted  
Resolution  
in going to  
the Holy  
War.

angry, smote upon his Breast, and swore, *That if all his Followers forsook him, he would yet enter Ptolemais, or Acon, tho' only with his Horse-keeper Fowin.* By which Speech they were encouraged to go on with him. But his Cousin *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, obtains leave of him to depart, and was set on Shoar in *Italy*, where he found, what he sought to avoid, Death; being slain in the Church of *Viterbo* at Divine Service, by his own Cousin-German *Guy de Monfort* (Son to *Simon* late Earl of *Leicester*) in Revenge of his Father's Death. The News of this barbarous Murther hasten'd the Death of the King of the *Romans*, his Father, who died shortly after. *Henry* himself surviv'd not his Brother long, for he dy'd the next Year, in the 65th Year of his Age, and 56th of his Reign: A time so full of remarkable Contingents, partly through the Inconstancy of the Prince, and partly through the Pride and Impatience of a stubborn Nobility, that it takes up a tenth part of the History from the *Norman Conquest*.

He had by his Wife *Eleanor* six Sons, of which only two surviv'd him, *Edward* and *Edmund*; the rest, viz. *Richard*, *John*, *William*, and *Henry*, dy'd young; and two Daughters, which liv'd to be marry'd; *Margaret* the eldest was marry'd to *Alexander III.* King of *Scots*, and *Beatrix* to *John I.* entitled *Duke of Britain*.

### REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Henry the Third.

IN the 5th Year of his Reign two Impostors were crucify'd for giving out, they were both of them the Messiah, or Christ; and two Women were executed, the one for pretending to be the Virgin *Mary*, and the other *Mary Magdalen*.

In the 6th Year there was a dreadful Tempest of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, in *February*, which threw down several Churches, and rooted up Trees. This was follow'd by extraordinary Rains; and that by a Dearth, another violent Tempest, an Earthquake, a prodigious Storm of Wind, Inundations, and a Comet. *Hol.*

In his 17th Year, it Thunder'd for fifteen Days together. The next Year began with terrible Tempests of Thunder, Rain and Floods, which spoil'd the Fruits of the Earth.

In *April*, 1233. *Matt. Paris* affirms, There appear'd four false Suns in *Worcestershire* and *Herefordshire*. The true Sun was of a red Colour, with a great Circle of Chrystalline Colour, whose Circuit seem'd as large as the Kingdom of *England*; from its sides went forth certain half Circles, in whose Sections the four false Suns appear'd. The true one was in the East, it being about seven in the Morning, the Air clear, and the Sky serene. The Bishop of *Hereford* and Sir *John Monmouth* saw and witness'd to this Wonder. In *June*, near the Sea-side, two huge Dragons were seen fighting in the Air; after a long dispute, the one vanquish'd the other, and drove him into the Sea; and the Conqueror following him, they were both no more seen. The same Year there was a Dearth, which was preceded by an Earthquake. *Hol.*

In his 20th Year, according to *Matt. Paris*, the most credible Historian of those Times, Near *Rock-Abby* in the *North* two Troops of arm'd Men seem'd to rise out of the Earth, and to engage with Spear, Shield, Sword, and Banners display'd; they wou'd sometimes tilt as at a Turnament of Triumph, and the Country People beheld them at a little distance wounding and unhorsing one another. What was most strange was, the Grass of the Ground where they appear'd to give Battel seem'd trodden down, and Prints of Feet remain'd there. The same Sight was seen more apparently in *Ireland*. This Year was full of Prodigies, Thunder, Lightning, Floods, &c. which destroy'd abundance of People and Cattel.

\* Prince *Edward* overtook the King of *France* at the Siege of *Tunis*, and with his Army soon brought the City to offer a Capitulation. *Edward* refus'd to hearken to it, as contrary to their Vow; the Kings of *France* and *Sicily* accepted it, and so it was surrender'd upon these Articles. 1. That all Christian Captives should be releas'd. 2. That the Christian Religion should be freely profess'd and preach'd in that City. 3. That the King of *Tunis* should pay their Charges: And, 4. Hold his Kingdom of the King of *Sicily*, as Tributary. But the Misfortunes that beset these two Kings soon after, were imputed to their Breach of Vow; and so much the more, because Prince *Edward*, who oppos'd them, escap'd any such Calamity.

*Walter Hemingsford*, p. 590. affirms, The Prince sail'd directly from *Sicily* to the Holy Land, taking *Cyprus* in his way. Most Authors agree, that he was not at the Siege of *Tunis*.

<sup>b</sup> *Henry*, before his Death, constituted the Earl of *Glocester* Ruler of the Kingdom in his Son's absence, if he return'd not before his Death, and swore all the Peers to accept and obey his Son *Edward* for their King, tho' he were at his Death out of the Kingdom.

<sup>c</sup> He dy'd on the 20th of *November*, 1272.

<sup>d</sup> The King of the *Romans* and King *Henry* dy'd in the same Year, the former in *April*, 1272. the latter in *November*.

<sup>e</sup> His Reign may very well take up a tenth part of the History, since 'tis almost a fourth part of the Time from the *Norman Invasion*.

<sup>f</sup> The two eldest.

<sup>g</sup> He had three Daughters by his Queen, *Margaret*, *Beatrix*, and *Katherine*, who was born in *November*, Anno 1253. and dy'd at five Years of Age.

On



On the 16th of *June*, 1239. the 23d of this King's Reign, Prince *Edward* his eldest Son was born. Before his Birth-day there appear'd a new Star in the Heavens for several Days together. It was carry'd with a swift Course through a long Circuit of Air; it seem'd sometimes to bear Fire along with it, and sometimes to leave Smoak behind it. In the next, there was a great Battel of Fish at Sea; the Consequence of which was, that eleven Whales were cast on the Shoar, and appear'd to be dead of some Wounds they had receiv'd. *Matt. Paris* tells this Story. Not long after, a great Sound was heard at one time in all parts of *England*, as if it had been the Noise of Mountains fall'n into the Sea.

In the 26th Year the Sun was Eclips'd in a terrible manner; and two Years afterwards so many Stars seem'd to fall in one Night, that (says *Hollinshead*) if there had so many fall'n indeed, there wou'd have been none left in the Sky.

In his 32d Year, a dreadful Earthquake happen'd on the 14th of *February*, and the Sea, for a long Tract near the Coast of *England*, ceas'd to ebb and flow near three Months together. The next Year the Town of *New-Castle* was destroy'd by Fire; and an Earthquake threw down several Steeples and Houses in *Somersetshire*.

On the 1st of *October*, in his 34th Year, the Moon appear'd red and bloated, which was the Pre-sage of a Storm of Wind, so violent, that the Sea flow'd twice without ebbing, and in the Night seem'd to burn: Soon after an Earthquake was felt at *St. Albans*. In the following Year, the Chimney of the Chamber where the Queen and her Children were was blown down by a terrible Storm, and her whole Appartment (at *Windfor*) shaken and torn; Oaks in the Park were rent asunder, and turn'd up by the Roots; and all was accompany'd with such Thunders and Lightnings, as had not been heard or seen in the Memory of Man.

In *May*, the New Moon appear'd three Days before her time; and the Sun, Moon and Stars, for fifteen Days successively, seem'd of a red Colour. A Dearth, and a Murrain among Cattel follow'd this Prodigy. In his 38th Year, the New Moon in *February* was seen four Days before the Course of her Time. In his 39th Year, a Ship was seen in the Air at *St. Albans*; and in his 40th, a Comet.

In his 52d Year, the two Companies of Goldsmiths and Taylors of *London* fought, and several were kill'd on both sides. The Sheriffs appeas'd the Tumult, and thirteen of the most Mutinous of them were hang'd. As were thirty Citizens of *Norwich* in the last Year of his Reign, for quarrelling and fighting with the Monks of that City.

*Hollinshead* has many more Miracles, Prodigies, and extraordinary Sights, in his History of King *Henry the Third*: But we have reported enough to let the Reader see, that the Seasons were as much distracted as the Times, and that Nature seem'd to be disturb'd in all her Productions during the Reign of this weak Prince; who had, however, many brave Subjects, and govern'd a People that shew'd they might have been Great and Happy, had their Prince known how to have made them so.

*Men Famous in his Days for their Valour and Wisdom were*

*Simon* Earl of *Leicester*, and his Sons *Simon* and *Guy Montfort*, *Gilbert de Clare*, the Earls of *Chester* and *Glocester*, *Roger Mortimer*, great Warriors; *Hubert de Burgh*, and *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Masters in Politicks.

*In Learning the most Eminent were*

*Robert Curson*, made a Cardinal for his Knowledge of Divine and Humane Letters, *Gervaise de Melkelie*, *Albricius* of *London*, *Hugh Kirkstead*, *Richard of Ely*, *Peter Hexham*, *John Giles*, an excellent Physician; *Caducan*, a Welshman, Bishop of *Bangor*; *Alexander*, Author of several Treatises in Divinity, Philosophy, and Humanity, both in Prose and Verse; *William Lantbony*, *Peter* of *St. Saviour*, a Canon of *Trinity-House* near *London*; *Alexander Hales*, an excellent Divine, *Thomas Aquinas's* and *St. Bonaventure's* Master; *Ralph Abbot* of *Coggeshal* in *Essex*; *Alexander Essebiensis*, who wrote an Epitome of our *Englisb Annals*; *Matthew Paris*, a Monk of *St. Albans*, whom the

Bishop of *Carlisle* calls One of the most renown'd Historians of this Kingdom; his History comes down to the Year 1259. in which he dy'd; *Alexander Neckam*, *Robert Bacon*, *John Shiffbed*, and *Robert of Glocester*, who wrote a Rhiming Chronicle; *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, and *Henry Bracton*, both learned in the Laws of *England*; *Roger Bacon* the Astronomer, thought to be a Conjuror by the vulgar sort of People; *Richard* surnam'd *Medicus*, an excellent Physician; *Alexander Wendock* Bishop of *Chester*, *Edmund Rich*, *Robert Rich*, *John Blund*, *Richard* surnam'd *Theologus*, *Walter of Elbam*, *Ralph Fresburne*, *Laurence Somercot*, Cardinal *Somercot* his Brother, *Dr. Nicholas Fernbant* a Physician, *Simon Langton* Brother to Archbishop *Langton*, *Richard Fisaker*, *Simon Stokes*, *John* of *Kent*, *William Shirwood*, *Michael Blaunpain*, *John Goddard*, *Vincent* of *Coventry*, *Aubery de Vere* a learned Baron, *Richard Wick*, *John* of *Basingstoke*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Sepingbam*, and *Robert Grostest* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who had a long Dispute with Pope *Innocent IV.* *Johannes a Sacro Bosco*, who wrote of the Sphere, and is made an *Englisbman* by *Leland* and *Bale*, but *Sir James Ware* puts him among the *Irish* Writers.



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD I.

A. D.  
1272.  
Reg. 1.

Edward  
proclaim'd  
King, tho'  
in the Holy  
Land.

**I**mmediately after the Death of King Henry, Edward his Son was proclaim'd King by the Order of all the Chief Bishops and Peers of the Kingdom, who for that purpose met in the New Temple, and there all swore their Fidelity to him; tho' at that time they knew not whether he were alive or dead. But till they were certified of the Truth of either, they proceeded to settle and secure the Government, caused a new Seal to be made, and appointed fit Ministers and Officers for the Management of his Treasure, and Preservation of the Peace, while he remain'd in *Palestine*, where he rais'd the Siege of *Acon*, which was ready to yield to the *Sarazens*, and did many other extraordinary Acts of Valour against the Infidels [he was dangerously wounded in three Places of his Body with a poison'd Knife by a treacherous Assassin, of which Wounds, when no Medicine could cure him, his loving Wife Queen *Eleanor* extracting the Poison by sucking them, perfectly healed them.] When he had continu'd three Years in the Holy Lands, and underwent many Dangers without any great Effect, saving that he had well maned and fortified *Acon*; being disappointed of Aids which he expected, he resolv'd upon his return home, and first sailing to *Sicily*, he was splendidly feasted and entertain'd by *Charles* the King of that Island. From thence he sail'd to *Italy*, where in his Passage by Land through that Country he receiv'd all imaginable Expressions of Honour and Respect from the Pope and other Princes of that Nation. At his Entrance into *Savoy*, at the Foot of the *Alps*, he was met by many of the Nobility of *England*, and there challeng'd by the Earl of *Chablonn*, (a valiant Warrior) to a Tournament; in which, tho' it may seem beneath his Dignity so lightly to hazard his Person, yet the Greatness of his Valour would not suffer him to refuse the Combat, tho' with a Person much beneath him; and thereupon engaging with him, so overmatch'd him both in Skill

His Personal Skill in Arms, and Courage.

and Strength, that the Earl was forc'd to yield to him. From hence he came down into *France*, where he was magnificently receiv'd, and entertain'd by King *Philip III.* surnam'd *The Hardy*; to whom he did Homage for all his Territories he held of that Crown\*. Leaving *France* he went into *Acquitain*, where he spent some time in ordering his Affairs, and then after six Years absence returns into *England* and receives the Crown, three Years after he was first proclaim'd King, from the hands of *Robert Kilwarby*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Sept. 1275. and with him his Royal Consort Queen *Eleanor*, there being present at this Solemnity his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *John* Duke of *Britain*, who had marry'd his two Sisters.

A. D.  
1272.  
Reg. 1.

Crown'd.  
1274.

The many Brave and Princelike Actions which this Prince had signaliz'd himself to the World by, before his Accession to the Crown, viz. His Victory over the Barons at *Evesham*, and his Prosecution of the disinherited Barons in the Isle of *Ely*; his great Readiness to expose his Person to all Hazards and Labours; his single Fight with Sir *Adam Gurdon*, the Outlaw, at *Farnham*; his Expedition into the East, and his great Experience he had of all Civil Affairs by his Age (being about thirty five Years old before he came to the Crown) gave the Kingdom Hopes of a well-manag'd Government, and flourishing State under so compleat a Master, whose Desert and Reputation were equally unparallel'd. Soon after his Coronation he call'd a Parliament at *Westminster*, where he made Tryal of his Peoples Patience and Affections towards him, and had a fifteenth of all the Goods both of the Clergy and Laity granted him without any repining; tho' the Clergy had not long before given a Tenth for two Years to his Brother *Edmund*, for the carrying on of the Holy War. But the Liberality of the Clergy could not divert him from the Design which he had fram'd to himself, of abating the Ecclesiastical Power, which by long and woful

His Princelike Accomplishment.

His Proceedings against the Clergy.

\* This Story is in no Authentick Author.

† As he was about this he heard of his Father's Death, which caus'd him to hasten his Return the more.

‡ In his short stay with the Pope he persuaded him to excommunicate *Guy de Monfort*, for killing his Cousin *Henry* the Son of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, and to interdict his Territories.

§ The Count de *Chalons* in *Burgundy*. This Tournament was manag'd with so much Malice by the *Burgundians*, that it turn'd to a Fight, and was ever after call'd the *Little Battel of Chalons*.

¶ The Words of his Homage were very remarkable; *My Lord the King, I do you Homage for all the Lands I ought to hold of you*, meaning as well those that the *French* King detain'd from him, as those he was possess'd of. *Mat. West.*

¶ From *Acquitain* he went to the Council of *Lyons* to visit the Pope. Here Embassadors from *England* met him, and desir'd him to hasten his Return home, for that his Presence was wanted. *Chron. de Lan. in Bib. Cot.*

¶ *Mat. of West.* writes, That he landed on the 25th of *July*, and was crown'd the 19th of *August* following, in the Year 1274.

¶ This Knight being a Person of great Strength of Body and very courageous, was in the Rebellion of the Barons, for which his Estate was seiz'd; and not daring to come in, he liv'd by Theft and Robberies upon the Road, having Associates of like desperate Fortunes. He was outlaw'd, but no Man durst attempt to take him. His Mischiefs were chiefly done to the King's greatest Friends, which incens'd the Prince the more against him, and induc'd him to make an Experiment of his Strength and Courage by a single Combat; in which the Prince so overmatch'd him, that he yielded to him, but got his Pardon and Estate from the Prince's Favour.

Experience



A. D. 1278. Experience of former times, he saw, had been very prejudicial to the Regal Authority, especially when it combined with the Nobility; and therefore, while he was high in the Opinion of his People, he set upon that difficult Work to abate their Privileges. And to that end, in the sixth Year of his Reign, he depriv'd many famous Monasteries of the Nation of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster* the Return of Writs granted them by the Charter of King *Henry III.* his Father. In the Year following he got the Statute of Mortmain to be enacted, to hinder the increase of their Temporal Possessions (which made them so powerful) as being prejudicial to the Kingdom, and Military Affairs. In the second Statute of *Westminster* he confined the Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Judges to narrower Limits. Nor did he end here, but lying heavier upon them, he required one half of all their Goods, both Temporal and Spiritual, for one Year; at which, though they were very much disturb'd, yet they were forc'd to yield to his Demand; because, their Discontent being discover'd, one Sir *John Haivering* stood up among them in their Assembly, in the Monks Hall at *Westminster*, and said, 'Reverend Fathers, if any of you dares to contradict the King's Demand in this business, let him stand forth into the midst of the Assembly, that his Person may be known, and taken notice of, as a Breaker of the Peace of the Kingdom. At which Speech they all sat silent, and dare not oppose it, as they often did in his Father's Reign.

The Statute of Mortmain enacted.

King Edward subdues Wales.

And now this active Prince being settled in Peace both at home and abroad, could not lie idle; but to satisfy his own Desires of enlarging his Power, as well as to keep his Subjects in Action, whose Ease would corrupt, as he very well knew, resolves upon an Undertaking of Importance to his future Security and Government. *Wales*, tho' a small Principality, had always been a troublesome Neighbour to the greater part of *England* and the Kings of it, a Receptacle for all Rebels against the *English* Kings, and ever ready to combine with *Scotland* to disturb their Peace and Government, seldom or never having her Borders free from Blood and Mischief; which *Edward* considering, thought he could never have a better opportunity of curbing them than now. Occasions are easily taken where there is a Design to quarrel. But the *Welsh*, who were always struggling for their Liberty, seldom fail'd to give some just ones; as there happen'd one at this time. *Leoline*, a Prince of that Province, who had been a chief Promoter of the Civil Wars of *England*, (tho' he dearly paid for it at last) was summon'd to the King's Coronation, and afterward to his first Parliament, there to do his Homage and Fealty to him, as holding his Principality of the *English* Crown, but he refused to come to them both; alledging, 'That he well remember'd how his Father *Griffin* had broken his Neck in the Tower of *London*, and therefore he could not endure to appear in that place, but in any other, if he had Hostages given for the Security of his Person; or if the King would send Commissioners to him, he was ready to pay his Homage, as the King desired. The King did not seem to resent this arrogant Answer, very unbecoming an Homager, but resolv'd with himself to seize upon his Country; and to this end the

next Year after enters it with a powerful Army, A. D. 1279. laying all waste before him with Fire and Sword, in so fierce a manner, as *Leoline*, being unable to resist the impetuous Current, sued for Peace, and obtained it; but upon such Conditions, as made the Tenure of his Principality little better than that of a Subject; for he was fined fifty thousand Pound Sterling, and to pay a thousand Pound per Annum Tribute for what he held, which was but for his Life. But yet the King, to gratify him in something which might oblige him more firmly to him, deliver'd to him *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *Simon Monfort*, late Earl of *Leicester*, who being in her Passage with her Brother *Almerick* from *France* into *Wales*, to become *Leoline's* Wife, was taken by some *Bristol-Ships*, and deliver'd Captive to the King, who gave her to *Leoline*, as the greatest tie of Subjection to him. But all would not do, the desire of Liberty, and some little Wrongs received by ill Administration of Justice upon the *Marches*, broke the Agreement within three Years, and *Leoline* in Arms surprizes the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland*, with the Person of the Lord *Clifford*, who was sent a Judge into those parts, and committed many other Acts of Hostility. His Brother *David*, whom the King had knighted, and marry'd to the Daughter of the Earl of *Darby*, a rich Widow, and given him the Castle of *Denbigh*, with a thousand Pound per Annum, great Favours from so Puissant a King, nevertheless joyned with him to deliver his Country, and recover his Liberty. *Edward* having notice of this Revolt, being then at the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*, prepared a great Army to repress them. But before his setting out upon this Expedition, he went privately to visit his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, living in the Nunnery of *Ambresbury* in the same County. While he was discoursing with her, there came into the Chamber, where they were, one who feigned himself to have been Blind, and received his Sight at the Tomb of *Henry* the Third her Husband; when the King saw him, he knew him a notorious Lyar, and therefore desired his Mother not to believe him. His Mother overjoy'd to hear of the Miracle, which tended so much to the Honour of her Husband, fell into a furious Passion, and bid the King be gone out of her Chamber. The King obey'd, and going forth, meets a Clergyman, to whom he tells the Story of the Impostor, and merrily said, *He knew his Father to be so just, that he would rather pull out the Eyes of such a Wretch when he could see, than restore him to Sight if he were blind.* In the mean time, while these things were doing, *John Peckham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a List of the Causes of their Revolt, went of his own accord into *Wales*, to persuade *Leoline* to a Submission, that he might avoid the Ruine he foresaw would come upon him. But he could not prevail with him, because he had the better of the *English* in some little Skirmishes, and the People being encouraged by a Prophecy of *Merlin's*, which foretold, That he should be shortly crown'd with the Diadem of *Brutus*, so instigated this unhappy Prince, that he would not listen to Peace. Whereupon the Archbishop excommunicated him and his Adherents, and the King entred his Country with a mighty Army: Which, tho' indeed *Leoline* valiantly opposed, and slew many of great Note in

*Leoline* Prince of *Wales* rebels.

Queen *Eleanor*, a Nun.

An Impostor discover'd by *Edward*.

1281.

\* But the King is said to have settled the Isle of *Anglesey* upon him and his Heirs, to hold it in Fee-Farm of the King for five thousand Marks paid down, and the yearly Rent of a thousand Marks.

\* *Rothland*.

\* Sir *Roger Clifford*.

\* *Matt. of Westminster* affirms, the King sent the Archbishop.

\* *Mr. Daniell* does not speak so much in favour of the *Welsh* as he might have done. They had other more substantial Reasons for the War, and *Leoline* and his Brother gave the Archbishop above a dozen Articles of Grievances, most of them very weighty, which provok'd them to take Arms; and King *Edward* refus'd to treat with them. *Dr. Powell's Chron.*



A. D. 1283. it, yet was himself slain in the Battel by a common Soldier<sup>a</sup>; and his Head being cut off, was presented to King Edward, who (as if his Death were not sufficient without Reproach) caused it to be crown'd with Ivy, and set upon the Tower of London. And thus died the last Prince of Wales, who was betray'd (as they write) by the Men of Bueltb. Shortly after David his Brother was taken in Wales, and sentenced in England to an ignominious Death, which was this: He was first drawn at an Horse's Tail about the City of Shrewsbury, and then beheaded, his Body quarter'd, and his Heart and Bowels burnt. His Head was sent to be set on the Tower with his Brother's, and his four Quarters to these four Cities, viz. Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester. An Execution never before shewed in this Kingdom upon the Son of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we read of in any of our Histories. But by this Example it after grew usual in the Nation: Even this King (under whom it began) had the Fate of such a miserable Death entail'd upon his Family, several of his own Brother's Posterity dying on the Scaffold. And just upon this Conquest, his eldest Son Alphonfus, then a Youth of twelve Years old (and a Prince of great hopes) dy'd; and Edward, lately<sup>b</sup> born at Carnarven, is his Heir to the Kingdom, and the first of the English who was entitled 'Prince of Wales; as if it had been an Omen of that Destruction which, as we shall after see, befel him in his Regal Dignity. Thus was Wales (the little Portion of the Isle of Great Britain, which those Natives could reserve to themselves from their first Conquerors the Saxons) united to the Crown of England in the eleventh Year of this King's Reign, Anno Dom. 1283. A thing not to be wonder'd at, that they were at last wholly subdu'd, seeing 'twas next to a Miracle how they held out so long against so powerful a Kingdom, without any foreign Aids and Assistance. Whether the Ground of the Conquest was just, is not for us to examine. It was certainly of great<sup>c</sup> Benefit to the Nation; for the miserable Conteſts and bloody Mischief, which often happen'd to both Nations, were hereby extinguish'd; and they became one People, govern'd by one Law, and under one Prince; as may be seen by the Statute of Rutland, Anno Reg. 12.

The Heir Apparent of England first stiled Prince of Wales.

1284. Wales annex'd to the Crown of England.

1286.

King Edward does Homage to Philip the Fair, King of France.

This Work being effected and settled, King Edward having heard of the Death of the King of France, Philip the Hardy, and the Succession of Philip IV. (called the Fair) went over into France to renew and confirm such Conditions as were to be perform'd for the preservation of his Dominions beyond Sea under the new King, and did him Homage for Aquitain, having before quitted

his Claim to Normandy for ever. When he had finished his own Business, he accommodated the Differences between the Kings of Sicily and Arragon in Spain, (to whom he was Allied) redeemed Charles, entitled Prince of Achaia, (the Son of Charles King of Sicily) from his Imprisonment in Arragon, paying thirty thousand Pounds for his Ransom. After his being three Years and an half abroad, he returned into England, with his Coffers empty'd by this Voyage, which he must have supply'd again. And for it an opportune Occasion is offer'd. For at his return he meets with many Complaints concerning the ill Administration of Justice in his absence, which he could not but listen to, and punish the chief Ministers for, if they were found guilty. The Parliament met at that time, and the Necessity of reforming so great a Mischief in the Kingdom being propounded, the Judges were had all into Examination, and upon a plain proof of their Extortions, they were fined to pay these following Sums. First, Sir Ralph Hengham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, seven thousand Marks; Sir John Loveton, Justice of the Common-Pleas, three thousand Marks; Sir William Brompton, Justice, six thousand Marks<sup>e</sup>; Sir Solomon Rochester four thousand Marks, Sir Richard Boyland four thousand, Sir Thomas Sodington two thousand, Sir Walter Hopton two thousand; which four last were Judges Itinerant; Sir William Sabam three thousand Marks; Robert Litbury, Master of the Rolls, one thousand; Roger Leicester, one thousand; Roger Bray, Escheater and Judge for the Jews, one thousand: But Sir Adam Stratton<sup>f</sup>, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was fined thirty four thousand Marks; and Thomas Wayland<sup>g</sup>, who was found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest Substance, had all his Goods and whole Estate confiscated to the King; which, were it but equal to Sir Adam Stratton's Fine, all the Fines together make a hundred thousand Marks, to enrich the King's Treasury; which, according to the Rate of Money now, is above three hundred thousand Marks; a mighty Treasure to be gotten out of the Hands of so few Men, if it were not probable, that the fewness of Lawyers in those Days made their Practice in those less litigious Times more advantageous. Of no less Grievance did this King ease the Nation by the Banishment of the<sup>h</sup> Jews, for which the Parliament willingly granted him a Fifteenth. The Nation indeed had before offer'd him, in the ninth Year of his Reign, a fifth part of all their Goods to have them expell'd; but then the Jews gave more, and so staid till this time; which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their Estates, with their Tallies and Obligations, which

<sup>a</sup> He was slain by one Stephen Desfrankon at Landweyr in Buelt, in Radnorshire, on the 11th of December 1283.

<sup>b</sup> He was born on the 26th of April, 1284.

<sup>c</sup> The Welsh lov'd this Prince, partly for the Honour he deriv'd from them, and partly for his Nativty among them, so entirely, that in his greatest Misfortunes through his Reign they ever continu'd firm to him; and after his Death bewail'd him in lamentable Songs.

<sup>d</sup> How great a Benefit the Conquest of this little Kingdom of Wales was thought then to England, may be seen by King Edward's own Words in the Preamble to his Law, call'd Statutum Wallia, where he thus speaks, 'The Divine Providence, which disposeth all things rightly, among other Dispensations of his Mercy, by which he hath vouchsafed to adorn us and our Kingdom of England, hath now by his Mercy subjected the Kingdom of Wales, with the Inhabitants thereof, wholly and fully, without any Lett and Hindrance, to our Property and Dominion, having annex'd and united the same to the Crown of our said Realm, as one Member of the self-same Body.'

<sup>e</sup> His Fine was but three thousand Marks.

<sup>f</sup> In the Chronicle of Dunstable, a Manuscript in the Cott. Libr. he is call'd Adam de Stratten, a certain Clerk of the Court.

<sup>g</sup> Sir Thomas Wayland, Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, was also banish'd for ever out of the Kingdom. After this just Punishment of such corrupt Judges, the King caus'd, that all the Judges at their entering upon their Office should swear, That they would take no Gift of any Man, unless it were a Breakfast, or some such small Present.

<sup>h</sup> The Jews came in with the Conqueror, and were sett'd in certain Streets by themselves in London, of which Old-Jury was the chief. They had a Judge appointed over them, to decide all Controversies between themselves, or with the Christians; and had an High-Priest (who was confirm'd in his Office by the King) and Synagogues allow'd them. They were always hated by the People for their Extortions and Usury, and rather tolerated than lov'd by the Kings, because they now and then fleec'd them. But now they were grown intolerable to the Nation, by their Witchcraft, Poisoning, Clipping of Money, Counterfeiting of Hands and Seals, Crucifying of Children privately, and cruel Usury: So that nothing would satisfy the People, but the utter extirpation of them out of the Kingdom; to which Edward did not very unwillingly yield, because they were allow'd to carry nothing away with them, but some small matter to bear their Charges, and so left him a vast Treasure. They went most of them into Italy and Germany.

amounted



A. D. 1290. Reg. 17. amounted to an infinite Treasure; which, tho' it was the last advantage the Crown could hope for from them, yet he gained a more valuable Treasure by it, viz. the Good-will of his People, who as they had granted him many Supplies, were obliged by such Provisions always to aid him with their Estates. He came to an empty Treasury at first, and having great occasion for Money, he was driven to all the Shifts possible to fill it. For besides what he had given him by the Parliament and Pope in the first three Years of his Reign before mentioned, in the seventh Year of his Reign the Old Money was called in, and New coined, because it had been much defaced by the Jews, two hundred ninety seven Persons being executed at London at one time for this Crime; and this also brought in great benefit to the King. In his eighth Year he had a design to examine every Man's Title to his Land by a *Quo-Warranto*; but it was so fiercely opposed by the Earl Warren, who drew out his Sword upon the Writ, saying, *That he held his Land by his Sword, and by it he would make his Tenure good.* Whereupon the King desisted from that Attempt, and obtained a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the 11th Year he had a thirtieth of the Laity, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for the War against the *Welsh*; and in the 13th Escuage of forty Shillings every Knight's Fee for the same purpose. In the 14th Year he had a thousand Marks of certain Merchants, who were fined for false Weights. In his 17th he had the Fines of the Judges before mentioned; and in his 18th Year, this Confiscation of the *Jews* Estates, and a fifteenth of the *Englsh*. After this, in the 19th Year of his Reign, upon a pretence of a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy granted him an eleventh part of all their Moveables. And shortly after the Pope procured him a tenth for six Years, to be gather'd in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and laid up in Monasteries, till he was entred into *Mare Maggior*, or the *Euxine-Sea*. But he made the Collectors pay him the Money gather'd for three Years, without going so far, having occasion to use it at home about the purchase of a new Kingdom.

*The Occasion of Edward's Wars with Scotland.* For the Crown of Scotland, upon the Death of King Alexander, who dy'd without Heirs, was in Controversie. Six Competitors pretended a Title to it, who were all descended from David Earl of Huntington, the younger Brother of William King of Scots, who was Grandfather to the late King Alexander. Edward pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that Kingdom, undertakes to decide the Quarrel; and the Scots, who govern'd the Nation in the *Interregnum*, to avoid farther Inconveniences, were forced to make him Arbitrator, and the six Competitors to stand to his Award. John Baliol Lord of Galloway, and

Robert Bruce\*, both descended of David, Brother of King William, the one of the second, the other of the eldest Daughter, had the plainest and most undisputable Claim. The Controversie was long, and tho' debated by the most Learned in the Law of both Kingdoms, and the Civilians of France, yet, after six Years, remain'd undecided. King Edward therefore, to put an end to this business, but with some advantage to himself, took a Journey into the North with his Queen; but in the Way he lost his greatest Worldly Felicity, Queen Eleanor, who dy'd Novem. 29. at Hardeby in Lincolnshire. This Accident not only caus'd excessive Grief to him, but brought him back again to inter her Body at Westminster; and all along the Road, in the places where it rested, viz. at Stamford, Waltham, Westcheap, Charing, &c. he erected goodly Crosses, engraven with her Image, in Testimony of his great Affection to her, and as Memorials of her Fidelity and Virtues; in which the excell'd all Womankind, as much as she did in Dignity. Her Funeral Solemnities being performed, the King return'd back to his Scottish Business; and that he might settle it to his own Honour and Advantage, he first treats privately with Robert Bruce (who had the weaker Title, but most Friends) and promises, *That if he would pay a Fealty and Homage to the Crown of England, he would make him King of Scotland.* But Bruce answer'd him, *That he was not so desirous of Rule, as to destroy the Liberties of his Country for it.* Then he makes the like offer to Baliol, who having indeed the best Title, but least Love and Interest with the People, and being more greedy of a Kingdom than true Honour, yields to it, is crown'd King at Scone, receives Fealty of the chief Nobility, except Bruce, comes to New-Castle upon Tyne, where King Edward then lay, and there, with many of his Nobles, swears Fealty and did Homage to him, as his Sovereign Lord: Which Act, tho' he did it to secure him, was his undoing. For being very little belov'd before, he now became less; and such as stood for Bruce, and other Noblemen, (who were desirous to preserve the Liberties of their Country) were much incensed against him, not only for this Act; but for his Injustice done in the Case of the Earl of Fife, who having been one of the six Governours in the Anarchy, was after slain by the Family of Aberneth\*. The Earl's Brother prosecuted the Murderers by Law, and brought the Cause before the King, Baliol, in his Parliament; but not obtaining Justice, the King deciding it for the Aberneths, the wronged Gentleman appeals to the Court of England. King Baliol upon this is summon'd to answer, and appears, sitting with King Edward in his Parliament till his Cause was to be try'd; and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and

Queen Eleanor dy'd. 1291.

The King of Scots does Homage to King Edward. 1294.

\* The other four were Erick King of Norway, Florence Earl of Holland, John Hastings Lord of Abergavenny, and John Earl of Badenau; there were six Competitors more, Patrick Dunbar Earl of Marche, William de Vesey, William de Ros, Robert de Pinkny, Nicholas de Soules, Roger de Mandeville.

\* The Queen did not die in this Journey, but the last Year, when King Edward was going into Scotland, to put his Daughter-in-Law, Wife to Prince Edward, and Daughter to Eric King of Norway, in Possession of the Kingdom of Scotland, that Princess having the best Title to the Crown. She dy'd also before the King reach'd the Borders. And this Year he was call'd back by the Death of Queen Eleanor his Mother.

\* This Story is so far from being true, that when the Dispute about the Succession to the Crown of Scotland was first left to King Edward to be decided, all the Competitors were oblig'd to own the King's Superiority over that Kingdom, and Robert Bruce was the first of them that did it, in these words: *I do acknowledge the King of England superiour and direct Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, and will before and from him, as my superiour and direct Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, answer and receive Justice.* Rot. de Superiouritate Regis Anglia in Scotia; 18 Ed. 1. — In the Tower.

\* On the 26th of December, 1273. He did Homage in these words, *My Lord, Edward, King of England, superiour Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland: I, John, King of Scotland, become your Liege-Man for the whole Kingdom of Scotland, with its Appurtenances; which Kingdom I claim and hold, and ought of right to hold, for Me and my Heirs, Kings of Scotland, Hereditarily of You and your Heirs, Kings of England, and shall bear Faith to You and your Heirs, Kings of England, of Life and Limb, and terrene Honour, against all Men.*

\* It appears by the Rolls in the Tower, De Sup. Reg. Ang. in Scot. and Riley's Placita Parliamentaria, that Macduff Earl of Fife, brought a Complaint or Appeal, for certain Lands, against King John; and the Process of this Suit being before King Edward, as superiour Lord of Scotland, occasion'd the Scots League with France in the course of this Affair, and all the Wars that follow'd between the two Kingdoms.



A. D. 1294. stand at the place appointed for Pleading. *Baliol* unwilling to do it, pleads, That he might answer Reg. 21. by a Procurator, but was deny'd; whereupon he rises himself, descends, and pleads his Cause: But taking it for an Indignity, offer'd him by the King of *England*, he returns home with an Heart full of Discontent, and meditating Revenge, renews the ancient League with *France*, and confirms it with the Marriage of his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of *Charles*, King *Philip's* Brother, who was glad to embrace a Quarrel with the King of *England*, with whom he was offend- ed; and when he had thus done, he bids Defiance to King *Edward*, and renounces his Allegiance, as unlawfully promised, being not in his Power without the Consent of the State to do any such Act. And now began the Contest between these two Nations, which spilt more Christian Blood, did more Mischief, and continu'd longer than any Wars (that we read of) between any two People of the World; for all the Kings who succeeded for three hundred Years together, even to the Blessed Union of them by King *James I.* had their Share more or less in this Quarrel. And though *England*, being much the greater and stronger Nation, had the good Fortune often to overcome; yet it was with so great Expence of Blood, Time, and Treasure, that what she got cost more than 'twas worth, and was so soon lost again, the *Scots* being never so fully subdu'd, but that they were soon for recovering their Liberties again, and that with Success: So that Providence may seem to decree no Union firm between these two Nations, that was made by Force, but by the milder way of Peace and Succellion.

The Wars  
between  
Scotland  
and Eng-  
land begun.  
1296.

*Edward*, who had long before formed to him- self a Design of obtaining the Kingdom of *Scot- land* by the fairest means he could, and for that end sought to match his Son *Edward* to *Margaret* the King of *Norway's* Daughter, Heir to the last King *Alexander*, but by her Death was disap- pointed, resolves to do it by Force, upon this Defection of King *Baliol*. And because he was sensible that he had no contemptible Enemy to deal with, upon the account of his League with the King of *France*, he counter-leagues with all the Neighbouring Princes that he could either by Gifts or Alliance draw in to strengthen his Party; as first with *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, with whose Daughter he designs to match his Son *Edward*: Then with *Adolphus* of *Nassau* the Emperour, to whom he gave \* 15000 *l.* Sterling to recover certain Territories of *France*, which he claimed as belonging to the Empire. He had likewise marry'd one of his Daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretended a Title to *Champagne*, and another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; all which Princes, with many other, who border'd on *France*, he sets upon that King. On the other side, the King of *France* summon'd King *Edward*, as owing Homage to his Crown, to appear and answer in his Court for certain Spoils committed on the Coasts of *Normandy* by the *English*; which he refusing to do, or making any Satisfaction for the Wrongs done, was by an Arrest condemn'd to lose all his Territories in *France*, and an Army was presently sent under the Command of *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neal* Constable of *France*, to seize upon them, who took *Bourdeaux* and many other important

Places, and fortified them. The King of *England* A. D. hearing this, sends over his Brother *Edmund* Earl 1296. of *Lancaster*, the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Richmond*, Reg. 22. with twenty eight Banners, seven hundred Men at Arms, and a Navy of three hundred and sixty Sail to recover his Right in *France*. And in the mean time himself sets upon *Baliol* (refusing up- on Summons to appear at his Court at *Newcastle*, and standing upon his Guard) and enters *Scotland* with an Army big enough to conquer a greater Nation, consisting of four thousand Horse and thirty thousand Foot, besides what the Bishop of *Durham* brought to his Assistance, which were five hundred Horse and a thousand Foot, intend- ing to make a speedy Conquest of *Scotland*, that he might afterward pass over into *France* to assist his Confederates, and be reveng'd on the King of *France*. He first took *Berwicke* with the Slaugh- Scotland ter of fifteen thousand *Scots*, or more<sup>b</sup>, and after seiz'd upon the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and *S. John's* Town, which were either won by Force, or yielded to him. This furious Current of Success brought *Baliol* to sue for Peace, and submit himself by taking his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward*, as his Sovereign Lord<sup>c</sup>; and then he call'd a Parliament for *Scot- land*, which was held at *Berwicke*, wherein the Nobility did their Homage also to him, confirm- ing the same by a Charter under their Hands and Seals, except *William Douglass*, who chose rather to endure the Miseries of a Prison, than yield to the Subjection of *England*. But King *Baliol* (notwithstanding his Subjection) was sent Prisoner into *England*, after he had enjoy'd that Dignity four Years; for he had so little Power, that he could hardly be said to reign; and King *Edward* returned into *England* again, leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Surrey* and *Sussex*, Warden of all *Scotland*; *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *William Ormesby* Chief Justice, giving them a Commission to take the Homages and Fealties of all that held Lands of the Crown in his Name: So that the Conquest of *Scotland* seem'd almost effected, but was not, as we shall see by the many Wars to maintain it<sup>d</sup>. But these happen'd King Ed- not presently, the King therefore turns his whole ward goes against the Designs against *France*, and for that end calls a Parliament at *S. Edmunds Bury*; wherein the Ci- King of tizens and Burgeses of several great Towns of France. 1298. *England*, granted him the eighth part of their Goods, and others of the People the twelfth. But the Clergy, who had privately procur'd of Pope *Boniface* a Prohibition of paying any Tal- lage, or Imposition, laid upon them by any Lay Prince, or upon any thing that belong to the Church, absolutely refus'd to pay any thing (hav- ing had so many Levies raised upon them late- ly, viz. Anno Reg. 22. 600000 *l.* of which the Abby of *Canterbury* alone paid 596 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 *d.* and in the twenty third Year of his Reign the King seized into his hands all the Priories and their Goods that were in the Possession of Stran- gers, besides a Loan, which he had of the Clergy amounting to an 100000 *l.* of which the Abbot of *Bury* is said to have paid 655 *l.*) But these The Clergy Reasons were not accepted as a Plea for their put out of the King's Obstinacy; but upon their Refusal, the King Protection. seized upon all the Temporalities of the Church, puts all the Clergy out of his Protection, by which they were exposed to all the Injuries of

\* *Tho.* of *Walsingham* says sixty thousand, and others an hundred thousand Marks, yet *Adolphus* could or would do nothing.

<sup>b</sup> Nine thousand, as others say, more probably. This was in the Year 1296.

<sup>c</sup> He surrender'd himself and his Royal Dignity into the King's Hand.

<sup>d</sup> He remov'd the Stone on which the *Scots* Kings us'd to be crown'd, from *Scone* to *Westminster*.

The Bull is set down at large in *Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments*, p. 320. It was sent to Archbishop *Pecham*, whom the Pope had put into the See of *Canterbury* against the King's Consent, and kept by the Clergy till this Occasion.



A. D. 1298. ill Men, and could have no Justice or Redress in the King's Courts. This Strain of State, which was never before used, nor could be foreseen, so amaz'd the Clergy, that the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Salisbury, and Lincoln, yielded to pay a fifth part of all their Goods towards the Maintenance of the King's Wars; and so the King's Wrath was appeased, and they were receiv'd into Favour. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Winchelsea, who animated all the rest to stand out, had all his Goods seiz'd on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocese, and part of Lincoln, taken into the King's hand, and Officers appointed to collect their Revenues and Rents for the King, allowing them only so much out of them as was necessary for their Sustenance: But at length, the Abbots and Monks, with all Priests, giving the King a fourth part of their Goods, redeem'd themselves and the King's Favour. Thus will Warlike Princes force Supplies from their Subjects in their Necessities, tho' they are very unwilling, and it be burthensome to them\*.

A Parliament at Salisbury, in which he is denied by the Nobility to go into France.

During this Contest and Agreement with the Clergy, the King called a Parliament of his Nobility at Salisbury, to which no Churchmen were admitted; and in it he requires some of his great Lords to go over with him into his Wars in Gascony, where he wanted a present Supply of Commanders, because of the Death of his Brother Edmund; who having spent much Time and Money upon the Siege of Bourdeaux in vain, retir'd to Bayon, then in the Possession of the English, and there died: But they all singly made Excuses for themselves; which so anger'd the King, that he told them, 'They should go, or he would give their Lands to them that should. Upon this Threat, Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, High Constable, and Roger Bygod Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, declared, 'That if he would go in Person, they would attend him, otherwise not. Which Answer offended the King more, who urged it again; and the Earl Marshal protested, 'That he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by Right of Inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, 'He should go with any other, although he went not himself in Person. But the Earl said, 'I am not so bound, neither will I take that Journey without you. Then the King swore, 'By God, Sir Earl, you shall go or hang. But the Earl reply'd, 'I swear by the same Oath, I will neither go nor hang, and so departed without Leave. This Heat stirr'd up a Revolt, for the two Earls immediately gather'd together many Noblemen, and others their Friends to the Number of thirty Banners: So that they were fifteen hundred armed Men, well accoutred, and stood upon their Guard against him. But he, like a prudent Prince, who knew his times for Business, lets the Matter fall; because both his Business in France, and pressing Necessity of his aiding the Confederates (on which his Honour, and all his Dominions abroad depended) called him over into Flanders, which the King of France had invaded, pretending the same Title to that Province as King Edward did to Scotland. The Occasion was this: The King of France having had Intelligence of the Designs of Guy Earl of Flanders, and the Alliance that he intended with the King of England, sends for him (as if he knew nothing of it) to come with his Wife and Daugh-

ter, and make merry with him at Paris: But instead of Feasting he made him his Prisoner, and takes his Daughter from him; because being his Vassal, he design'd to match her with the Son of his Capital Enemy. The Earl excus'd himself, as well as he could, and by much Mediation was releas'd and suffer'd to depart, but without his Daughter; for whom notwithstanding his Complaints to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly solicited for him, he could not get a Release; and thereupon this Earl presuming upon the Assistance of the Confederates takes Arms, and defies the King of France, who immediately invaded his Territories with sixty thousand Men. The King of England hearing this, made all the haste he could to relieve this distressed Earl, tho' he left his Business at home in a broken Condition, the Scots revolting, the English in Discontents, for which he made the best Provision he could, by leaving the Administration of the Kingdom to his Son the Prince in his absence, with the Advice of some great Counsellours, as the Bishop of London, the Earl of Warwick, the Lords Reginald Gray and Clifford; and to pacifie the Clergy, he receiv'd the Archbishop of Canterbury into his Favour. Being now ready to take Ship, the Archbishop, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, send him a Roll of the general Grievances of his Subjects; 'Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and Impositions; his seeking to force their Services by unlawful Courses; his late Imposit of forty Shillings upon every Sack of Wool, which was but a Noble a Sack before, valuing the Wool of England to be a fifth part of all the Substance of it. The King sends them this Answer; 'That he could not answer any thing without the Advice of a Council, which were not now about him; and therefore requir'd them, since they would not attend him, tho' he went in Person in this Expedition, because he went not into France or Scotland, that they would not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom in his absence, and at his return he would set all things in order. And so he set forward in his Journey with five hundred Sail, and eighteen thousand armed Men, but found not Fortune so favourable in Flanders, as usually she had been to him. For contrary to his Expectation he found the People divided into popular Factions; and tho' they were willing to assist their Prince and defend their Liberties, yet so rich and proud, that they would be commanded no otherwise than they list'd; the King of France daily getting ground, having won Lisle, Doway, Courtray, Burges and Dam, and the Emperour Adolph failing in his Personal Assistance contrary to his Engagement and Bargain; all which much perplex'd him, with tedious Delays, and put him to great Trouble and Expences: So that he was forc'd to order his Son to call a Parliament at York, to procure him Supplies of Money and Treasure; and because he would not be disappointed of a liberal Grant, condescended to all Articles that were demanded concerning the great Charter, promising never after to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their own Consents in Parliament, and to pardon those that refuse to attend him in this Journey, for which all the Commons of the Realm granted him the ninth Penny of their Goods; the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Clergy of his Province, the tenth Penny, and the Archbishop of York and his Province the fifth, and so the King's Wants

King of France invades Flanders, and is opposed by King Edward.

The Grievances of the Kingdom brought to him. 1299.

Some Nobles revolt, but are appeased.

A Parliament at York in the absence of the King.

\* Most of these Events, from the Invasion of Scotland, happen'd in the Year 1276.  
 b Henry de Knighton, in his Book de Eventibus Anglia, relates, that he had fifteen thousand Horse and fifty thousand choice Foot, of which thirty thousand were Welshmen, an incredible Number.

were



A. D. were relieved and Kingdom satisfied; but such 1299. Concessions, which are extorted by Necessity, are Reg. 26. always unsincere, and so never lasting. The King being thus supply'd, he staid all that Winter at *Gaunt*, where his Soldiers committed so many Outrages, that the Citizens being exasperated thereby took Arms, slew many; and tho' the Earl *Guy* did all he could by Gifts and fair Words to appease the incens'd Rabble, yet they pursu'd the King and his Forces so hard, that they could hardly get safe out of the Country. Thus the King left *Flanders* without Success, having made a Truce with the King of *France* for two Years; and leaving the poor Earl *Guy* to shift for himself, who shortly after became a Prey to his Enemy, and being made a Prisoner in *Paris* died with Grief, with his Daughter, and *Flanders* was made subject to the King of *France*, though he kept it not long: For after they had received him for their Lord, his Exactions and Oppressions upon them were so great, contrary to their ancient Liberties, that they arm'd all the People against him, being rich and mighty; who gave *France* the biggest Blow that ever it at once received at the Battel of *Courtray*, wherein the Earl of *Artois*, General of the Army, *Arnold de Neel* Constable of *France*, and all the Commanders, with twelve thousand Gentlemen, were slain; and tho' he still maintain'd the Quarrel against them for their Country, yet 'twas with his great Damage: For he lost in the eleven Years space the Lives of an hundred thousand *Frenchmen* (as their own Histories affirm) and by his Impositions of new Taxes of *Malletote*, and the tenth *Denier*, i. e. Penny upon every Livre or Pound of all Merchandizes, bred great great Outcries and dangerous Seditions among his Subjects, the lamentable Fruits of such Attempts, which may justly deter Princes from meddling upon such unjust Titles.

1300. King *Edward* being come home, immediately prepares for an Expedition into *Scotland*, which in his absence had beaten his Officers and People almost out of the Country, having put Earl *Warren* to flight, and slain Sir *Hugh Cressingham*, with six thousand *English*, recover'd many Castles, and regain'd *Berwicke*, and all by the Encouragement and Conduct of a poor private Gentleman, tho' descended of a Noble Family, *William Wallis*; who seeing his Country in miserable Slavery, the Nobility either in Captivity or Subjection, and all Hopes of Recovery from other ways to no purpose expected, gather'd a Company of Men of as poor and desperate Condition as himself, and attempts upon all Advantages he could discover to annoy the *English*; wherein having good Success, his Company and Courage so increased, that he became the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom, and having given the *English* several Defeats, was in a great Possibility to have redeem'd his Country from Subjection to *England*. So much could the Courage of one brave Man contribute to set a whole Nation free, which being all that he aim'd at, and not a Diadem or Crown, made his Vertues more admirable to all Ages, than otherwise they would have been. And now King *Edward*, that he might the better govern his two Kingdoms, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *York*, where they continu'd above six Years; and here he cal-

led a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that A. D. held of him by Knight's Service, to be ready at 1300. *Roxborough* upon a certain Day, who according- Reg. 27. ly assembled in great Numbers, viz. three thousand armed Men with barded Horses, and four thousand other armed Horsemen without Bards, with an Army of Foot proportionable, consisting most of *Welsh* and *Irish*, besides five hundred Men out of *Gascoigne*, and with this Army he makes his second Expedition into *Scotland*. The Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, notwithstanding their former Contempt, attended him: But tho' he was at the Head of a mighty Army, and surrounded with a great Strength, yet before they would advance one Step, they requir'd that the two Charters and their Pardons might be ratified, which they thought not sufficiently secur'd to them, because they were granted beyond Sea; wherefore the Bishop of *Durham*, and the Earls of *Surrey*, *Warwick*, and *Glocester*, undertook for the King, that after he had subdu'd his Enemies and was return'd, he should grant their Desires; and so these two Earls, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Van-guard at the famous Battel of *Falkirk*, wherein the King of *Scotland* obtain'd a great Victory at the Expence of two hundred Knights, and above forty thousand Scots' Blood: But *Wallis*, with some few, escaped to make him more Work. And now again *Scotland* might seem quite overcome, most of the Estates of the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) for this Revolt being given to the *English* Nobility to make them more resolute and ready to maintain this Conquest, and a Parliament is called at *St. Andrews*, where all the great Men of the Kingdom (except only *Wallis*) swore Fealty to the King of *England*. The *Scottish* Writers brand King *Edward* with most cruel Tyranny in this Expedition; 'Because he was not content to carry away captive all that were likely to create any Disturbances in the Nation, but endeavour'd to blot out their Memory for ever, by abolishing their ancient Laws, changing their Ecclesiastical Rites for the Customs of *England*, taking from them their Histories, Instruments of State, Monuments of Antiquity, either left by the *Romans* or erected by themselves, carrying all their Books and Learned Men into *England*; and removing the Marble Chair, on which the Fate of their Kingdom, as they imagin'd, depended; as if he had resolv'd not only to deprive them of their Strength, but their Understandings, that he might establish a perpetual Dominion over them.

This Expedition being over, he call'd another Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein he promised to confirm the two Charters; and a farther Allowance for Disforesting again what had been once done before, was urg'd, and at length granted, with omission of the Clause, *Salvo Jure Coronæ Nostræ*, which the King greatly desired should have been inserted, but the People would not endure it; and the Perambulation of the Forests of *England* is committed to three Bishops, three Earls, and three Barons. In this little time of Peace at home, a final Concord was made between the *English* and *French*, by the Mediation of Pope *Boniface*, and the King of *England* takes *Margaret* the *French* King's Sister to Wife in the sixty

\* Eighty thousand. <sup>b</sup> *Walsingham* says sixty thousand, *Everiden* and the Chronicle of *Norwich* fifteen thousand, *Trivet* twenty thousand, *Boetius* and *Buchanan* say ten thousand only.

<sup>c</sup> He did not stay to hold a Parliament. The *Scots* having wasted their Country, he was forc'd to return for want of Provisions, and in Sept. 1298. held a great Council at *Durham*. The Calumny of King *Edward*'s destroying the *Scottish* Records, was invented by *Boetius*, a very Fabulous Author, and has been often confuted.

<sup>d</sup> She was marry'd in Sept. 1299. which agrees with Mr. *Daniell*'s Account of his Age. He was thirty five Years old when he came to the Crown, Anno 1272. and from that time to this, being twenty seven Years more, makes it sixty two in all.



A. D. 1301. second Year of his Age, and his Daughter is affianced to the Prince, and Restitution made of what the King of France had taken in Gascoigne. Reg. 28. Burdeaux returns to the Obedience of the King of England, (to the Merchants of which City he paid a hundred and fifty thousand Pound for the Expences of his Brother Edmund in the late Wars) and so all is well on that side. The same Pope also obtained a Permission of Edward, that John Baliol, the Captive King of the Scots, should go and live upon certain Lands he had in France, and undertook for his Observation of the Peace, and his Confinement; but he shortly after dy'd, having had little Joy in a Crown, and scarce leisure to know he was a King. About this time the crying-down and calling-in of a certain base Money, call'd Crocard and Pollard, and stamping them again, brought some advantage to the King's Treasury. But he had soon an occasion to spend it in a third Expedition into Scotland (from which he had not been return'd above eighteen Months) wherein he did little more than recover Sterling-Castle, defended three Months against all his Forces by William Oliver, and at last surrender'd to him upon Conditions. The rest of the Scots, who had revolted, flying into the Mountains and strong Holds of the Country, where the King's Army was more distressed, than the Enemy.

Upon the Conclusion of the Peace with France, the Scots being left out, and having none to relieve them, send their lamentable Complaints to Pope Boniface, representing to him 'the afflicted State of their Country, the Usurpation of the King of England upon them, and his most Tyrannical Proceedings with them, contrary to all Right and Equity; protesting, That they never knew of any Sovereignty he had over them, but that they were a free Kingdom of themselves; and so at first he dealt with them upon the Death of their last King Alexander, both in the Treaty of Marriage for his Son Edward with Margaret the Heir of Scotland, and also after her Death for the decision of the Title of their Crown, wherein he sought by their Consents to be made Arbitrator, as he was: And tho' since they have yielded much more to him, yet it was done by force, because they were not able to resist. The

Pope having received this Remonstrance, writes powerful Letters to the King of England, commanding him 'to forbear farther proceedings against them, claiming withal the Sovereign Authority over that Kingdom, as belonging to the Church. The King answers the Pope's Letters at large, 'proving from all Antiquity, that the Dominion of Scotland had ever appertained to the English Crown, even from Brutus to his own Time. And at the same time all the Nobility wrote to the Pope, 'owning and claiming the same Right; and peremptorily conclude, That the King, their Lord, should in no wise undergo his Holiness's Judgment therein, nor send his Procurators (as was required) about that business, as tho' their King's Title were dubious, to the prejudice of the Crown, the Royal Dignity, Liberties, Customs, and Laws of England, which by their Oath and Duty they were bound to observe, and would defend with their Lives; nor could they permit, if the King would, any such unlawful proceedings. And therefore besought his Holiness not to concern himself farther in this matter. These Letters were subscribed with all their Names (set down particularly in Speed, p. 541.) and dated at Lincoln,

where the Parliament was then holden, Anno A. D. Dom. 1301. The Pope upon this Answer, tho' not very grateful to him, yet stirr'd no more in the Scots Cause, because he had his Hands full of other Matters. For the King of France, whom he had Excommunicated, and given away his Kingdom to Albert of Austria, then Emperor, shortly after so wrought as his Spirituality was surpriz'd at Anagni, a City of Abruzzo, whither he was retir'd from the Troubles of Rome, and so violently treated by Sciarra Colonne, a Baudetto of Rome, and Nogoret an Albigioye, both whom he had persecuted as in extream Rage and Anguish, within few Days after he ends his turbulent Life.

The King of England, not yet enjoying a peaceable Possession of Scotland, was forced to make a fourth Expedition thither, to allay fresh Com-motions there; and to furnish himself out for this Action, he call'd a Parliament at Lincoln, where he confirm'd the two Charters again, and received of the People, as a grateful Acknowledgment of his Kindness to them, a fifteenth of all their Goods. Being thus supply'd with Money, he invades Scotland again, and had Homage and Fealty sworn to him a fourth time, as a Conqueror of it; which, accounting a sufficient confirmation of his Sovereignty over it, he return'd in a Triumphant manner, and in his way removes his Exchequer from York, feasts his Nobility at Lincoln magnificently, and so comes to London, where he gave solemn Thanks to God and S. Edward for the Victory; which Act of Piety may seem to have been the Cause of his obtaining a more compleat Victory, by bringing into his power his greatest Enemy (that renowned Guardian of his Country) William Wallis, who being betray'd by his Companion, was taken by Sir John Menteth, and sent up to the King to London, where he was try'd for his many Treasons committed against the King (tho' at his Arraignment he would not acknowledge him to be his King) and was condemned, according to the Laws of England, to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd; and accordingly suffer'd the Sentence. Thus dy'd that worthy Man, for the defence of the Liberties of his own Country, in a strange one, and remains among the best Examples of Piety and Courage in that kind. And now the King being (as he supposed) secure from all Disturbances abroad and at home, being an universal Lord of the whole Isle, and having strong Alliances abroad, began to look nearly into his Government, and to raise himself Advantages from those Disorders which the Wars had caused. And the first Example of his Power (which he would have equal to his Will) was in the Case of Sir Nicholas Segrave, one of the greatest Knights of the Kingdom, who being accused of Treason by Sir John Cromwell, offer'd to justify himself by Duel; which, because the King refused to grant, in respect to the present War, he leaves the Camp, and went over the Sea to fight his Enemy. The King being angry at his Contempt of his Prohibition, accuses him of exposing his Royal Person to the Rage of his Enemies, and orders Justice to proceed against him. The Judges consulted three Days on his Case, and at last adjudged him guilty of Death, and all his Moveables and Immoveables to be forfeited to the King; but added, 'That he went out of the Nation, not in contempt of the King, but to be reveng'd of his Enemy, and therefore it was in the King's power to shew him Mercy. The King in anger replied, 'Have you been all this while consulting for this? I know it is in

Boniface's Death.

1305. King Edward's fourth Expedition into Scotland.

William Wallis taken and executed for Treason.

Sir Nicholas Segrave's Case.

\* The Letter is self is in Mr. Fox's *Annals and Mon.* p. 313. with the Pope's to the States of England:



A. D. 1305. Reg. 32. ' my power to shew Mercy on whom I please; and who ever submitted to me, that hath not tasted of it? But I shall not do it for your sakes, no more than a Dog's. But let this your Judgment be recorded, and ever held as a Law. And so Sir Nicholas, for Example and Terror to others, was put into Prison; tho' afterward, by the Intercession of many Noblemen of the Kingdom, and thirty of his Equals, being bound Body for Body, and Goods for Goods, for his Appearance whenever he should be call'd, the King restor'd him to his Estate. Shortly after the King likewise sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, call'd *Trail-Baston*<sup>a</sup>, to search out, and enquire after Intruders on other Men's Lands, who, to keep out the right Owner of them, would make over their Land to great Men; as also after Batterers, who were hired to beat Men; Breakers of the Peace, Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, false Jurors, and other such Malefactors; which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and so great Fines imposed upon such as were guilty of any the said Crimes, that the King's Treasure was much increased by it. And so did likewise another Commission, sent out at the same time, to examine into the Behaviour of all Officers, and Ministers of Justice; whereby many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. By this means Informers grew in great Request, and were encouraged, as the King's Friends, and his chief Agents for his Treasury. But besides these ways of Enriching himself, the King made some profit of certain Silver Mines in *Devonshire*, (as *Holinshed* relates) but it seems they were not sought after in following times, because the Charge was greater than the Profit.

1306. K. Edward his desiring with his rebellious Barons. And now the King being become a Terror to his Subjects, began to shew his Resentment of the stubborn Behaviour of his Nobles to him in times past, and so terrified *Roger Bigod*<sup>b</sup> Earl Marshal, that to recover his Favour, he made him Heir of all his Lands, (tho' he had a Brother living) and only reserved to himself an Annuity of a thousand Pound *per Annum* for his Life. Of others of them also he got great Sums for the same Offence. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he accused of having disturbed the Peace in his absence, he sent over to Pope *Clement V.* who succeeded *Boniface*, to be crush'd by a double power. For this Pope was a Native of *Burdeaux*, and so as more regardful of the King, once his Sovereign, so also more favourable to the King's Desires; which to cherish and increase, the King sent him a compleat set of Furniture for his Chamber of clean Gold, which had such an influence upon the Pope, that he let lose the Lion upon his Subjects again, by absolving him from his Oaths and Obligations concerning the Charters, which he had confirmed by his three last Acts of Parliament; an Act of as little Piety in the Pope, as Conscience in the King. But it was not long before he found the Error of this Action, and saw just Cause to reform it, having as much need of their Love, as they of his Justice, which was by the unexpected News of a King made and crown'd in *Scotland*, done after this manner. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carricke*, the Son of that *Robert* who was Competitor with *Baliol* for the Kingdom, escaping out of *England*, becomes Head of the confuted Body

of that People, was crowned King<sup>c</sup>, and pieced them up into such an Union presently, that he had Hands enough to support him before any Rumour of it could come to the Ears of King *Edward*, altho' *John Comyn*, his Cofin-German, a Man of great Interest and Alliance in *Scotland*, had written to the King of *England* to discover his Design; of which *Bruce* being either aware or suspicious, found out ways to intercept his Letters; and finding him at *Dunfrays*, set upon him, and murther'd him in the Church. This Foundation, which was laid in Blood, (the Place, Person, and Manner of it making it odious) much blemish'd his beginning, and was so far from gaining him a greater Security, as he imagin'd, that it got him more Enemies, and raised a mighty Party against him. King *Edward* (tho' late acquainted with his design, yet hasten'd the faster to overtake him) and therefore sends *Amier de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy*, with a strong Power to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*, (who upon the Revolt of *Bruce* were all retreated to *Berwick*) whilst he himself prepared an Army to follow. And to effect this, and be more nobly attended, he put forth his Proclamation, commanding, 'That all, who by Paternal Succession, or any other ways, ought him Service, should repair to *Westminster* at *Whitsuntide* to him, to receive Order of Knighthood, and a Military Ornament out of the King's Wardrobe. Upon which Summons, three hundred young Gentlemen, all of them Sons of Earls, Barons and Knights assembled, and accordingly received Purples, Silks, Sindons, and Scarfs, wrought with Gold and Silver, according to every Man's degree; the Prince, who was by the King himself knighted, and girt with a Military Belt, girding the three hundred, whom the King had knighted, in the same manner as he had himself been before; and after, keeping their Vigil together in the New Temple, which being performed with all the Magnificence and Solemnity possible, the King made a Vow, That alive or dead he would avenge the Death of *Comyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjur'd *Scots*, adjuring his Son, and all his Nobles upon their Fealty, that if he dy'd in the Journey they would carry his Corps about with them in *Scotland*, till they had subdu'd the Country, and conquer'd the Usurper. Which Desire, tho' it were more Martial than Christian, yet the Prince and all the Nobles promised upon their Faith to the utmost of their power to perform. And then having gotten the thirtieth Penny of the Clergy and Laity, and twentieth of all Merchants, he set forward immediately after *Whitsuntide* on his Expedition, in the 34th Year of his Reign. The Earl of *Pembroke*, who was sent before, being assisted with a strong Party of the Friends of *Comyn*, who were desirous to revenge his Death, had before the King's arrival defeated the whole Army of the new King at a Battel near *St. John's Town*, and had almost taken his Person; but he escaping in disguise recover'd an obscure shelter<sup>d</sup>, being reserved for more and greater Battels, while his Brother *Nigel Bruce*, with *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a Priest, were executed as Traitors at *Berwick*. So that King *Edward* at his coming had not so much to do as he expected, but went up and down the Country to shew his Power, and terrifie his

A Writ of Inquisition, call'd Trail-Baston.

The Pope absolves the King from his Oaths made to his Subjects.

A new Revolt in Scotland, in which Jo. Comyn was slain.

<sup>a</sup> *Trayle Baston* signifies in old French, to draw the Staff; others derive it from a Shoemaker's Instrument call'd so, which they us'd to beat their Prentices with; the King being inform'd that some Rascals made a Trade of taking Money for beating Persons, issu'd out this Writ, to which this Name was given.

<sup>b</sup> The Earl Marshal voluntarily made the King Heir of his Estate, and deliver'd up his Marshal's Staff, on Condition to have it restor'd if he shou'd have any Issue; and he had a thousand Pound paid him down, and a thousand Pound Pension for Life. This was done a Year before, Anno 1302. *Annal. S. Aug. Cant.*

<sup>c</sup> By the Countess *Bauquhan*, Sister to the Earl of *Fife*, to whom this Office belong'd by Hereditary Right.

<sup>d</sup> In the Western Isles, where he lay conceal'd till King *Edward* left *Scotland*.











A. D. 1307. Reg. 1. and made a new Treasurer in his room. Which done, he removed most of the Court-Officers placed by his Father, and put in new ones of his own choosing; and all this without the Advice or Consent of the Privy-Council, which gave a general Discontent, and discover'd an ill Disposition in him.

A Parliament held before his Coronation at Northampton. King Edward's Marriage.

Before his Coronation there was a Parliament held at Northampton, wherein it was enacted, That the Monies coined by his Father, notwithstanding they were accounted base Metal, should be Current; and he obtain'd a fifteenth of the Clergy, and twentieth of the Laity. After which, having performed the Funeral Rites of his Father at Westminster, he took a Voyage into France to be marry'd to the Lady Isabel, the Daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France; where their Nuptials were celebrated with great Magnificence and Solemnity, there being present at them the King of France, and King of Navarr his Son, the King of Almain, the King of Sicily, and three Queens besides the Bride, with an extraordinary Concourse of Princes and great Men. Gavestone was also at this Feast, and is said to have exceeded all the Company in Richness and Bravery of Attire, with which afterwards he infected the Court of England, and by that the whole Nation: A Mischief great enough to undo a Kingdom alone, with the Expence to maintain it. Yet this was not all the Mischief he did, for he filled the Court with Parasites, Buffoons, Fiddlers, Stage-players, and all kind of dissolute Persons, to entertain and fill the King with carnal Delights and Pleasures, in which he was so deeply engag'd, that he lov'd no other Company, but spent all his Time in Wantonness, neglecting the Affairs of State, and the Counsel of his Nobles. These things so much distast'd the great Men, that when he was to be crown'd with his Queen at Westminster in the second Year of his Reign, they met together, and requir'd of him, That Gaveston might be removed out of his Court and Kingdom, otherwise they intended to hinder his Coronation at that time. The King, to avoid so great Disgrace, promised to grant whatever they desired in the next Parliament; and so the Coronation was permitted to be solemnized, yet it was done with that haste and precipitancy, as took off the Reverence and Grace of it. In it the King gave Gavestone S. Edward's Crown to carry before him, which greatly incensed the Lords against him, and added much to their former Offence and Hatred of him.

His Coronation. 1309.

The Knights Templars imprison'd.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights-Templars throughout England were at once arrested, and committed to Prison, according to the Example which had been given him by the King of France, and most other Princes of Christendom. They were an Order of Knights first instituted by Baldwin IV. King of Jerusalem, about two hundred Years before this time, and were appointed for the Defence of that City, and the safe Convoy of all such as went thither. Afterwards by the pious Bounty of Princes, they were dispersed into all parts of Christendom, and richly endow'd with large Possessions, which made them degenerate much from their first Institution, and become execrably Vicious; for which Reason the Christian Princes combined together to apprehend them, and turn them out of their Order and Estates, the King of France being foremost in the design,

because he intended to make one of his Sons King of Jerusalem, and get their Revenues for him. 1309. Their Accusation was brought to the Council at Reg. 3. Vienna, and they were condemn'd (more by Fame than Proof) as is evident from the condemnatory Sentence in the Bull of Pope Clement III. wherein are these words, *Quoniam de Jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem Potestatis, dictum Ordinem reprobamus*; and then their Estates were given to the Hospitallers. This Affair being over, the Lords prosecuted their Design against Gavestone, who presuming upon the King's Favour, insolently scorn'd them, as much as they hated him, terming the chiefest of his Enemies by reproachful Names, as he pleas'd, viz. Thomas Earl of Lancaster he call'd the Stage-player; Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew; and Guy Earl of Warwick, the Black-Dog of Arden; which Scoffs so heighten'd their desires of Revenge, that in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly, as if they had engaged in the Quarrel, humbly besought the King to advise and treat with his Nobles concerning the State of the Kingdom, that by their Counsel he might avoid the great Mischiefs which would fall upon him through neglect of Government; and urg'd it so far, that the King not only consented, but promised with an Oath to ratifie all such Articles as should be concluded upon by them to be necessary for the Welfare of the Kingdom. Upon this certain choice Men, both of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, were selected to frame these Articles; and when they were finished, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was lately recall'd from Banishment, with the rest of his Suffragans, at the Reading of them publicly before the Lords and Commons, in the presence of the King, solemnly pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against all that shall dare to oppose them. Some of the Articles were: 1310. 'That the King should observe, and put in Execution *Magna Charta*, with all other Laws necessary for the preservation of the Church and Kingdom; That as the late King had done, so he should banish all Strangers out of his Court and Kingdom, and remove all his bad Counsellors from his Person; That the King shall not begin any War, or go any where out of the Kingdom, without the consent of the Parliament. These Articles seem'd very harsh to the King, but to avoid farther trouble, he granted them, and especially consented to the Banishment of his Favourite Gavestone, whom he sent immediately into Ireland, tho' not as an Exile, but in Quality of his Lieutenant there; as if that piece of Self-denial would have excus'd him from all the rest. But he could not be long without his Company, and therefore within a few Months he recall'd him; and to secure him the better against his Enemies, he marries him to his Neice (the Daughter of Joanna de Acres) Sister of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, a Man much belov'd and esteem'd among the Nobility, for whose sake, and by whose means he hop'd Gavestone would find more favour with the Nobility. But all this would not do. Either his Behaviour or their Malice was such, that they would not endure him about the King, who, by making him great, lessen'd them; and by enriching him, not only impoverish'd himself (for 'tis said he gave him the Jewels of the Crown, and so much of his Treasure, that the Queen com-

The Lords prosecute Gavestone for his Insolencies.

A Parliament call'd to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, and the King submits to it.

1310.

Gavestone sent into Ireland, but again recall'd, and marry'd.

\* He was Crown'd on the 25th of February, 1308. Thomas Wike's Chron.

\* The Letters Patents for the Banishment of Gavestone bear Date at Westminster, the 8th of May, 1308. and are to be found in the Continuation of Nich. Trivet's History. He return'd out of Ireland in September, and marry'd the Lady Joanna in October.

\* The Earl was not pleas'd with, nor consented to the Match.

\* 'Tis said, he gave him his Father's Crown; and once told him, He should be his Successor in the Throne, if it lay in his power to give it him.



A. D. 1310. Reg. 4. plained of Want of Maintenance \* to her Father) but the whole Kingdom, which by his immoderate Gifts to him was waisted. These Actions provoked the Barons, that they send him plain Word, 'That unless he did put from him *Pierce Gavestone*, and observe the Articles, which he had promis'd by Oath to keep, they would all with one Consent rise up in Arms against him, as a perjur'd Prince. The King, who was easily terrified with such Messages of his Nobles, as they found, not only yields again to the Banishment of his Favourite, but granted them farther, 'That if he were ever after found in the Kingdom, he should be condemn'd to Death, as an Enemy of the State. *Peirce* having left *England*, could find no safe Place of retreat: *Ireland* could not any more protect him, *France* was very unsafe for him, because wait was laid for him there to apprehend him. In *Flanders* he lurk'd a-while, but in great Danger; wherefore seeing he could be secure no where, he resolves to adventure again into *England*, and commit himself to the King's Protection, a Sanctuary that would not be violated. The King received him with great Joy, and that he might be out of the envious Eye of his Nobility, he carry'd him into the North Parts of *England*, but he was soon after discover'd by the Lords; who, withal hearing that he was, tho' privately, in as great Favour as ever, presently combine together and take Arms, electing *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, Brother to *Henry* III. for their Leader, a Man very popular and powerful, and Earl likewise of *Leicester*, *Ferrers* and *Lincoln*. With him joyn'd *Humphrey* Bobun Earl of *Hereford*, *Aymur de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Arundel*, with many other Barons: But *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*, the King's Nephew, being desirous neither to offend the King, nor be wanting to his Peers, stood Mediator between both Parties for the Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom. The Earl *Warren* was doubtful, and favour'd the King's Party rather, till the Archbishop of *Canterbury* brought him to joyn with the Lords; who being well prepar'd against all Encounters, send to the King in behalf of the whole Commonalty of *England*, 'Beseeching him to deliver up *Peirce Gavestone* to them, or send him with all his Train out of *England*. The King neglecting an Answer to their Petition, they set forward with some Forces toward the North. The King and *Gavestone* withdraw to *Newcastle*, and there having a full Account of the Strength of the Lords, they took Ship together (leaving the Queen, then with Child, in great Grief behind) and land at *Scarborough* Castle, into which the King puts *Gavestone*, with the best Forces he could get for his Defence, and leaving him departed into *Warwickshire*. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Warren*, who were sent by the Earl of *Lancaster*, lay Siege to the Castle, and *Gavestone* surrender'd himself into their hands; but intreats, That he might have Liberty to speak once more to the King, and then they should do as they pleas'd with him. The Earl of *Pembroke* undertakes 'that he should upon his Honour, but as his Servants were carrying him, the Earl of *Warwick* met them, and took him by force from them, and commits him to his Castle of *Warwick*; where,

after some Consultation among the Lords (tho' A. D. the King earnestly solicited for his Life) they 1310. condemn'd him without Tryal to the Block, and Reg. 4. cut off his Head. And this was the end of *Peirce Gavestone* <sup>Stone's personal Con- rage and Worth.</sup>: He was a Native of *Gascoigne*, and Gave- for the great Service his Father had done to this Crown, was educated by King *Edward* the First with his Son the Prince, by which means he gain'd so great an Interest in his Favour. He was a goodly Person, of undaunted Courage, and a skilful Man at Arms, as he shew'd himself at a Tournament at *Wallingford*; wherein he challeng'd the best of our Nobility, and is said to have foil'd them all, which inflam'd their Malice against him. In *Ireland*, during the short time he was Lieutenant there in his Banishment, he conquer'd the Rebels in the Mountains of *Dublin*, built *Newcastle* in the *Kerns* Country, repair'd *Kevni*-Castle, and afterward passed up into *Munster* and *Thomond*, doing great Service to his Master with much Valour and Bravery. He seems to have been a Person, that could not fawn or stoop to those he loved not, nor disguise his Nature so far, as to temporize with his Enemies: But presuming upon his Fortune, grew in the end to be arrogant and proud, and was so intolerable as nothing but his Ruin, which it produced, could ease the Subjects of that heavy Burthen.

The Lords having gotten their Desire upon *Gavestone*, and thereby finding the King's Weakness (for he should never have fall'n into their hands, if the King had had Power enough to have kept him out) assume to themselves greater Authority; and as if all things were under their Command, peremptorily require the Confirmation and immediate Execution of all the Articles formerly granted, threatening the King, That unless he perform'd the same, as they desir'd, they would force him to it; and for this end, with their Swords drawn, assembling at *Dunstable* make towards *London*, where the King lay. The great Bishops, and Earl of *Glocester*, seeing the Tempest gathering, labour to appease them; and with two Cardinals \* (which at that time were sent by the Pope to reform the Disorders of the Kingdom) repairing to *St. Albans*, desire Conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but rejected the Pope's Letters written to them; saying, 'They were Sword- 1313. men, and minded not Letters; That there were many wise and learned Men in the Kingdom, whose Counsels they would use, and not Strangers, who knew not the Cause of their rising, and therefore would not permit Foreigners to concern themselves in their Actions, or the Affairs of the Kingdom, with which Answer the Cardinals return to *London*. But the English Bishops so prevail'd by their Persuasions with the Lords, as that they were willing to restore to the King such Horses, Treasure and Jewels, as they had taken from *Pierce Gaveston* at *Newcastle*, if the King would grant their Petitions; and so *John Sandal*, Treasurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle*, Keeper of the Wardrobe, were sent to *St. Albans* to receive them of them. About this time Queen *Isabel* was deliver'd of a Son <sup>Edward the Third born.</sup> at *Windsor*, whom *Lewis* her Brother, and the great Men and Ladies of *France*, would have baptiz'd by the Name of her Father *Philip*, but

*Pierce Gavestone* is taken by the Lords and executed.

The Bishops persuade the Lords to submit to the King.

\* And that she was depriv'd of the King's Love, because *Peirce* engag'd the King in Whoredom and Adulteries.  
 † The Bishops were very zealous Confederates in this Action; inasmuch, that the Archbishop excommunicated *Walter* Bishop of *Creventry*, because out of a Loyal Principle he refus'd to joyn with them.  
 ‡ Dr. Brady, in his Appendix to his *Comp. Hist.* affirms, That *Edward* was not the Earl of *Pembroke*, but the Lord *Henry* Regent, that *Gaveston* surrender'd himself; which he proves from a Record in the Tower, there mention'd.  
 § On the 19th of June, 1312. There was but one Cardinal, the other Nuncio was only *Arnold* Bishop of *Paisie*.  
 ¶ He was born the 13th of Nov. 1312.



A. D. 1313. Reg. 7. A Parliament at London. the Nobility of England had him nam'd Edward. Here the King kept his Christmas, feasting the French with great Magnificence, by whom he was suspected by his Barons to have had ill Advice given him. Shortly after a Parliament is called at London, wherein the King complains, 'That his Barons had contemn'd him, rais'd War in his Realm against him, and murder'd Peirce Gavestone. But they unanimously answer'd him, 'That they had not offended in so doing, but had merited his Love and Favour; having taken Arms not in Contempt to his his Royal Person, but to destroy the publick Enemy of the Kingdom, who as such had been banish'd before by two Kings; a Man by whom his Reputation and Honour was blemish'd, his Revenue wasted, and a dangerous Contest rais'd between him and his Subjects, of which there could otherwise be no end with all their Labour. Adding farther, That they would not be longer deluded with vain Promises or Delays, concerning their requir'd Articles, as they had been. The Queen and Bishops seeing their Resolution, endeavour'd by their Persuasions to allay their Heat, and prevail'd at length so far, that to appease the King's Wrath, they and their Confederates submitted to beg the King's Pardon in open Parliament, which they obtain'd; and the King having receiv'd them into his Favour as his Loyal Subjects, granted them their Articles, and particularly pardons by his Charter all such as had been concern'd in the Death of Gavestone, and then the State in Consideration of his great Wants, granted him a fifteenth. Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was here also appointed to be one of the King's Council; who being a Person much env'y'd by those that had the King's Favour chiefly, dy'd shortly in that Station, not without Suspicion of Poison.

The Lords submit and are pardon'd.

1314. The Scots united disturb England. While England labour'd under these Distractions and Divisions, through the Weakness of its King, Scotland grew unanimous almost under a provident one, who in this time did not only subdue the Scottish Faction, and recover most of his Country, but began to spoil England, laying waite all Northumberland in such manner, as that the People were forced to make their Application to the King for Recovery of their Country out of their hands. King Edward awaken'd with the Importunities of the People, and thinking it would be a great Dishonour to the Kingdom to sit still, rais'd an Army for the Redress of their Losses, and enter'd Scotland with the most powerful Host that ever went thither, consisting (as the Scottish Writers relate) of an hundred thousand Men, of several Nations, viz. Flemmings, Gascoigns, Welsh and Irish; who confiding in their Numbers, devour'd the Country in their Imagination before they came thither, and thought not of fighting; but dividing the Prey. Besides, most of the Nobility of England attended the King, except the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Warren and Arundel; who refused to go with him, because the King delay'd the Execution of the former Articles. The Castle of Sterling was the first thing the King intended to relieve, which had held out a long time against the Scots, by the valiant Conduct of Philip Mowbray, a cou-

rageous Knight. Near this Place, upon the River Berwicke, did Bruce with thirty thousand Scots, encounter this mighty Army of the English; which tho' much too great a Match for them, yet the Scots had been so harden'd to Wars, and receiv'd them with so much Preparation, and at such an Advantage, having inaccessible Rocks behind them to defend them, and a Moorish uncertain Ground before them, wherein they had dug Trenches, and cover'd them with Hurdles, that the Horse could not pass, that they easily became Conquerours, and gave England the greatest Overthrow that ever it receiv'd: For there perish'd in this Battel (call'd the Battel of Bannock's Burn) Gilbert de Clare, the last Earl of Gloucester, a great Supporter of the English State, Robert Lord Clifford, the noblest of our Lords, with the Lords Tiptoft, Marshal, Giles de Argenton, Edmund de Maul, and seven hundred Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of Note; and of common Soldiers the Scottish Historians say fifty thousand, but ours ten thousand. Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, Ralph de Mortelmere, (who marry'd Joanna de Acres, Countess Dowager of Gloucester) with many others, were taken Prisoners; the King, and those that were preserved, escap'd by Flight. This Victory put Scotland into Heart and Wealth together; so that they held their own the better for a long time after, and discourag'd the People of this Nation for many Years so much, that tho' Edward desir'd several times to recover this Dishonour, yet his People chose rather to sink in their Losses, than run any farther Hazards; and the poor Borderers, who had the worst of it, were so dejected, that Walsingham says, an hundred of them would flie before three Scots. So weak do the lower parts become, when the Head is impaired.

The English conquer'd at the Battel of Bannock's Burn.

This great Misfortune was not single, but in the next Year many great Calamities follow'd it, viz. such Inundations as brought forth Dearth, and Dearth produced Famine, and Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that had ever been in England before; insomuch, that a Parliament was call'd at London to abate and settle the Prizes of Victuals, which then grew excessive dear. And therefore it was ordain'd, That an Ox fatt'd with Grass should be sold for 16 s. fatt'd with Corn for 20 s. the best Cow for 12 s. a fat Hog of two Years old for 3 s. 4 s. a fat Sheep shorn 14 d. with the Fleece 20 d. a fat Goose 2 d. a fat Capon 2 d. a fat Hen 1 d. four Pigeons 1 d. and whosoever sold for more, shall forfeit their Goods to the King. Here seems then to have been no Calves, Lambs, Gollins, Chickens, or young Pigs to be sold, such Dainties were not yet in use. After the Settlement of these Rates, all kind of Provision grew more scarce; for there happen'd such a Murrain to Cattel, and such a Destruction of all sorts of Fruits by the excessive and unseasonable Rains, that Victuals could not be gotten for the King's House, nor Means for other great Men to maintain their Tables; insomuch, that they were forced to put away their Servants in great Numbers, which produced another Mischief: For these Men being brought up in Laziness and

1317.

\* Bannock-Burn.

b Mount Hermy.

King Edward, tho' in manifest Danger, was so much troubl'd at this Defeat, that he cou'd hardly be persuaded to fly. This Victory is remark'd by our Historians as a Divine Punishment of the Lewdness and Excesses of the English Army, who spent the Night before the Fight in Drunkenness and Intemperance, but a Reward of the Piety of the Scots; who enter'd upon it with solemn Confessions, and receiving the Sacrament: Wherefore God gave them such a miraculous Victory, as so few hands without a special Assistance of God could not have effected.

\* The Battel was fought on the 25th of June, 1314.

\* The Rates of Corn seem not to be sett'd, because there was scarce any to be gotten; for soon after there was an Order put out, that no Corn shou'd be malted or brew'd with, that Barley might be preserv'd for Bread.

Plenty,



A. D. Plenty, and not able to work, fell to Robbery and Spoil, so that nothing was safe from danger. 1317.

Reg. 11. Three Years this Affliction held, and was attended with such a general Sickness and Mortality of the common sort, caused by their 'unwholesome Food, that the Living were scarce enough to bury the Dead. But all these Miseries, which befel the Nation, could not allay the Discontents and Hatred between the King and his Nobles, but they were daily seeking opportunity to increase it. The King employs one *Richard St. Martin*, a deform'd Dwarf, to take the Wife of *Thomas Earl of Lancaster* out of his House at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, claiming her for his Wife, and declaring, He had lain with her before she marry'd the Earl; which the Lady, to her eternal Disgrace, owned. By her this mean Person<sup>b</sup> claim'd the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, of which she was Heir, and rais'd not only a desire of Revenge in the Earl against himself, but the King, who was look'd upon to be the chief Agent in it. This and other of the King's Actions became so observable to his People, that a Knight setting a Woman in a fatalistical Dress upon an Horse, sent a Letter by her into *Westminster-Hall* to the King as he sat at Dinner upon the Feast of *Pentecost*, wherein he was blamed for neglecting such as had done him and his Father good Services, and advancing Men of mean Parts, and no Deserts, &c. At which, tho' the King was angry at first, yet when the Knight owned he did it for his Honour, he was satisfied, and did nothing to him.

The Scots infest the Borders of England, and invade Ireland.

While these Afflictions lay upon the Nation within, the Scots infest them in the North parts, with which the *English*, who undertook to defend them, so far joyn'd, that what they kept the Scots from taking away and spoiling, they took themselves. So that the miserable People were utterly undone by being plunder'd on all sides; and *Bruce*, who was now absolute King of the Scots, sent his Brother with a mighty Army into *Ireland*, where he got a part, and reigned under the Title of a King three Years<sup>d</sup>. Thus all things, both at home and abroad, went ill with *England*. But yet they were a means of producing some good, for they were an occasion of that Reconciliation which was shortly after made between the King and Earl of *Lancaster*, by the mediation of two Cardinals, upon such Conditions as were soon after broken unjustly by the King. For a Knight was taken passing by *Pomfret*, with Letters, sealed with the King's Seal, directed to the King of Scots, about murdering the Earl. The Messenger was executed, and his Head set upon the top of the Castle, and his Letters reserved to witness the intended Plot. This Action, whether true or false, cast a foul Aspersions upon the King, and made many take the Earl's part. After this, upon an Invasion of the Scots, who foraged as far as *Tork*, a Parliament is call'd at *London*, in which the King, by the Intercession of the Cardinals and Clergy of *England*, yields faithfully to observe all the former required Articles. Whereupon an Army is agreed to be rais'd, at the Expence of the People, to go against the Scots; *London* sends two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, *St. Albans* ten, and

A Parliament at London, by which an Army was rais'd against the Scots.

so all other Cities and Boroughs according to their proportion; by which means a considerable Army was levy'd; but being come as far as *Tork*, through Mutiny and Discontents was dissolved, and so turn'd back, and nothing was effected. The next Year after, upon the Surrender of *Berwick* to the Scots, by the Treason of *Peter Spalding*, who had the keeping of it, the King rais'd an Army and besieged it. The Scots, to divert his Forces, entred *England* in other places, and had almost surprized the Queen's Person lying at *Tork*; but the Siege, notwithstanding this, continued, and the King was in great possibility to have gained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaster* and his Followers withdrawn themselves upon a Discontent, hearing the King say, That he would give the keeping of it to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who now was the King's Favourite, and therefore hated by the Earl. Again, The Inhabitants of *Tork*, and the adjoining Counties, having received inestimable Damages by the Scots, gather an Army of ten thousand Men, and encounter them at *Milton* on the *Swale*; but being not well conducted nor experienced, they were beaten with the loss of three thousand Men<sup>e</sup>. This being related to the King, he seeing all things succeed ill with him, concludes a Truce with the Scots for two Years, and so leaves those parts dishonourably.

In the time of this Peace, a great Flame arose from a small Spark, which was kindled by this occasion. A Baron, whose Name was *William Brewes*, having by his Prodigality and Vice wasted his Estate, offer'd to sell a part of it, called *Powes*, to several Men; *Humphry Bobun* Earl of *Hereford*, because the Lands adjoyned to his Estate, begs leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two *Mortimer's*, Uncle and Nephew, great Men in those parts, not knowing of the former Bargain, made a Contract also for it with Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger hearing also that those Lands were to be sold, and lay near his Estate, obtains a more particular Grant of the King, being his Chamberlain, and buys it out of all their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* being thus defeated of his Bargain, complains to the Earl of *Lancaster* (the Refuge of all discontented Men) of this Injustice, and induced him to enter into a Confederacy with divers other Barons there assembled, obliging themselves by an Oath to live and die one with another, in maintaining the Rights of the Kingdom, and procuring the Banishment of the two *Spencers*, the Father and Son, whom they stiled *The Seducers of the King, and Oppressors of the State*, disposing all things at Court as they please, and suffering nothing to be obtain'd but by their means; which the State accounted an intolerable Mischief. Under these pretences they take up Arms, and contrary to all Justice and Right seiz'd upon and destroy'd the Lands and Goods of those Persons, which they pretended to prosecute, and of all those that had any Affinity or Friendship with them, killing their Servants, and disposing of their Castles at their pleasure. Which done, they marched to *St. Albans*, and from thence send

<sup>a</sup> The meaner sort are Dogs and Horses; and, as our Historians add, Children and Men were stoll'n for Food, yet it appears by the Parl. Rolls, 1 Edw. 2. N<sup>o</sup> 35, 36. that the Price of Corn and Victuals was settled. Mr. Daniell places this Act two Years too forward, it pass'd Anno 1315.

<sup>b</sup> He was a Knight; *Thomas Walsingham* calls him Sir *Richard* of *St. Martin*, a Retainer to the Earl of *Surrey*.

<sup>c</sup> The two Chiefs of these Banditti were *Gilbert de Middleton*, and *Walter de Selby*; the former was surpriz'd in his Castle and hang'd, what became of the other we do not read in the Histories of this Reign.

<sup>d</sup> He went over to *Ireland* in the Year 1317. and was kill'd in Battel by the Lord *Birmingham*, on the 14th of October, 1318. His Body was quarter'd, and his Head sent to *England*.

<sup>e</sup> This Battel was fought at *Milton*, near the River *Swale*, on the 21st of September, 1319.

<sup>f</sup> *William de Brewise*, Lord of *Gowerland*, and not *Powis*.

<sup>g</sup> The two *Spencers* were not mention'd in their Engagement, To live and die for Justice, and the Destruction of Traytors; by which the *Spencers*, Father and Son, were meant.



A. D. 1321. to the King, who then resided at London, and was in Consultation with the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Hereford, and Chichester, about settling the Peace. The Bishops seeing this, desired him, as he tender'd the Peace and Happiness of his Realm, to banish from his Court those Traitors, the *Spencers*, who were condemned in many Articles of High Treason by the Commons of the Nation; and withal to grant a Pardon and Indemnity unto the Barons, and all their Adherents, that they should not hereafter suffer for any Crime, past or present. The King answer'd, That *Hugh Spencer* the Father was beyond Seas employ'd in the Business of the Nation, and the Son was guarding the Cinque-ports according to his Duty; and that it was both against Law, and the Custom of the Realm, that they should be banished without being heard; That their Petition was against Justice and Reason, because the *Spencers* were always ready to answer all Complaints made against them according to Law; and if the Lords could prove, that they had offended against any Statute of the Realm, they would submit to a Tryal. Farther swearing, That he would never break his Coronation-Oath, by granting a Pardon to such notorious Offenders, as contemned his Person, disturbed his Government, and violated his Majesty. This Answer so exasperated the Lords, that they presently drew near to London, and lodged in the Suburbs, till they could obtain leave to enter into the City; which being granted, they came to the King, and boldly urge their Demands; which at length the King, by the mediation of the Queen and chief Bishops, condescended to; and by his Edict, published in Westminster-Hall by the Earl of Hereford, are the *Spencers* banished the Kingdom for their Lives. *Hugh* the Father keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son staid privately in England, expecting a Turn of Affairs\*. The Lords (being satisfied, and pardoned) return home, yet not to live so secure as to give over all provision for their own Defence. Yet all their Care could not prevent their Destruction, which soon after follow'd, upon this Occasion: The Queen, who had always been a principal Instrument of Peace and Concord between the King and his Barons, going on a Progress to Canterbury, was disposed to lodge in the Castle of Leeds, which belonged to the Lord *Bedlesmere*, who was lately the King's Steward, but then took part with the Barons; and to that end sent her Marshal before to make things ready for her and her Attendants. But the Keeper plainly told him, That neither the Queen, nor any Body else should be admitted without Letters from his Lord; which Answer he also gave to the Queen her self coming in Person, so that she was forced to take up such Lodging that Night as they could get for her. This Indignity the Queen at her return complain'd of to the King, who took it so ill, that he presently went down with a Body of armed Men out of London, and laying siege to the Castle, took it, hang'd the Keeper *Thomas Culpeper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Bedlesmere* to the Tower, and

seizes upon all his Goods and Treasure. And now A. D. 1322. having this power about him, and embolden'd by Success, and the Instigation of the Queen, he went on to Cicester, where he kept his Christmas, and there provides an Army against the Barons. Some of the Lords seeing the King's Power to increase, left their Associates, and yielded themselves to the King's Mercy; among whom were the two *Mortimer's*, Men of great Estates and Interests, the Lords *Hugh Audley* and *Maurice Barklay*, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their Expectation, were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford seeing this sudden change, withdrew themselves and their Company from Gloucester, towards the North-parts. The King, with whom were the Earls of Arbol and Angus, followed them with his Army, and engaging them at Burton upon Trent, subdued their Forces, and put them all to flight. Whereupon they retired farther North, and at Borough-Brigs were engaged by Sir *Simon Ward* Sheriff of York, and Sir *Andrew Harkley* Constable of Carlisle, who slew the Earl of Hereford in striving to pass the Bridge, and took the Earl of Lancaster, and divers other Lords, Prisoners. The King being at Pomfret, the Captive Lords were carry'd thither to him; and on the third Day after their coming, the King sitting himself in Judgment, with *Edmund* Earl of Kent his Brother, the Earls of Pembroke and Warren, *Hugh Spencer*, lately created Earl of Winchester, and others, gave Sentence of Death against *Thomas* Earl of Lancaster, by drawing, hanging, and beheading as a Traitor, but the two first being pardoned, because he was of the Royal Blood, he was beheaded the same Day without the Town of Pomfret, before his own Castle. And by the like Judgment were condemned and executed at York the Lords *Roger Clifford*, *Warren*, *Lisle*, *William Tutchet*, *Thomas Mauditt*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *William* Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas* Lord *Moubray*, and *Jocelin* Lord *Danyll*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* was taken, drawn, hang'd and quarter'd at London; the Lord *Aldenham* at Windsor, the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Afburnham* at Canterbury, the Lord *Gifford* at Gloucester, principal Men in principal Places, to spread the Terror of their Actions over the Kingdom, all their Estates and Inheritances being confiscated, and new Men put into them. And this was the first Blood of the Nobility, which was shed after this manner since the Conquest; which being so profusely spilt, procured sharp Revenge soon after.

The King, exalted with this Success against his Barons, thought Fortune would now continually attend him; and therefore, as well to compleat his Conquests, as to keep the Minds and Hands of his People busied, he marches from York with a mighty Host into Scotland. He was but badly provided of Victuals for so great a Multitude; which the Scots having notice of, convey'd themselves and all Succours out of the way; and thereby forced him to endure so great Wants, that he was constrained to return with Dishonour, having conquer'd his Armies without Blows. In his Passage

\* *Adam Murymuthe*, in his History of this King, in *Magd. Coll. Lib. in Oxon*, writes, That the younger *Spencer* turn'd Pyrate, and robb'd all the Merchant-Ships he could meet with.

† Sir *Roger Mortimer*, and some others of the imprison'd Lords, escap'd out of Prison, and fled into France.

‡ The King is said to have us'd so much Severity against these Lords, by the Advice and Instigation of the *Spencers*, who thought, by thus removing their Enemies, to remain in the King's Favour without disturbance.

§ This Earl of Lancaster was reckon'd a Saint by the common People, who loving him for his love of his Country, after he was dead went in Pilgrimage to his Tomb; the *Spencers*, enrag'd at the Respect paid to his Memory, got the King to order a Guard to hinder the People's coming to the Monastery of *Pontefraith*, where he was bury'd; yet they did it privately. And in the next Reign a Church was built over his Tomb, and Queen *Isabel* her self wrote to the Pope to justify the Miracles done there, and to desire his Canonization, which indeed he deserv'd much more than any of his Countrymen, who had acquir'd that Honour since the Conquest. For if the Love of his Country may be call'd Piety, he was truly and unalterably a pious Man, and was afterwards Canoniz'd, Anno 1389.

¶ The *Spencers* got the greatest share of them.

homeward,



A. D. 1323. homeward, when he had advanc'd a pretty way into his own Country, the Scots fall upon his Army unawares, took the Earl of Richmond, the King himself hardly escaping; and having spoil'd the Country as far as the Walls of York, return'd loaden with great Spoils. This was the Success of this unfortunate King (who was not born for Triumphs) in his third Expedition into Scotland. After this, the King being at leisure, and in a calmer Humour it seems, began to reflect upon the Execution of the Earl of Lancaster, which he discover'd upon this Occasion. Some of his Courtiers making an earnest Petition to him to pardon one of the Earl's Followers (a Man of low Degree) and pressing him much to it, he bursts out into a Passion, and exclaims against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who can urge him so much to save the Life of a notorious Villain, but would not speak one Word for his near Kinsman the Earl of Lancaster, who, said he, had he lived, might have been serviceable to me and the whole Kingdom; but this Fellow, the longer he lives the more Mischief he'll do, and therefore by the Soul of God, he shall die the Death he hath deserv'd. Sir Andrew Harkley, who took the Earl of Lancaster Prisoner at Borough-Brigs, and for that Service was advanced to the Earldom of Carlisle, enjoy'd his Honour but a little while; for the next Year, either through the Malice of the Spencers, who envy'd his Preferment, or else for joining with the Scots in hopes of a great Match (as was proved upon him) he was degraded of all his Honours, drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd at London for Treason<sup>b</sup>, and is a remarkable Example of the Instability of Honour and Greatness under fickle and ill governing Princes.

1324.

A Parliament call'd.

The Bishop of Hereford accused of Treason, but refuses to answer before Lay Judges.

The important Business of the Nation at this time, and especially the Summons sent by the new King of France, Charles the Fair, who succeeded his Brother Philip the Long, to King Edward to come and do his Homage for his Province of Gascoigne, made it necessary for the Parliament to be called, and accordingly met. In it it was decreed by the common Consent of all the Assembly, That the King should not go in Person into France at that time, but send some Principal Men to excuse or defer his Appearance. In this Parliament the King requir'd a Subsidy both of the Clergy and Laity, for the Redemption of John Brittain Earl of Richmond, who was lately taken Prisoner by the Scots. But it was deny'd and alledg'd, 'That no Contribution ought of right to be made for the Redemption of any Person but King, Queen or Prince, and so nothing was gotten but more Anger kindled. At this Session also the Bishop of Hereford was arrested, and accused of High Treason before the King and his Council, for aiding the King's Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refused to answer (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose Suffragan he was, and who was his only proper Judge next under the Pope, or without the Consent of his Fellow Bishops, who thereupon arose and begged the King's Clemency to him: But finding him implacable, they took the Bishop from the Bar, and deliver'd him to the Custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, till the King should appoint another time for his Answer to

what he was charg'd with. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, went to the Place of Judgment with their Crosses erected, and took him away with them, commanding all Men upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. This audacious Act much displeased the King, who commanded, that Inquiry should be made concerning the Objections brought against the Bishop, *Ex Officio Judicis*; and being found guilty tho' absent, all his Goods and Possessions were seiz'd into the King's hands. This Act of the King's lost him the Clergy, and added much to the discontented Party of the Nation, which was now grown to be almost universal, except the Spencers, and their Followers; who being enrich'd with the Spoils of the Barons, govern'd all things as they pleas'd, selling the King's Favours, and suffering none to see him, but whom they list; and at length becoming so arbitrary in their Disposals, that they presum'd to abridge the Queen<sup>d</sup> of her Maintenance, and lessen her Household Train, which was the fatal Act that proved their undoing.

While these things were done in England, Ho-<sup>The King's</sup>mage was neglected in France; whereupon the King of France proceeded so far, that all King Edward's Territories there were adjudged to be forfeited, and many Places of Importance seiz'd upon by the French. The King sent over his Brother Edmund into Gascoigne to secure his Dominions, and recover what was lately fall'n into the French hands, but to little purpose; the King of France was before him, and had gotten the People over to him, being the stronger side: So that nothing could be done, unless either the King would go over in Person, or send the Queen to her Brother to mediate a Peace, otherwise all was in danger to be lost. As for the King's going in Person, the Spencers held it unsafe both for him and them, if he should leave his Kingdom in so great and general Discontents, as then it was; wherefore the Queen, with a small Train, is sent over to accommodate the Business, which she negotiated so well, that it was agreed, That all Quarrels should end upon Condition, that the King of England would give to his Son Edward the Duchy of Aquitaine, with the Earl-<sup>The Prince made Duke of Aquitaine, and sent to do Homage</sup>dom of Pontbieu, and send him over to do Homage for the same; which, after many Consultations, the King was persuaded to yield unto. The Prince therefore is sent with the Bishop of Exeter, and others, to the Court of the King of France, where he was most welcome to his Mother, who herein got her Aims; and being wholly bent upon Revenge (of which Women are usually most eager) found there, as well as in England, enough to nourish that Humour in her; of whom the chief was Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, a gallant Gentleman, whom she much favour'd, who had lately escap'd into France out of the Tower of London. The Bishop of Exeter perceiving some Plots in hand, by their Consultations, which they manag'd closely without him, withdraws secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed of their Actions. The King therefore sends presently for the Queen and the Prince, and solicits the King of France

<sup>a</sup> Soon after a Peace was concluded by the King and the Scots for thirteen Years, by the Mediation of the Pope.

<sup>b</sup> He was degraded of his Honour before Execution, and is the first Instance of that kind in English History.

<sup>c</sup> Adam de Orleton, a subtle, but factious Man.

<sup>d</sup> This was done by the Spencers Means, because she dislike'd the King's Rigour to the Lords, tho' they pretended it was because the King of France, her Brother, had invaded the King's Territories on that side.

<sup>e</sup> Walter Stapleton, a grave and wise Prelate.



A. D. 1326. Reg. 19. to hasten their return: But when he saw it was neglected and delay'd, he caused them openly to be proclaim'd Enemies to the Kingdom, and banish'd them and all their Adherents, causing all the Ports to be strongly kept, and sending three Admirals, who should wait on several Coats to oppose their landing. On the other side, as the King hath a faithful Subject, so had the Queen officious Persons; who to enflame her against the King, and widen the Breach, inform'd her, That there was a Design in hand to murder her and the Prince: Whereupon she having before found her Brother backward to countenance and assist her against her Husband, mistrusted, that such a Design would be entertain'd by the French Courtiers easily, through the Advantage of the *Spencers* Gold, and so withdrew to the Earl of *Henault*, being then a rich and potent Prince, and Earl of *Holland*, to whose Daughter *Philippa* she contracted her Son the Prince, and gets both sufficient Aid and Money of him to transport her safely into England. Arriving at *Harwich*, with the Prince, Earl of *Kent*, the King's Brother (whom she brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *John* the Earl of *Henault's* Brother, with 2500 *Henowayes* and *Flemings*: She was received with great Joy, and a general Concourse of all the discontented Nobility, and others of the Nation, and especially the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, who having lost the King's Favour, fought by this means to recover their Loss by assisting the Queen. The King having notice of the sudden and safe Arrival of the Queen, demands assistance of the City of *London*; who returns answer, 'That they would with all Duty honour the King, Queen, and Prince; but would shut their Gates against all Foreigners and Traitors to the Realm, and with all their power withstand them'. The King and his Council, not daring to rely upon such an Answer, resolved to leave them; and having first put out a Proclamation, that none upon pain of Death should assist the Queen, but destroy all her Adherents, only her own Person, the Prince, and his Brother the Earl of *Kent*, excepted; and promising, That whosoever should bring the Head of *Roger Mortimer* should have a thousand Pound. And committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *John Weston*, with the preservation of his younger Son *John* of *Eltham*, and his Neice the Countess of *Glocester* (who was first the Wife of *Peirce Gavestone*, and now of *Hugh Spencer* the younger, a Lady always unfortunate by the overgreat Favour of her Husband) departed towards the West, hoping to find as great assistance now as he had done before against the Barons; but he found the Case alter'd, and no Man regarded him, nor would be hired to fight for him. The Queen having an account of the King's Course and Design, marches after him (growing every Day stronger as she went on) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Hereford* preach'd before her, and the whole Assembly and University, taking for his Text, (2 Kings 4. 19.) *My Head aketh, my Head aketh*; from which he took occasion to deliver the Causes of the Queen's proceedings against her Husband, and concluded at last, most unlike a good Divine, *That an aking and sick Head of a Kingdom is of necessity to be taken off, and not otherwise to be cured*. A most execrable Doctrine, as

repugnant to that sacred Word, which in all corrupted Times is produced by wicked Temporalists, to abuse Men's Credulities, and justify the Impieties of ambitious and ill Men. And to countenance the Queen's proceedings the more, it was noised abroad, That two Cardinals were seen in her Camp, sent by the Pope to excommunicate all such as took up Arms against her, who fought nothing by appearing in Arms, but to deliver the King and Kingdom from the *Spencers*, who were the Misleaders of the King, and Destroyers of the Kingdom, and their Adherents, the Lord Chancellors and others; all other of the King's Subjects to be safe. And that she might satisfy all Persons, she put out a Proclamation, 'That nothing should be taken from any Subject without paying ready Money, and a severe Penalty imposed upon any one that should dare to do the contrary; as, for the value of Three-pence to lose a Finger; of Six-pence, an Hand; of a Shilling, the Head; and whosoever brought to the Queen the younger *Spencer's* Head should have two thousand Pound. Thus was a bad Cause cover'd with a shew of Justice, and the unnatural Opposition of a Wife against an Husband, and a Son against his Father, made plausible and seemingly just by Power; which, tho' in factious Times it passed well enough, hath left an indelible Mark of Ignominy and Disgrace upon her Memory for ever.

The miserable King having his Reputation (which is the main support of Majesty) lamentably torn in pieces by his Pursuers, found few or no Hands to assist him; so that after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the Father into the Castle of *Bristol*, with such Forces as he was able to provide for the defence of it, he leaves the Nation to his Trust, and commits himself to the Sea, with a design either to conceal himself awhile in the Isle of *Lundy*, or pass over into *Ireland*; but being opposed by contrary Winds, and deserted by those few Attendants he had with him, viz. Sir *Thomas Blunt*, his Steward, and others, he was driven a-shoar in *Wales* in *Glamorganshire*, where, tho' he found not Protection, he met with Love, and was hidden in the Abby of *Nerb*. The Queen in the mean time goes with her Army from *Oxford* to *Glocester*, where the Lords *Peirce* and *Wake* met her with Aids from the North; and from thence she marched to *Bristol*, assaults and wins the Castle, and puts to Death the Defender, *Hugh Spencer*, without Form or Tryal of Law, causing him to be drawn and hang'd on the common Gallows in his Coat-Armour, cut up before he was dead, headed and quarter'd. This done, she passes to *Hereford*, and the King being not to be found, a Proclamation was put out, 'That if he would come and govern the Nation, as he ought to do, he should again be accepted as King with a general Consent. But the King, either not daring to trust himself to them, or not having sufficient Information, still concealed himself; and thereupon they took the advantage to dispose of the Government, and the Prince, who was now under their Care and Management, was made Guardian of the Kingdom, hath Fealty sworn to him, and a new Chancellor and Treasurer are appointed. But the King was too great to be concealed long; and being discover'd, was by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, Brother to the late *Thomas*, *William* Lord *Zouch*, and *Ries ap Howell*, taken

The Queen invades England, and is assisted by Nobles and Bishops.

The King deserted by his Subjects.

A. D. 1326. Reg. 19.

The Queen's Afflictions and Pretences in raising Arms.

The King aspersed and abandoned.

Hugh Spencer put to Death.

The King imprisoned by certain Barons.

\* She landed at *Orewel*, near *Harwich*, on the 22d of September 1326.  
 \* *Henry Burwash*, who for aiding the Rebellious Lords, was a little before depriv'd of his Temporalities.  
 \* 'Twas not this part of their Answer that the King disliked, but that which follows, *That they were not willing to march out of their City to fight, unless according to the Liberties granted them, they could return the same Day before Sun-set*.  
 \* Sir *Roger Baldocke*. \* She also gave leave to all Persons, that were banish'd in the late Dissentions, to return to their Estates and Friends; whereby she engag'd many Malecontents firmly to her Party.



A. D. 1326. and convey'd to the Castle of *Kenelworth*. The younger *Spencer*, with *Baldocke* the Chancellor, Reg. 19. and *Simon Reading*, who were apprehended with him, were sent to the Queen to *Hereford*. *Spencer*, who was at this time Earl of *Glocester*, is drawn and hang'd on a Gallows fifty Foot high, in his Coat-Armour, on which it was written, *Quid gloriaris in Militia*, Pl. 52. *Simon Reading* was hang'd ten Foot lower than he. But *Baldocke*, because he was a Priest, had the Favour to be pined to Death in *Newgate*<sup>a</sup>. And here likewise a little before was the Earl of *Arundell*, with two Barons, *John Dymyll* and *Thomas Micheldene*<sup>c</sup> executed as Traitors<sup>d</sup>, by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the King's Party. And that the Mob may not fail to act its part in every Rebellion, the Commons of *London* rise, and force their Mayor, who held his Loyalty, to joyn with them to let out all Prisoners, possess themselves of the Tower, put to Death the Constable of it Sir *John Weston*, and murder'd the Bishop of *Exeter*, whom they hated, because when he was the King's Treasurer he caused the Justices Itinerant to sit in *London*, who laid heavy Fines upon them. And thus all things were in Confusion.

1327. After a Month's stay at *Hereford*, the Queen return'd with the Prince, and kept her Christmas at *Wallingford*, and her Candlemas at *London*, where the Parliament being assembled, agreed to depose the King as unfit to govern, objecting many Articles against him, and to elect his eldest Son *Edward*, which they did in the great Hall at *Westminster*, with the universal Consent of the People there present; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made a Sermon upon this Text, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*<sup>e</sup>, exhorting the People to pray to the King of Kings for him that they had chosen. The Queen seeing what was done, began now seriously to reflect upon her self, and her own Actions, which were the cause of it; and either out of remorse of Conscience, or trouble for the loss of her own Dignity, shewed great discontent at this Election, insomuch that her Son to comfort her was forced to swear, *That he would not accept of the Crown without the consent of his Father*. This Resolution of the Prince produced a common Decree in Parliament, 'That three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, three Knights of every Shire, with a certain number of Burgeses of every City and Borough, and especially of the Cinque-ports, should be sent to the King at *Kenelworth*, to declare unto him the Election of his Son, and to require of him the Renunciation of his Crown and Royal Dig-

nity; whereunto, if he refused to consent, the State were resolved to proceed as they thought fit, and renouncing his Children, choose whom they pleased. The King being first privately acquainted with the Message, which was one of the most ungrateful that could be sent to any Prince, was after by two, whom he chiefly hated, the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, brought before the Assembly. When they had deliver'd their Message<sup>h</sup> he said to them (as soon as his Passion would give him leave) 'He confessed that he had been misguided (the common Excuse of a poor Spirit) and done many things, of which he now repented; and which, if he were to govern again, he would amend; and was very sorry to have so much offended the State, as they utterly should reject him: But yet thanked them, that they were so favourable to him as to choose his eldest Son for King. Having said this, they proceeded to the Ceremony of his Resignation, which consisted chiefly in the surrendering his Crown, and other Ensigns of Majesty, to the Use of his Son. The Form was perfectly new, because it was the first that ever was known in *England*, and therefore could have no Precedent. But *William Trussell*, a Judge, put it into the Stile of the Law, to render it more Authentical, and pronounced the same in this manner: 'I *William Trussell*, in the Name of the Men of the Land of *England*, and of all the Parliament, Procurator, resign to thee *Edward* the Homage that was made to thee some time since; and from this time forward now following, I desie thee, and prive thee of all thy Royal Power; and I shall never be tendant on thee, as King, from this time. Thus was the last Act, and first Example of a deposed King, no less dishonourable to the Nation, than unto him. He was a Prince more weak than Evil. His Faults in Government were many, but not so many as those of his People to him, in dealing so roughly and uncivilly with him. He is reported by some to have been Learned (which perhaps might make him the softer) and written Verses when he was in Prison. He is said to have been the Founder of *Oriel-College* and *S. Mary-Hall* in *Oxford*.

He had by his Wife *Isabel* two Sons; *Edward*, His Issue, born at *Windsor*, who succeeded; and *John*, surnam'd of *Eltham*, who was created Earl of *Cornwall*, 1315. and dy'd in the Flower of his Age in *Scotland*: And two Daughters, *Joanna* marry'd to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Eleanor* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

## REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Edward II.

SOME time before Christmas, in the 9th Year of his Reign, a Blazing-Star or Comet appear'd in the North, was seen for a Month together, and was the Forerunner of a Famine and a Mortality. The Dearth was occasion'd by prodigious Rains in the Summer, which hinder'd the People's getting in their Corn; and what was got in yielded very little. Wheat was sold for forty Shillings a Quarter, as much as eight Pound now; and a Murrain destroy'd the Cattel.

<sup>a</sup> He was Bishop of *Norwich*.

<sup>b</sup> *Thomas* of *Walsingham* in his Chronicle relates, That *Baldocke* the King's Chancellor was committed first to the Bishop of *London*'s Prison, from whence he was pull'd out by the common People of *London* to be carry'd to *Newgate*; but they beat him so cruelly by the way, that he dy'd of his Bruises in great Torment.

<sup>c</sup> *Thomas Micheldene*.

<sup>d</sup> They were condemn'd by Judge *Trussell*.

<sup>e</sup> *Walter Reynolds*, who, tho' prefer'd by the King, yet was carry'd down with the Current.

<sup>f</sup> This Sermon was preach'd at his Coronation. *T. Walsingham*.

<sup>g</sup> *John de Stratford* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam de Orleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Henry Burwash*: The Bishop of *Winchester* favour'd the King's Right; but the other two were his bitter Enemies, yet they were sent first to the King, partly to persuade, and partly to terrifie him. Sir *Thomas de la More* in his History writes, That the Bishop of *Winchester* and the Bishop of *Lincoln* were the two Bishops that were sent before to the King, to bring him to it.

<sup>h</sup> He fell into a Swoon, and had fall'n to the Ground, had he not been supported by the Earl of *Lancaster*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*.



The next Year the Famine continuing, the Poor were forced to eat Horse-flesh, Dogs and Cats; and there was not sufficient, even of that vile Food, to keep them alive. Wheat was sold for near 3*l.* a Quarter, and the Mortality rag'd as violently as in the Year preceding. *Holinshed.*

In his 12th Year on the 14th of November, the greatest Earthquake happen'd that had been known in England, to the unspeakable Terrour of Men, Women and Children.

In his 20th Year the Bishop of Exeter, *Walter de Stapleton*, Founder of Exeter College and Hart Hall in Oxford, was kill'd in an Insurrection of the People at London. He was a Minister of State in Edward II's Reign, and sided with the Courtiers.

The Barons of greatest Fame in his Reign were

*Thomas Plantagenet* Earl of Lancaster, *Humphry de Bobun*, Earl of Hereford and Essex, the Lords *Audley*, *Mowbray*, *Clifford* and *Teis*, who all dy'd in defence of the Liberties of the People; *Roger Mortimer*, and *Edmund* Earl of Kent, the King's Uncle, great Captains.

In his Time flourish'd several Men of Letters, as

*John Duns*, surnam'd *Scotus*, the Schoolman, *Nicholas de Lyra* an English Convert Jew, who wrote several Treatises against the Rabbins; *William Ockham*, who wrote against *John Duns* and against the Pope, in behalf of the Emperor *Lewis* of Bavaria; *Robert Perscrutator* a Yorkshire Man, suppos'd to be a Magician. *Robert Bafton* a Carmelite Fryar of Scarborough, whom King Edward took with him into Scotland to write his History of that War, but the Success of it fav'd Bafton the Trouble; *Ralph Baldock* Bishop of

London, *Sir Thomas de la More*, and *Thomas Haselwood*, a Canon of Leeds in Kent, who wrote *Chronicon Compendiarium*, Historians. *Robert Walsingham* a Carmelite Fryar, *John Wilton* an Augustine Fryar, *Walter Winterborne*, *Ralph Locksly*, *Nic. Stanford*, *William Whitby*, *Thomas Joice*, *Walter Joice*, *William Gainsborough*, *John Horringer* of Suffolk, *Robert Blitton* a Carmelite Fryar of Lincolnshire, *John of Bromham* a Carmelite Fryar, *Dr. Thomas Chabham* a Canon of Salisbury, *Robert* of Plympton a regular Canon in Devonshire, *Thomas Castleford* a Monk of Pomfret, *William Mansfield*, *John Canon*, *Robert Grime*, *William Askettle* of Beverly, *Jeffrey* of Cornwall, *John Gattfden*, *Theobald Anglicus*, *Steph. Eiton*, *John Goldston*, *John Winchelsey*, *Ralph Aston* a notable Divine, *John Dumbleton* a Logician, *Thomas Langford* of Malden the same, *Osbert Pickenham* a Carmelite Fryar of Linne in Norfolk, *Richard Wallingford*, *Robert Carew*, *Richard Belgrave* a Carmelite Fryar, and Fryar *Brinkly*.

# THE LIFE and REIGN OF EDWARD III.

Edward the third King of England, by his Father's Resignation crowned.

EDWARD III. being thus made King by the Resignation of his Father *Edward II.* the late King, began his Reign Jan. 20. 1327. being about fourteen Years of Age, and immediately sends out his Proclamations for the Preservation of the Peace into all Counties, in this Form; 'Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, To N. N. our Sheriff of S. greeting. Whereas the Lord Edward, the late King of England, our Father, by the Common Council and Assent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other chief Men, with the whole Commonalty of this Realm, did voluntarily amove himself from the Government thereof, willing and granting that we his Eldest Son and Heir should assume the Government of the same, &c. A Preamble intended to palliate the Wrong done to his Father, but indeed making it more apparent. Five days after he was crown'd at West-

minster, by *Walter* Archbishop of Canterbury; but the Queen seem'd much troubled and grieved at it, till she was pacified soon after by a great Enlargement of her Joynture, the King settling upon her three parts of his Revenue. The Management of the Kingdom was the next thing to be consider'd, which was put into the hands of twelve of the most able, and grave Statesmen during the King's Minority, till he should be of Age to govern it himself; which were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Hereford, Winchester, and Worcester, *Thomas Brotherton* Earl Marshal, *Edmund* Earl of Kent, *John* Earl Warren, *Thomas* Lord Wake, *Henry* Lord Peirce, *Oliver* Lord Ingham, and *John* Lord Rosse. But the Queen and *Mortimer* usurped their Charge, and left them nothing but a Name of Governours. And the first thing that was acted by this new King by their Advice, was an Expedition into

\* The Reader will all along perceive that this Author is no Friend to the Barons, and their Cause.

\* Henry Earl of Lancaster was deputed to have the Care of his Person.



A. D. 1327. *Scotland*, undertaken not only to recover the Honour of the Nation, but to keep Mens Minds busy at present, and uphold the Change; and hither not only a considerable Body of *English* are sent, but all the Strangers which were brought over with the Queen under the Conduct of the Lord *John Beaumont*, the Earl of *Henault's* Brother, and at *York* the whole Army met, where the *English* (being not all of a Party) quarrel with the foreign Aids, and so great a Contest rose between them, that some Blood was spilt, and it was very hardly appeased. At *Stanbope Park* the *English* came to an Engagement with the *Scots*, and tho' the *English* were treble the number, and might easily have conquer'd them; yet through the Treason of some great Men (as it was reported) they all escap'd, and nothing remarkable was done, and so the young King, who was born for Victories, was deprived of the Honour of this his first Action; which being undertaken by others Advice, was not so dishonourable unto him as it was to others. However, upon his return, all the *Henoways* and *Stipendiary Soldiers* were sent home.

The deposed King kept Prisoner under severe Keepers.

During this Expedition, the deposed King remained a Prisoner at *Kenelworth*, under an Allowance of an hundred Marks a Month for his Expences, and depriv'd of all the Comforts the World should yield him. His Wife, whom he loved greatly (tho' now the Author of all his Misery) sends him fine Cloaths, and kind Letters, but deny'd him her Presence (tho' it was often desir'd by the King by Letters) upon a Pretence, that she was not allow'd to come to him by the State. But after the King's return, he was removed, because he was not thought safe enough, nor look'd so strictly to as he ought, being in Custody of his Uncle<sup>a</sup> the Earl of *Lancaster*, and<sup>b</sup> was committed to more faithful Keepers, two Men of the most rough Natures that could be found, the Lord *Matrevers*<sup>c</sup> and Sir *Thomas Gourney* the Elder; who immediately remov'd him from thence, and put him into the Castle of *Barkley* in *Glocestershire*, where he stay'd not long, but he was removed to *Corfe Castle*, and from thence from one place to another to disappoint his Friends; who, they fear'd, were laying of Plots to<sup>d</sup> restore him, till at last they brought him in a Disguise, having thorn his Head with cold Water<sup>e</sup> in the open Fields, while he sat upon a Mole-hill, to *Barkley Castle* again; where shortly after, *Gourney* and

The deposed King murder'd.

*Matrevers* caused him to be murder'd in a most barbarous manner, by thrusting up an hot Iron into his Bowels through an hollow Instrument put up into his Fundament, by which means no outward Sign appear'd to discover his Death; for his Body being afterwards laid forth to be viewed by many substantial Citizens of *Glocester*<sup>f</sup> (who were summon'd for that purpose) they could find

no sign either of Wound or Poison; so that A. D. they concluded that he dy'd of Grief, as was reported. Thus dy'd *Edward II.* within eight Months after he was deposed, and was buried in the Abby Church of the Benedictines at *Glocester*. The Actors of this cruel Deed, *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, tho' they had a Commission from the Queen to do as they did; yet she being asham'd to own it, they dare not undergo the Tryal, but presently fled their Country. *Gourney* three Years after was taken at *Marseilles*, but was murder'd in his Passage into *England*, that he might not discover who set him a-work, and *Matrevers* lurk'd a long time in *Germany*. But this Deed cost more Trouble and Blood afterwards; for the Judgments of God fell heavily, not only upon the Contrivers of this Wickedness, but upon the whole Kingdom in general, and the King's Posterity and Nobilities and Children in particular; as the many bloody Scaffolds, infinite Slaughters, and civil Wars of the Nation in after Ages, will plainly prove, tho' for the present the Authors of it, the Queen and *Mortimer* lately created Earl of *March*, prosper'd and govern'd all to the no small Dissatisfaction of the Nation, which brought forth new Factions, according to the Nature of those turbulent Times.

God's Judgments upon the Murderers and Contrivers of his Death.

The King's Marriage with *Philippa* of *Henault* was now solemniz'd; and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, at which a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirm'd by a Match between *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, Son of *Robert Bruce*, the present King, and *Joanna* Sister to the King of *England*; which Match, by reason of the tender Age of the Prince, could promise but little good to the Nation. Besides, by the secret Contrivance of the Queen Mother, *Roger Mortimer*<sup>g</sup>, lately made Earl of *March*, and Sir *James Douglass*,<sup>h</sup> The King surrenders by his Charter his Title and Sovereignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, restores many Deeds and other Instruments of their former Homage and Fealty, with the famous Evidence call'd the *Ragman Roll*, and many ancient Jewels and Monuments; among which, was one of great Value, call'd the *Black Cross* of *Scotland*, &c. and besides, all *Englishmen* were not permitted to hold any Lands in *Scotland*, unless they would dwell there. In Consideration of which Grants, King *Bruce* was to pay the King thirty thousand Marks. Shortly after a Parliament was held at *Winchester*, where *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, Brother to the late deposed King, is accus'd and condemn'd by his own Confession, for endeavouring to restore his Brother, and conferring with divers great Men concerning the same, without any Matter of Fact<sup>i</sup>. This miserable Earl stood on the Scaffold from one till five a Clock in the Afternoon, and no Man would execute him; but at length, a silly Wretch of the King,

Edmund Earl of Kent beheaded for endeavouring to restore his Brother the deposed King.

<sup>a</sup> He was not his Uncle, but his Cousin being Brother of *Thomas* and Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, who was his Uncle.

<sup>b</sup> By the Queen and *Mortimer's* Order, but sign'd with the King's hand.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *John Matrevers*.

<sup>d</sup> King *Edward* had many Friends, who wish'd at least, if they did not endeavour, to restore him to his Crown. The whole Order of the Friars-Precursors zealously maintain'd his Right, and are said to have contriv'd his Restoration; which to avoid, the Queen and *Mortimer* are reported to have sent private Orders to his barbarous Keepers to dispatch him: But tho' they spared no other ill Usage, yet they were a little startled at this, and sent to the Bishop of *Hereford*, a fir Casuist, who was, it's thought, the Adviser of it, to know whether it were lawful. The Bishop willing to further it, but not to seem so, sent them this Answer. To kill King *Edward* you need not to fear it is good; which Answer, by putting a Comma in different Places, is a Plea for himself, and Encouragement to them, but the latter is most obvious, and no doubt he design'd it.

<sup>e</sup> Taken out of a Ditch.

<sup>f</sup> The Prior of *Bristol* and Abbot of *Glocester* were summon'd to view the Body.

<sup>g</sup> He was made Earl of *March* in the Parliament held at *Salisbury* in August 1328. and that at *Northampton*, where the shameful Peace was concluded with the *Scots*, was holden in the *March* before.

<sup>h</sup> The *Ragman-Roll* was a Security and Memorial of the Fealty and Homage, which the *Scots* ought to pay to the Kings of *England*.

<sup>i</sup> *Henry de Knighton* says twenty thousand, and *Mortimer* had the Money.

<sup>k</sup> This Earl's Son *Edmund* petition'd the King in the next Parliament, That the Judgment against his Father might be revers'd, for that his Father had been falsly accus'd by *Roger Mortimer*, Sir *John Matrevers*, and their Accomplishers, and made to believe that King *Edward* was alive after he was murder'd. It is said, that accordingly the Earl caus'd a Plea for his Delivery out of *Corfe Castle*, where the Traytors who had deceiv'd him pretended he was still confin'd.



A. D. 1328. Marhalsea cut off his Head\*. But these Courses in a new Alteration could not last long without producing another. Wherefore a Parliament being call'd at Nottingham, the Queen and Mortimer, who had long bore the blame of every thing done amiss in the Government, were stripped of all their Power and Glory; the Queen hath her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to a Pension of a thousand Pound a Year. Mortimer is accused 'to have procured the late King's Death, 'to have been a means of the Scots escape at Stanhope-Park, for which he had a Bribe of twenty thousand Pound; to have procured the late Marriage and Peace with Scotland, which was so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; to have consumed the King's Treasure, besides all that was taken from the Spencers; to have been too familiar with the Queen, &c. And for these heinous Offences he is condemned of High-Treason, sent up to London, drawn and hang'd at the common Gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburn; there his Body remained two Days a Spectacle of Disgrace to all Beholders. And thus was the Cruelty and Ambition of Mortimer justly rewarded, and an Example of Terror given to the other Ministers about the King, who being now come to Age, wanted nothing but faithful Ministers to direct him in such Courses as might be most honourable for himself and the Kingdom, being of a Spirit able and bold enough to go thro' with any brave Actions, of which he had variety that offer'd themselves.

Mortimer hang'd at Tyburn.

And first a new King of France lately crown'd upon the Death of Charles the Fair, lately deceased without Issue-male, requires his Homage for the Duchy of Guien, and other Lands, held of the Crown of France, according to the Custom; to which, tho' King Edward was supposed to have the better Right, yet because Philip de Valois was now in Possession of the same, and himself young, and his own Kingdom factious, turbulent and unsettled, he was not able to debate his Title otherwise than by Law (which seldom gets a Crown) and therefore willing to yield to Necessity, he went over in person into France to perform this Ceremony, which did much prejudice his Claim afterwards, and took from the Justice of his Cause; because by this Act he seem'd to acknowledge the Right of his Competitor. The Case of these Princes stood thus: Philip the Fair, the Father of Isabel King Edward's Mother, had three Sons; Lewis, Philip, and Charles, who were all successively Kings of France, and dy'd without Male-issue; for tho' Lewis the eldest Son had a Daughter, whom Endes Earl of Bologne would have brought to the Crown, yet because it was judged to be contrary to the Salick Law for a Woman to succeed, Philip the next Brother was received for King, who also leaving only four Daughters, Charles succeeded by the same Law without any opposition. Charles dying, left his Wife new with Child, and so the Kingdom to be under a Regency till it could be known whether it were a Son. Philip de Valois, the first Prince of the Blood, Son of Charles de Valois, the Brother of Philip the Fair, claimed the Regency as belonging to him; but Edward King of England put in for it as his Right, being a nearer Relation to the deceased Kings; but the Regency was entrusted to Philip, because he descended from a Brother more capable of the Crown than a Daughter, of which Edward was descended.

King Edward's Title to the Crown of France.

And thus things remained till the Queen was deliver'd, which happen'd to be a Daughter; and Philip was received and crowned King of France by the Salick Law, maintain'd to be inviolable. Robert de Artois, a Peer of great Power, was a principal means of his Preferment, and the Exclusion of Edward. Shortly after this Settlement of the French Crown, Edward was summon'd to pay his Homage, and accordingly met King Philip at Amiens, where two Points were chiefly debated by the Council of both Kings. 1. Concerning the Quality of the Homage pretended to be due by the Council of King Philip, but deny'd by King Edward's. 2. About the Lands in Guien, which the last King Charles had detained from Edward, of which his Council required Restitution, as belonging to his Duchy. The Resolution of this last Point was easie, because of the Treaty made between the said King Charles and Edward the Second the last of May, 1325. wherein their Rights were secured by mutual Protestations, and Homage received, and paid to the said King Charles by the said Edward before he was King; which Protestations were repeated, and agreed to be followed in this, with a Covenant, That if King Edward would pursue his Right in Parliament, he should have Justice done him for the things in Controversie. But as for the Point concerning the Quality of his Homage, it was agreed in general, That it should be done and received according to the usual manner of the former Kings; and a sufficient time was granted to King Edward, to enquire of it, and make Declaration of it; which being done, King Edward upon the 6th of June, 1329. in a Crimson Velvet Gown, embroider'd with Leopards, with his Crown on his Head, his Sword by his Side, and Golden Spurs on his Heels, presents himself in the body of the Cathedral Church at Amiens before King Philip, sitting in a Chair of State in a Velvet Gown of Violet-Colour embroider'd with Flower-de-luces of Gold, his Crown on his Head, and his Scepter in his Hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. Then the Viscount Melun Chamberlain of France first orders King Edward to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King Philip; and then the Viscount putting both his Hands together between the Hands of the King of France, pronounced the Words of the Homage, which were these: 'You shall become Liegeman to the King my Master here present, as Duke of Guien and Peer of France, and you promise to bear Faith and Loyalty to him. Say *Tes*; and King Edward said *Tes*, and kissed the King of France, as Lord of the Fee, on the Mouth. The like Homage he did for the Earldom of Ponthieu. This Act of Submission, tho' condescended to by the King at that Juncture, yet he took himself wronged by Philip in exacting it so punctually of him, and was thereby so highly provoked and angred, that he resolv'd upon a Revenge, which he so severely performed afterward, as not only Philip himself, but all Christendom wished the Ceremony had been spared.

The Ceremony of paying Homage.

At King Edward's return home, he met with a Diversion from his Designs upon France by an occasion of the Alteration of Affairs in Scotland. The late Peace concluded with them was held so dishonourable by the King, that it was no ways convenient to keep it: However, that he

\* He was beheaded at Winchester on the 19th of March, 1329.

She was commonly reported to have been with Child by him.

Mortimer was hang'd on the 29th of November 1330. after King Edward had been in France to do Homage.

The French King invited the Kings of Bohemia and Navarre to be present at this Solemnity.

might



A. D. 1331. might not seem to break it<sup>a</sup> he took the opportunity of their Differences to set it aside after Reg. 5. this manner: The Minority of the present King (which is the misery of Kingdoms) being attended with the Emulations and Factions of the great Men, encouraged *Edward Baliol*, Son of *John Baliol*, (some time King of *Scotland*) thirty two Years after his Father's Deposition, to attempt the Recovery of that Crown; and accordingly by the Solicitation of his Friends he comes out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, into *England*, where he was permitted underhand to get Aid; which all those *Scots* and *English*, which were of a Faction contrary to *Bruce* readily offer'd him, and with them he suddenly assaults the Governours of the Kingdom in the Nonage of the young King *David* (who was at that time with the King of *France*) and overcame them in a Battel, wherein many Noblemen, and thousands of the Common-people were slain, and thereupon was immediately crown'd King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But his Party not being so strong as to maintain what he had gotten, or defend him in the Possession of it against those that oppos'd him, he was forced, notwithstanding his first Victory, to return again into *England* to get more assistance of King *Edward*, who now shews himself in the Quarrel, joyns with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-law King *David*, and goes in Person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three Months Siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was again taken, and the whole Army of *Scots*, which came to relieve it at *Hallidown-Hill*, utterly defeated and routed, with the slaughter of seven Earls, nine hundred Knights and Baronets, four hundred Squires, and about thirty two thousand common Soldiers, as our Writers report, but theirs say but fourteen thousand<sup>b</sup>; and thus was *Baliol* brought through a torrent of Blood to the Crown of *Scotland* again. In the Siege of *Berwick* one memorable Action of the Lord *Seton* is not to be pass'd over, related by the *Scotch* Writers, which is this: When the Lord *Seton* saw that the Relief he expected failed, and the Assaults of the Enemies were very violent, so that he could not hold out, he conditioned with King *Edward*, That if he had not Relief by such a time<sup>c</sup> he would surrender the Town to him, and for the assurance of this Promise delivers him two of his Sons. King *Edward* soon after having notice of the approach of the *Scotch* Army, that it was greater, and came with more speed than was expected, and would be there before the Day, summons the Lord *Seton* to render the Town presently, otherwise he would execute his two Sons before his Face; and withal a Gallows is prepared within sight of the Town, and the young Gentlemen brought forth and put under the Executioner's Hands. The Lord seeing this, was doubtful what to do, being distracted between Love and Duty, till his Wife, the

K. Edward  
joyns with  
Baliol the  
new King  
of Scots.

A Brave  
Action of  
the Lord  
Seton, Go-  
vernour of  
Berwick.

Mother of those Sons, and a Lady of masculine Courage, comes to him and exhorts him 'to remember his Allegiance sworn to the King, the Reg. 5. Love he owes to his Country, and the Dignity of his noble Family; that they had other Children left, if these were destroy'd, and themselves not so old, but that they might have more; That if they should be preserved from Death now, they might perish otherwise soon upon a worse occasion; That it would be an eternal Blemish upon his Name to yield up a Place committed to his Charge, and yet it is uncertain whether he could preserve his Children's Lives by it; for how could he trust that King who had broken his Promise already, and therefore besought him not to prefer an uncertain and momentary Advantage before a certain and perpetual Ignominy. And so having recover'd his Resolution to hold it out, she withdrew him from the Walls of the Town, that he might not see the Sufferings of his innocent Children.

The next Year after this Battel at *Hallidown-Hill* *Edmund Baliol* King of *Scots* did Homage to the King of *England*<sup>1332.</sup>, as his superiour Lord, at *New-Castle*, and took his Oath of Fealty, binding himself and his Heirs to hold that Kingdom of him and his Successors for ever, with the Inheritance of five Countries next adjoining to the Borders. So large a part of his Kingdom was he willing to part with, rather than be in danger of losing the whole; which yet was so far from securing his peaceable Enjoyment of it, that it rather embroiled the whole, by reason of the Discontent which most of the Nobility of *Scotland* took at this Act of Alienation of their Country; so that it created both Princes much Trouble, and cost a great Expence of Treasure to keep what they had gotten. The King of *England* had a fifteenth of their Laity, a twelfth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament held at *London*, granted to him for these Wars; and three Years together he went in Person with his Army into those parts, and never returned without so great Destruction and Bloodshed, that it is admirable how such a small Country could find so many Men to maintain their Quarrel, and fight for such barren Deserts. But *Edward* prosecuted the Business of *Scotland*, not meerly to be Master of it, but so to settle it as that it might not be an hindrance to his greater Designs upon *France*, which he chiefly intended, and was the sooner put upon by the Instigation of *Robert de Artoys*, who being driven out of the Kingdom by King *Philip* his Brother-in-law, came over into *England*, and was here entertain'd with great Honour. This *Robert* was a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, being descended of *Robert* the Son of *Lewis VIII.* Brother of *S. Lewis*. He had long Contention with *Maud* his Aunt, Countess of *Burgogne*, about the Earldom of *Artois*, and

King Baliol  
does homage  
for Scotland  
to Edward.

A Parlia-  
ment at  
London.

Robert de  
Artoys in-  
fligates  
K. Edward  
against the  
French  
King.

<sup>a</sup> King *Edward* also requir'd Homage of the young King *David*, but was refus'd; which gave him a just ground for this Expedition, when fit occasion offer'd, as it did in *Baliol's* Cause.

<sup>b</sup> This Battel, according to *Henry de Knighton*, was fought on the 19th of July, 1333. and all the *Scotch* Historians place it under the same Year.

<sup>c</sup> This Story is taken out of *Hector Boethius*, a *Scotch* Historian, but a Writer of no very good Credit, and seems design'd not so much to honour the Name of the Lord *Seton*, as to blacken the Memory of this great Prince *Edward III.* for which Reasons 'tis rejected as a Calumny against the King by our *English* Writers of Judgment.

<sup>d</sup> By two Manuscripts the Chronicle of *Lanercost* in the *Cotton* Library, and *Scala Chronicon* a French Manuscript in *Bennet- College* Library in *Cambridge*, it appears, that after the fifteen Days Truce made with *Alexander Seton* was expir'd, the King summon'd the Town; *Seton* answer'd, He did not yet doubt of Relief, and did not think himself oblig'd to surrender it. The King reply'd, That no Relief being come, he expelled the performance of the Treaty. The Governour prevaricating with him, he order'd one of his Sons, and not both to be hang'd (by the Advice of his Council) and upon this the Garrison and Townsmen came to new terms, to have the Truce prolong'd for eight Days; in which time, if they were not reliev'd, they would yield up the Town. Which accordingly they did; and the *Scotch* Historians own, that *Seton* himself was compell'd to side with King *Edward*; which 'tis not probable he would have done by any Compulsion, had he us'd him so barbarously, and contrary to Articles. But those Authors are not very famous for Veracity, especially where the Cause of their own Country is concern'd.

<sup>e</sup> At *Edinburgh*, in the beginning of February, 1334 or 1333. reckoning the Year from *Lady-day*. Whereas the old Historians generally reckon'd it from *Christmas*.

presuming



A. D. 1336. Reg. 10. presuming upon his own Power, his Alliance with King Philip, who marry'd his Sister, and the Service he had done in advancing him to the Crown, counterfeited a Deed to overthrow his Aunt's Right; which being discover'd, made his Cause the worse, and moved the French King to give Judgment for her; and so the County of Artois was by Arrest of Parliament confirmed to her. This so offended Robert, that in his Passion he said openly, *That he would unmake the King by the same Power he made him*; which rash and bold Threat, spoken before many Witnesses, so incensed the French King, that he laid wait to apprehend him; but failing in that, he proclaimed him Traitor, confiscated his Estate, forbid all his Subjects, both within and without his Kingdom, to receive, comfort, or aid him, upon pain of Confiscation of all their Goods; and charged them all to seize his Person, and send him Prisoner to him. Whereupon this Prince finding no place in France safe for his abode, comes over into England, where he is joyfully entertain'd by King Edward, made one of his Council, and invested in the Earldom of Richmond; which Favours, that he might recompence, he set on foot a War with France, which lasted above an hundred Years, discovers the Councils of France, by which Philip had been advanced to the Crown, disapproves his Title, and prefers Edward's as most just. Upon which a Declaration was published, and sent to the Pope, and all the neighbouring Princes, shewing the Usurpation of Philip de Valois upon the Crown of France. King Edward, who ever since his return from Amiens had been making Preparations against the King of France, and by the assistance of his Father-in-law, William Earl of Henault, had drawn into a Confederacy with him the Dukes of Brabant and Geldres, the Earl of Juliers, Archbishop of Cologne, and Valeran his Brother, John of Henault, and other Princes of Germany, doth now strengthen his Interests farther, and by Gifts obtain'd of Lewis of Bavaria, the present Emperor, to be Vicar General of the Empire, by which Office he might require all the Princes that confined upon France to serve him. And this the Emperor did the more readily, because Edward had stood for him against Frederick of Austria, who was a Competitor with him for the Empire, and had marry'd his Wife's Sister. Then, by the means of one Jaques de Artois, a Citizen of Gaunt, who was a great Man, and a Leader of the Flemings in all their Tumults, he gained all the People of those Cities in Flanders, who maintain'd a kind of Liberty among themselves, and who were the more easily won, because their Wealth chiefly proceeded from the Wools of this Kingdom, which by a Parliament holden at London, in the 9th Year of the King's Reign, were forbidden to be transported unwrought, but Clothes should be made here; and to that end, liberty was allow'd to all such Artificers as would come over and make Cloaths here; no Man being allow'd to wear any thing but English Cloth, except the King, Queen, and their Children; nor any Man to wear any Facings of Silks or Furs, but such as could expend an

hundred Pound per Annum. For by this Alliance they had not only a free admittance into the Kingdom; but had liberty of transporting Wools to uphold their former Trades; so that they advanced their own Interests, as well as the King's Strength. Edward having thus gotten a strong Party abroad, next seeks all ways to raise Money at home to carry on this Chargeable Expedition. The tenth Penny is granted of Towns and Boroughs, a fiftieth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy, is granted in a Parliament of Northampton. All the Treasure which had been committed to Churches throughout England for carrying on the Holy War, was taken out for the King's use. The next Year all the Goods of three Orders of Monks, viz. Lombards, Cluniacks, and Cistercians, were likewise seized into the King's Hands, and another Subsidy as before granted at Northampton. He likewise bestow'd many Honours upon Noblemen, to encourage them for this intended Action. Henry of Lancaster the younger was created Earl of Derby, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Audley Earl of Gloucester, William Clinton Earl of Huntingdon, William Bohun Earl of Northampton, Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk, and Prince Edward Earl of Chester and Duke of Cornwall. In the twelfth Year of his Reign, at a Parliament at Northampton, (as some write in the absence of the King) he had granted him by the Laity one half of their Wools, and of the Clergy the whole was exacted, and they were forced to pay nine Marks for every Sack of fine Wool. The next Year after, a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wool by the Commonalty. And now for the better management of his Work abroad (having settled his Affairs in Scotland) he goes over into Flanders, takes with him his Queen and Children, and lies at Antwerp; where, by the Persuasion of the Flemings, he took upon him the Style, Title and Arms of the King of France, because they held they might the better justify their Actions in joyning with him, and dispence with their Oath made to the French King, never to bear Arms against him; and thereupon the League was made between them and King Edward.

The French King being sensible of Edward's Actions was not behind him in his Preparations and Confederacies, having engaged on his part the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine\*, (who had agreed to serve him against King Edward and his Adherents with three hundred Horse for fifty six thousand Florins.) The Bishop of Metz, Albert and Otto Dukes of Austria, Theodore Marquis of Montferat, Ame Earl of Geneva; besides many Princes of States, and divers great Captains of Germany, French Counts, Savoy, Dauphin, Spain, and other Countries. So that all the chief Kingdoms of the Christian World were either actually in Arms, or assisting in this Quarrel between these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing before they came to engage, and much was endeavour'd by the Pope and King of Sicily, who being a great Astrologer foretold an ill Event of this Quarrel to the King of France, to have composed the Difference, but to no pur-

\* The English had now plenty of Wool, but no Skill to employ it. Wherefore as by this Act encouragement was given to such as had Skill, but no Stocks, to come out of Flanders and settle here; so accordingly many, glad of this opportunity to advance their Fortunes, came into England, and sett'd in great Farmers Houses at first, and after remov'd into Towns; from whence several sort of Woollen Manufactures were made among us; as, at Sadbury, Bays; at Colchester, Says and Serges; in Kent, Broad-Cloths; in Devonshire, Kerfies; in Wales, Frizes; in Westmorland, Kendal-Cloth, &c.

\* These were Cells to the great Monasteries in France.

\* The Prince was born at Woodstock in the third Year of the King's Reign; he was call'd the Black Prince, not from his Colour, but Fierceness in Battle. In his ninth Year he was made Earl of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall.

\* He also agreed with David King of Scots to send him a sufficient Aid to recover his Right; and accordingly sent him several Troops to defend his Garrisons, and annoy England, engaging him to make no Peace with the King of England without his consent.

\* By the Rat. Alm. in the Tower it appears, that the Count Palatine of the Rhine was in the Confederacy with King Edward.



A. D. 1340. pose. The War began on the Borders of each other's Dominions; King *Edward* sets upon *Cambray*, defended by the *French*; and *Philip* seizes on the Dutchy of *Guien*, sending Count *Du Conestable* of *France*, with the Earls of *Foix* and *Arminiack*, who surprized many strong places of it; besides he had a great Navy at Sea, which committed a much Spoil on the Coast of *England*. King *Edward* entred *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierache*, and approaches near to King *Philip*. Both Armies were encamped between *Viron Fosse* and *La Flamenguerie*, and the Day for the Fight was appointed on the *Friday* after; the Armies on both sides made ready, but the *French* had the advantage by Numbers. Both sides were well furnished with brave Men, but yet departed without a Battel: The *French* esteeming it no Discretion to put the Person and State of their King to the hazard of a Fight within his own Kingdom; and the *English*, consisting of less Numbers, thought not fit to assail them. And so they passed the Day in facing one another, and nothing was done. Only this Accident fell out, which proved a matter of Sport afterward: An Hare starting before the Head of the *French* Army, a great Shout was suddenly made, which they who were behind supposing to have been at the Onset of the Battel, disposed themselves to fight, and some Esquires for their more Encouragement were, according to the Custom, presently Knighted, which were ever after call'd *The Knights of the Hare*. The next Morning early both Kings decamped, and the *French* retired to *Paris*, and the King of *England* to *Brabant*.

K. Edward returns into England.

A Parliament at London.

King *Edward* having staid a little time at *Brabant* to settle his Confederates, and order his Affairs, leaves the Queen, and returns into *England* about *Candlemas*, after a Year's absence from thence, and lands at the Tower about Midnight, which finding unguarded, he was much displeased, and sends for the Mayor of *London*, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with *John S. Paul*, *Michael Watb*, *Philip Thorp*, and *Henry Stratford*, Clerks, (who were Officers for his Receipts) and *John Sconer* Justice of the Bench; all which, except the Chancellor, were arrested and committed to Prison, as were also divers other Ministers of Justice and Accountants, upon Enquiry made into their unjust proceedings. Then he call'd a Parliament in *London* in Lent, which granted unto him for the Custom of every Sack of Wool 40 s. for every three hundred Wool-fells 40 s. for every Last of Leather 40 s. and so for other Merchandizes proportionably; which Imposition was to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve-month after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses a ninth part of their Goods, a fifteenth of foreign Merchants and others; and the ninth Sheaf, Fleece, and Lamb for two Years. Also another tenth of the Clergy. And for his present Supply he had Loans of divers wealthy Persons, and the City of *London* lent him twenty thousand Marks. In Consideration of which Grants and Contributions, the King (besides his Pardons to divers kinds of Offenders) remitted all Amercements for all Transgressions in his Forests, Reliefs and Scutage, unto the first time of his going into *Flanders*. Be-

sides all Aids for the Marriages of his Sons and Daughters during his Reign, pardoning and remitting all ancient Debts and Arrerages, both of his Farmers and others, any ways due either in the time of his Ancestors or his own, till the tenth Year of his Reign, (excepting such as were compounded for, and order'd to be paid into his Exchequer) and now likewise he confirmed the Great Charter.

During King *Edward*'s stay in *England*, *William Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk*, who were left in *Flanders* to oppose the proceedings of the *French*, having performed several great Exploits with happy Success, and presuming upon their Fortune, were in an Encounter about *Lisle* so overmatch'd with Numbers, that they were both taken and sent Prisoners to *Paris*, to the great Joy of the *French* King, who now, to hinder the King of *England*'s return, had prepared a mighty Navy in the Haven of *Sluce*, consisting of two hundred Sail of Ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand arm'd Men in the Port, ready to encounter him upon his landing. King *Edward* being inform'd of it, provided a like Number of Ships well manned, and puts out to Sea upon *Midsummer-Eve*, being met the next Day with a Navy from the North-parts, under the Conduct of Sir *Robert Morley*. With these Forces he encounter'd the Enemy, which lay in the way to intercept him, with such Courage and Strength, and so great advantage of Wind and Weather, that he defeated their whole Navy, took and sunk all their Ships, slew thirty thousand Men, and landed with as great a Glory as such a Victory would yield, which being the first that the *English* ever got by Sea, was the more honourable to him. Most of the *French*, rather than endure the Arrows and sharp Swords of the *English*, leaped into the Sea. This Loss was so great, that the *French* dare not tell the King of it, and therefore set his Jester on work to discover it to him, who going into his Presence in a seeming Passion, cry'd out often, *Cowardly Englishmen, Dastardly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen*. The King at length asked him, Why he called them so? The Jester answer'd, *Because they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea, as our brave Frenchmen did*. By which the King apprehended the Overthrow of his Fleet, which the *French* attribute to one *Nicholas Buchett*, one of their Commanders, who had manned his Ships with Soldiers of the baser sort, who would serve for small pay, and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Soldiers, in regard they required greater Wages, as it hath often happen'd, that the Avarice of Commanders hath been the Cause of great Defeats. But notwithstanding this Loss of the *French* by Sea, their King, in those Martial Times, was soon supply'd with Power sufficient out of his own and Confederates Dominions to make a strong Opposition against the victorious and mighty King of *England*, who suddenly sets down before *Tourney* with all his own and his Adherent's Forces. And from *Chyn* (a place near it, where he lodg'd) sends his Cartel, *July 17.* to *Philip de Valois*, lodging at *S. Andrews Les Air*, with his mighty Army, declaring, 'That he with the Strength of his own Kingdom, and Assistance of the *Flemmings*, was come to recover his Right in the Kingdom of *France*, unjustly detained

\* They enter'd the Haven of *Southampton* upon *Sunday*, took it, kill'd many, and carry'd away much Plunder.

\* This Year King *Edward* first took upon him the Title and Arms of *France*; and when he landed in *England*, he quarter'd the Arms of *France* in his Great Seal.

\* At this time was *Lionel Duke of Clarence* born.

\* He committed also the Lord *Nicholas de la Beche* Constable of the Tower, and *Andrew Aubrey* Mayor of *London*; but this was not done till after the Truce made with the *French* King.

\* 'Twas the Lord *Robert Ufford*, the Earl of *Suffolk*'s eldest Son.

from



A. D. 1340. Reg. 14. K. Edward challenge the French King to a single Combat.

from him, contrary to the Laws of God and Man; and since no other means could prevail, he was forced to fly to the Sword. But because the Controversie was between them two, he offer'd, that the shedding of Christian Blood, and Destruction of the Country might be spar'd, to try their Right by Combat in close Camp, Body to Body, or each of them accompany'd with a hundred choice Persons; which, if the said Philip refused, then to joyn Battel within ten Days after, before the City of Tournay.

Philip de Valois return'd an Answer to this Challenge, the last of July, in this manner: 'Philip by the Grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England. We have perused your Letters sent to the Court of Philip de Valois, containing certain Requests to the said Philip; but because it appears, that those Letters and Requests were not written or made unto us, we will in no sort answer you. But seeing by the said Letters, and otherwise, we understand, that you, guided by your own Will, without all Reason, have entred our Kingdom of France with an Army, and have done no small damage to our People and Country, contrary to the Duty of a Liege-man, who have lately sworn Homage to us, acknowledging us, as by Right, King of France, and hath promised that Obedience that is due from the Vassal to his Liege-lord; as is manifest by your Letters-Patents under your Great Seal, which we have with us, and you ought to have with you: Therefore our Intention is, as becomes our Honour, to chase you out of our Kingdom, as we firmly hope in Christ (from whom we have our Power) to do. Because by this War, which you have most wickedly begun, our intended Journey into the East is hinder'd, great numbers of Christians there murder'd, that Holy Service neglected, and the Church dishonoured. And whereas you say, You are assisted by the Flemmings; we assure our selves, that they will not so far forget their Honour and Fidelity to our Cousin their Earl, and us, their supreme Lord, as to act so much against the common Good. The French Historians write, that King Philip sent word to King Edward, by the Messengers of this Letter, 'That by his Cartel he ventur'd nothing of his own, but only expos'd another's Dominions, which was unreasonable; That if he would hazard the Kingdom of England (tho' it were less) against the Kingdom of France, King Philip would enter the Combat in close Camp with him, upon Condition, that the Conqueror should enjoy both Kingdoms: To which, they say, Edward would not consent. The single Combat being thus rejected by both sides, Edward went on with the Siege of Tournay, which held out three Months, so that nothing was effected but the Destruction of the Country. All Christendom impatiently expected the Event, and both Kingdoms were in doubt of the Consequences of it, till Jane de Valois, Sister of King Philip, and Widow of William Duke of Henault, the Father of Philippa the Wife of King Edward, undertook to negotiate a Peace between her Brother and Son; and leaving her Nunnery at Fontenelles, with indefatigable Industry travell'd so long from one to the other, till at last by her Advice and Treaty she obtained a Parley, which produced a Truce for a Year; so that these enraged Princes dismissed their Armies, and the French King return'd home, and Edward with his Queen into England, having remained three Years in those parts; in which time his Queen brought him two Sons, Lionel, afterwards

Duke of Clarence, and John born at Gaunt, first A. D. Earl of Richmond, and after Duke of Lancaster. 1341. But King Edward's Condescension to this sudden Reg. 15. Truce had really no other motive, but his want of Treasure; which, notwithstanding the great Impositions laid upon his Subjects, came short, and must be supply'd, as indeed it was, yet after some Delays, which thus happen'd: The King at his last being in England had removed his Chancellor, and imprison'd his Treasurer, with other Officers, who were most of them Clergymen, and still kept them under Confinement; which Severity, tho' just, yet so angered John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, (on whom the King laid the Blame of his Wants) that he wrote a bold and sharp Letter to the King to this effect: 'That it was for the Safety and Happiness of Kings and their Kingdoms, to use wise and grave Counsellors favourably and kindly, alledging many Examples out of holy Scriptures to prove the flourishing Condition of such as took that course, and the Miseries of those that did the contrary. Then he advises him to call to mind, how his Father, being guided by evil Counsel, vexed the Nation, putting many of the Nobility to Death contrary to Law, and to consider what were the ill Consequences of such Actions; and that he himself at first, through the ill Conduct of such as managed his Affairs, had almost lost the Love of his People; but afterward, by the great Care and wise Management of his Nobles and Bishops, his Affairs were again brought in to such Order, as that he recover'd his Honour; and now remains in so great Credit with his People, that all, both Clergy and Laity, have yielded their assistance to him, more than any of his Royal Ancestors; by which means he hath triumphed over the French and Scots, and is reputed the noblest Prince in Christendom. But now, through the wicked advice of such as affect their own Advantage more than his Honour, or the Welfare of his People, he hath caused several Clergymen and others to be arrested, and kept in Prison by undue Proceedings, contrary to the Laws of England, which he was by his Coronation-Oath bound strictly to observe, and against Magna Charta, which whosoever shall presume to break, are to be excommunicated by all the Bishops, according to the Bull of Innocent IV. So that by these Actions he had brought no small Danger upon his Soul, and Damage to his State and Honour. Then he tells him, That if he went on in this manner, he would certainly lose the Hearts of his People, and their Help, so that he would not be able to carry on the War in hand, but expose himself to his Enemies, to the great hazard of his Person and Kingdom. And therefore advises him to call an Assembly of the Nobility, and prudentest Men of the Land, and consult with them (without whose Assistance and Counsel he could not govern the Kingdom well, nor go through with his present Designs) concerning what is amiss. And whereas, said he, some Persons about you, by their Flattery and Cunning, betray and deceive you, we do hereby pronounce them Excommunicate, and beseech you, as your Spiritual Father, to esteem and deal with them as such. Besides, he urges, that whereas through the Negligence and Falseness of some of his Ministers, the City of Tournay was not taken; the Matter might be examined in Parliament, and a diligent Enquiry made, into whose Hands, ever since the beginning of the War, the Wools and Monies raised

A Truce made between the two Kings by Jane de Valois.

Archbishop Stratford's Letter to the King.



A. D. 1341. have come, and how they have been bestow'd, and by whose fault it was that the City of *Tower* was not taken, but left in that manner it was; and that as a just Prince he would punish such as were found guilty, and not condemn or misuse his Subjects without a legal Tryal. This Letter bore Date *January 1.*

The Archbishop's Letter to the Chancellor R. Boufer; and a second Letter to the King and his Council.

Another Letter he wrote to *Robert Boufer* (or *Bourchier*) Chancellor of *England*, relating what Contributions the Clergy had given the King by their free consent, and that nothing more was to be exacted of them, requiring him 'to do nothing contrary to the Law of *Magna Charta*; and that if any Writ, Commillion or Precept, had gone out of the Chancery, contrary to it, or to the Privileges and Liberties of the Church and Kingdom, he should within ten Days after the Receipt of these his Letters (as he said the Chancellor was bound to do) recall, and make void the same. This Letter was dated *January 28.* After this he wrote a third Letter to the King and his whole Council, declaring, 'That whereas, contrary to the Liberties and Privileges of the Church and Kingdom, contained in *Magna Charta*, *John de S. Paul*, *Michael de Wath*, *Robert Chickwill*, *John Thorp*, and *Henry Stratford*, were arrested, committed to Prison, and there detained, without being indicted or convicted of any notorious Crime; and that whosoever by their Counsel had put the King upon such proceedings, had incurr'd the Sentence inflicted in the Canon, which he had caused to be published both in his own Dioceses, and those of his Suffragans. And therefore besought the King and his whole Council without delay to release the said Prisoners, otherwise he threatens, that according to his Pastoral Charge, he would proceed to the Execution of the Sentence; concluding, That it was not in his Intention in the least to include in it the King, Queen, or their Children, as far they could be excused. And for this end he sends to the Bishop of *London*, and all his other Suffragan Bishops, and having complained of the great Wrongs done to the Church by Laymen, charges him and them not only to publish in their Churches, but fix up in all eminent Places, the Sentence of Excommunication against all Offenders that should break those Articles of *Magna Charta*, which he annexed to his Letter, that (as he said) no Man may pretend Ignorance of their fault.

The King sends an Answer of the Archbishop's Letter to the Bishop of London.

The King being thus roused by the Archbishop's Letters, sends his Apology immediately to the Bishop of *London*, in a Letter to him; wherein, having declared first how much he had honoured and trusted the Archbishop, he accuses him of unjust and deceitful Dealing in his Trust, and says, 'That it was by his Counsel and Advice he undertook this Action against the *French*, and was assur'd by him, that he should not want sufficient Treasure to go through with it: So that he need do no more than provide Men to execute the Design; That notwithstanding this Promise, through the Negligence or Malice of the Archbishop and his Officials, those Supplies which were granted by his Subjects in Parliament, were so badly collected, and sent over so slowly, that he was forced (to his great Grief and Shame) to accept of the last Truce, and through his extreme Want to come into the hands of Usurers. These Actions gave him just cause to look into the management of his Officers, of whom he found some so guilty of Male-administration of Justice, and such Corruptions and Oppressions of his Subjects, that he removed the greatest of them from their Places; and the lesser, who were in the same

Crimes, he committed to Prison, and there detained them, that by strict Examination he might find out their unlawful Proceedings, of which none could give him so good Information as the Archbishop, to whom he had for a long time committed the whole Administration of the Kingdom. And therefore being desirous to confer with him at *London* about these public Affairs, he had sent a Messenger on purpose to him, his trusty Servant *Nicolas de Cantelupe*, to summon him thither. But the Archbishop had refused to come to him, alledging, That he stood in fear of some Persons about the King, and would not run the hazard of departing from his Church. That after this he sent *Richard Stafford*, with the Steward of his House, with a promise of safe Passage under his Seal; but then was answered, That he would have no Conference with the King but in open Parliament, which he knew could not at that time be conveniently called. Then he aggravates the Archbishop's undutiful Behaviour and false Dealings towards him; declaring, That tho' by God's Providence and an Hereditary Right he was advanced to the Throne of *England*, yet he abhorred all Abuses of his Regal Authority, and desired nothing more in this World than to govern his Subjects with such Mildness and Justice, as that he might more deserve their Love than Fear. That notwithstanding this his Care to govern well, the Archbishop had wrongfully (by his Letters published in divers parts of his Kingdom) injur'd his Innocency, and slander'd his most faithful Counsellors and Officers, who administered Justice, giving out, that the People were oppress'd, the Clergy ruin'd, and the Nation burthen'd with heavy Taxes; and many Exactions, which the King argues could be done with no other design, but to raise Sedition among his People, and to alienate the Hearts of his Subjects from him. Lastly, To shew the Archbishop's Failings, he declares, That he himself, while he was under Age, had by his Advice made so many prodigal Donations, unlawful Alienations, and excessive Gifts, that his Treasury was now utterly exhausted, and his Crown-Revenues mightily diminished; and that the Archbishop, being corrupted with Bribes, had remitted without any reasonable cause great Sums which were due to him, applying to his own use, or of others not well deserving of them, many Advantages and Revenues, which should have been preserved for his necessary support. And therefore concluded, That unless he desisted from his rebellious Obstinacy, he intended in due time and place to proceed against him; injoyning him to publish all and singular these his wicked Actions, and to cause others to do the like, for the more clear manifestation of his pious and princely Intention in relieving his own and his Subjects Wrongs. This Letter was said to be penned by *Adam Bishop of Winchester*, and bare Date the 12th of *February*, Anno Reg. 15. Thus the Difference between the King and his Officers, whose Actions must not be too sharply look'd into, was ended, and the grand Imputation rests upon the Archbishop, who is charg'd with the Receipt of great Sums, and vehemently urg'd by the King's Creditors to pay them. Shortly after this a Parliament was held at *London*, in which the King was hard put to it to satisfy their Demands; for he was earnestly petition'd by the whole Assembly of the three States, That the Great Charter of their Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed, and that whosoever of the King's Officers did break the same should lose their

A. D.

1341.

Reg. 15.

The Archbishop's Letter to the King and his Council.

The Archbishop's Letter to the Chancellor R. Boufer; and a second Letter to the King and his Council.

The Archbishop's Letter to the Bishop of London.

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A. D. 1341. Reg. 15. their place; That the high Officers of the Kingdom should be elected, as they were in former times, by Parliament; but the King stood strongly upon his own Election and Prerogative, but yielded (that he might gain his Designs, as he confessed) that those Officers should take an Oath in Parliament to do Justice to all Men in their Offices; and a Statute was made for that purpose, and confirmed with the King's Seal, to secure that and many other Grants to his Subjects, which notwithstanding were for the most part soon after revoked.

The Truce of Tournay expired.

The Truce agreed upon at Tournay, and concluded at Arras, for one Year, by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, yielded a Cessation of Arms, but not of Plots against each other. Lewis of Bavaria the Emperor being won over to the King of France's side, became his sworn Confederate, and revoked the Vicarship of the Empire, which he had lately confirmed to the King of England, giving this as the Reason in his Letter<sup>b</sup> to King Edward, That he had made the Truce at Tournay without his consent; which Edward fully and discreetly answer'd<sup>c</sup>. But instead of this remote and inconstant Confederate, Providence brought him another, more near and more serviceable to his design, within that Kingdom, after this manner: The Inheritance of the Dutchy of Britain happen'd to be in Controversie between Charles de Blois, Nephew to King Philip, and John de Monfort, upon this Title. Arthur Duke of Britain had by Beatrix his first Wife two Sons, John and Guy; and by Yoland Countess of Monfort his second Wife, John de Monfort. John Arthur's eldest Son having no Issue, left his Neice Jane, his Brother Guy's Daughter (her Father dying before him) to succeed him in his Dutchy. This Jane Charles de Blois marries on Condition, that his Issue by her should inherit the same; and after Marriage he is invested in it, and had Homage done to him during the Life of John their Uncle. But after his Death John de Monfort claims the Dutchy, and goes to Paris to do Homage for the same to the French King; but Charles de Blois in Right of his Wife opposing him, the Controversie was referred to the Parliament, who gave Sentence for Charles. Monfort being enraged, immediately repairs to the King of England, and doth Homage to him for the Dutchy, by whom he was received with great applause, and his Title (tho' bad in France) was made good in England. Wherefore he returns again into Britain with Comfort and Abilities to oppose his Competitor; but after some Encounters, was taken and committed close Prisoner to the Louvre in Paris. His Wife the Countess of Monfort, Sister to Lewis Earl of Flanders, being a Lady of a Masculine Courage, prosecutes her Husband's Quarrel, puts on Armour, leads and encourages her People, surprises and defends many places of Importance in Britain; but at length, being overpower'd by the Forces of Charles de Blois, she begs assistance of the King of England, and obtains it, and hath it sent thither under the Conduct of the Lord Walter de Manny, which relieved her for the present, but not long, her Enemies being too powerful to be subdued with small Forces. Wherefore Ed-

ward, who was not sparing of Aids for his own designs, being solicited again by the Countess, who came over in Person to treat with the King about farther Supplies, and make an Alliance by tendering a Match between her Son and one of the King's Daughters, sent over greater Forces with her, under the Command of the Earls of Salisbury, Pembroke, and Suffolk, the Lords Stafford, Spencer, and Bourchier, with Robert de Artois Earl of Richmond. Many were the Rencontres between the English and French, many Castles were surprized, and recovered; in which Robert de Artois, at the Siege of Vannes, received his last Wound, but was brought over into England to die, leaving behind him, tho' many Marks of Valour, yet the dishonourable Name of a Rebel to his own Country, against which he had not only instigated Edward, but served him six Years. Shortly after these Supplies were sent into Britain, King Edward followed in Person with more, and lying before Vannes, which was lately recovered by the French, John Duke of Normandy, eldest Son to the French King, sent to aid Charles de Blois with an Army of forty thousand, came to give him Battel; and being ready to engage, two Cardinals, sent for that purpose by Pope Clement VI. undertook to mediate a Peace, and after much Solicitation procured a Truce for three Years, upon Condition, that the Pope and Court of Rome should hear and examine the Differences between the two Kingdoms, but not determine them without the Consent of both Kings. This Cessation of Arms gave space to both sides to provide for greater Quarrels, tho' in Britain small Skirmishes continued.

A. D. 1341. Reg. 15.

The Death of Robert de Artois.

King Edward being returned home after the Conclusion of the Truce, made an Expedition into Scotland against King David, and drove him into the Islands. At this time the Isle of Man was conquer'd by William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, whom the King made Governour of it, under the Title of King. At the King's return from Scotland, solemn Turnaments were held at Dunstable, where two hundred and thirty Knights met him to exercise themselves at that Pastime (the only one then in Request) as they did afterwards at Smithfield, Windsor, and other places. A Society also of Knights of the Round Table, in imitation of King Arthur, was now instituted, and a large Chamber of two hundred Foot round erected for the same at Windsor, many Strangers out of foreign parts being drawn to joyn in it. The King of France also erects the like Martial Society in France.<sup>d</sup> About this time also began the Order the Garter, being appointed at a solemn Feast at Windsor, which was held there many Days, not from the Countess of Salisbury's Garter, which the King is said to have taken up in Dancing with her, but only<sup>e</sup> as an Emblem of the close Combination in Honour and Loyalty which ought to be among those that are admitted into that Order. For it would be a Dishonour to that Noble Institution, which is perform'd with so much Religious Ceremony to imagine it should arise from an Act of Lightness. But besides the Exercises of Arms, which the King promoted at this time, he took also special Care of the Government; and that the Abuses of it might be re-

King Edward's Expedition into Scotland.

1343.

Knights of the Round Table, and Order of the Garter instituted.

King Edward assists John de Monfort in obtaining Britain.

<sup>a</sup> During this Truce, the Scots, by the Instigation of the King of France, infested England; and the King of England, to justify his own intended Proceedings against them, complain'd of the Breach of the Peace to the Pope.

<sup>b</sup> He offer'd in the same Letter to be the Mediator of a Peace between them.

<sup>c</sup> By a Letter, which is set down at large in Mr. Speed, and Fox, p. 351, 352. with the Emperor's Letter to him.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Ashmole in his History of the Garter, p. 185. fixes the Institution of the Order of the Garter to the 23d of April, 1349. five Years afterwards.

<sup>e</sup> The Original Book says, It was deduc'd from an Action of King Richard I. at Acon, who commanded a Garter to be ty'd about the Legs of some of his Chief Captains, to stir up their Valour, by wearing such a Badge as brought them always under his Observation in the Fight. They are twenty six, and their Badge is a blew Garter.



A. D. 1343. formed, he called a Parliament at *Westminster* to consider upon, and administer a speedy and suitable Remedy for them. And the first thing they endeavoured to cure, was the Collation of Ecclesiastical Benefices upon Strangers, of which the Earls, Barons, <sup>a</sup>Knights and Burgeses grievously complained. This they try'd to effect, by sending a Letter to the Pope, *Clement VI.* the Cause of it, in humble manner representing to him, 'How inconvenient it was, and derogatory to the State of the Kingdom of *England*, that such Reservations, <sup>b</sup>Provisions, and Collations of Benefices, as had been formerly used, should be continued, because the Churches of *England* had anciently been endow'd by noble and pious Persons, that the People might be instructed by their own Countrymen in their Mother-Tongue. But by the Usurpation of some of his Predecessors, Strangers and others, sometimes Enemies to the Realm, were preferred to many of them; by which means the Profits of them were sent out of the Nation, the Cures neglected, Alms and Hospitality refused, the Houses ruined, the Charity and Devotion of the People much lessened, and many other Disorders (contrary to the Intention of the Founders) occasioned, which they could not suffer any longer; and therefore besought his Holiness to revoke all such Reservations, Provisions and Collations, that fit Men of the Natives might supply the Cures, and without delay to signify his Intention in this matter, otherwise they would take speedy methods themselves for a Redress. These Letters were dated in full Parliament, *May 28.* 1343. and with them the King sent his Letters to the same effect, by *Sir John Shordich*, a grave Person, and of great Understanding in the Law; but at this time so unwelcome to the Court of *Rome* upon the account of his Message, that he departed without Leave or Answer; which, tho' the Pope sent afterward, yet the King and Parliament proceeded in their design of Redressing this Grievance, and made the Statute of *Provisions*, prohibiting all such Provisions and Collations within this Realm, upon pain of Imprisonment, or Death to any such Person as shall for the time to come present or admit any Person or Persons, who was so preferred by the Pope, to the prejudice of the King's Royal Prerogative; and to this end were Writs directed to all Archbishops, Bishops, and others who were concern'd, strictly forbidding them to act any thing contrary to this Statute. In this Parliament Archbishop *Stratford* was upon his submission, but with much difficulty, accepted to the King's Favour. There was also a long Debate concerning Wools, how they should be assised in several parts of the Realm, and what they should pay for Customs, when they were exported; and three Marks and a half upon every Sack was mentioned, but nothing was at this Session concluded. The Prince *Edward* also being then about thirteen Years old, was created Prince of *Wales*, and Commissioners were appointed to be sent to the Pope to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, according to the Articles propounded in the Truce, which were *John Bishop of Exeter*, *Henry de Lancaster* Earl of *Darby*, *Hugh le Dis-*

pencier Lord of *Glamorgan*, the King's Cousins, A. D. *Ralph Lord Stafford*, with others.

The next Year after another Parliament, or rather the same prorogued, was held at *London*, in which, after many Contests, a tenth was granted the King by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity, for one Year; and a certain Gold-Coin, called the *Floren*, of base Alloy, which had been coined for the *French* Wars, cryed down, and Nobles of finer Metal coined, to the great Content of his Subjects; for whose Conveniency there were appointed places at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Tork*, to exchange their Monies in. Shortly after this the King caused General Musters to be made throughout the Kingdom, and a Certificate returned to him of all sufficient and expert Bowmen, and other Persons able to bear Arms. A Commission also was sent into every Country, to enquire into every Man's Abilities; and all Persons, that had from five to ten Pounds a Year in Lay-fee, were appointed to find an Archer on Horseback; they that had twenty five Pound, a Demilance; and so proportionably above. The King having thus gather'd an Army, goes over in Person into *Flanders* to make the People there firm to him; and at *Sluce*, *Jaques van Arteville*, with other Commissioners from the chief Towns, came to him, where a Motion was made, That either *Lewis* their Earl should do Homage to the King of *England*, or be disinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* received for their Lord. Upon which King *Edward* promises to erect their Country into a Dukedom. *Arteville* was forward to entertain the Motion, but the other Commissioners desired leave to acquaint their Towns with it, which were willing to have the Protection of the King of *England*, but did not care to purchase it by disinheriting their Natural Lord. *Arteville* notwithstanding undertakes to induce them to it, and for that end goes to *Gaunt* with five hundred *Welshmen* for his Guard, as he pretended, against one *Gerhard Dennis* Provost of the Weavers, who sought to destroy him. But the People, who had been so often led by him into Mutinies, now rose up unanimously against him, and a Clobber with an Ax struck out his Brains. King *Edward* having thus lost his principal Agent, was very angry. But the Towns sending a Message to excuse themselves of this Accident, which the People of *Gaunt* were only to be blamed for, and promising him to persuade their Prince (whom they could not consent to disinherit) to become his Homager, and to do him all faithful Service themselves; they so pacified the King, that he renewed the League between them: And so he went on to prosecute his other Designs. And now the Wars in *Guien* began to grow hot: The Earl of *Darby*, General of the Army, assaulted and took in *Villa-Franche*, *Aginois*, *Angolesme*, *Rions*, *S. Basil*, with many other Cities and Castles. The *French* King sent his eldest Son, *John* Duke of *Normandy*, to encounter him, who recover'd the Cities of *Angolesme* and *Ville-Franche*. These Skirmishes happen'd before the Truce was expired. The King of *France* blamed *Edward* for this breach of the Peace, and *Edward* accused him for the first Cause, in that he had instigated the *Scots* to invade his Realm, and entertain'd King *David*,

The Statute of Provisions.

Archbishop Stratford reconciled to the King.

Arteville killed at Gaunt.

The Wars in Guen.

<sup>a</sup> The Commons were at first earnest to have the Pope's Power quite ejected out of the Realm, for his intolerable Encroachments upon the King's Subject's Rights, but at last were brought to gentler methods of dealing with him by Letters.

<sup>b</sup> The Pope's Provisions were thus made: When any Bishoprick, Abbacy, or good Benefice was likely to be void, the Pope having notice of it by some of his Agents here, would by an Act of Provision predispose of such Places to such Foreigners as he pleas'd, whereby Patrons were defeated of their Presentations, and *Englishmen* of their Preferments, unless they would buy off the Provisions.

<sup>c</sup> Notwithstanding this Act, Pope *Clement* sent two Cardinals the next Year with certain Provisions for Benefices next vacant, to the value of two thousand Marks; but the King and Nobles sent them back with Letters, purporting a full Resolution to withstand them.

when



A. D. 1346. when he fled from him. Thus both being prepared for a Quarrel, the Peace was quite laid aside, and the War began.

Reg. 20. This mighty and active Prince King Edward had now begun the 20th Year of his Reign, and being full of Courage and Youth was very eager upon his Expedition into France, for which he prepared the greatest Fleet that ever yet cross'd the Seas for France; and over he pass'd into Normandy in July, leaving for the Wardens of England in his absence the Lords Percy and Nevill, and taking the young Prince with him, who was about fifteen Years old, to give him a Specimen of the Labours and Achievements of Princes to attain Glory. His Army consist'd of four thousand Men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides Welsh and Irish, which follow'd him on foot. He had with him the Earls of Hereford, Northampton, Arundel, Huntington, Warwick, Suffolk, and Oxford; the Lords Mortimer (afterward made Earl of March) John, Lewis, and Roger Beauchamp, Cobham, Lucy, Bassett, Barkley, Willoughby, and divers others both Knights and gallant Captains. He had also of late entertain'd Godfrey de Harcourt, a great Favourite of the French King's; but upon some discontent, or because he was suspected of favouring the English Party in Britain, for which the King of France had a little before executed Oliver de Clisson, Bacon, Piercy, and Geoffrey de Maestroi, Men of Note, was forced to fly, and came to King Edward, with whom tho' he staid not long before he made his Peace with his Master, yet he did his Country and King much mischief. For upon King Edward's landing with his mighty Army in the Isle of Constantine in Normandy, by his Conduct he was made one of the King's Marshals, and the Earl of Warwick the other, the Earl of Arundel being appointed Constable. The King being landed, divided his Army into three parts, the one to march on his left hand along the Sea-Coasts, and the other on the right, conducted by the two Marshals, and himself in the midst with the main Body of his Army. The Earl of Huntington, Admiral of his Fleet, was order'd to take all the Ships he could find on the Sea-Coasts. The three Armies by Land lodg'd every Night in one Field. And first he sacked Charanton, burnt and destroyed the City, and slew all the Inhabitants, as well unarm'd as arm'd, saying, 'That he made them Sacrifices to Bacon, Peirce, and others, (whose Heads he saw fixed upon the principal Gates) unjustly put to Death by Philip. Thence he marched forward, and took St. Loo, a rich Town for Merchandise, and plunder'd it. Then he marched to Caen, and after some Skirmishes became Master of it, and put all the Country into so great a terror, that Falaise, Lyseaux, and Honfleur, strong wall'd Towns, came and render'd themselves to him. This done, he marches into the Isle of France, to provoke the King of France to Battel, giving out, that he would wrestle with him for his Kingdom in the Eye of all France, on the great Theatre before his Capital City of Paris.

King Philip in the mean time was not idle in making all possible Preparations for his own Defence, and had gather'd one of the finest Armies (as the French Historians relate) that ever was seen in France, made up of French, Lorainers, Germans, and Genoeses, which he led towards Meulan, where it was said King Edward waited for him; but upon the News of his coming retreated, or

as it was reported fled for fear, tho' the Event shew'd, 'twas rather out of Policy. King Philip follows him, and overtakes him at a Village call'd Arenes, which signifying Sand, might have told Philip on how weak a Foundation he built his hopes of Victory, when he accounted all his own, because he was at home. King Edward retired, to gain the River of Some at Elanquetaque, where it is fordable at Low-water, but the Passage was to be disputed with the Sword, King Philip having sent Gondemar de Fay with a thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to guard it. King Edward notwithstanding resolves to pass or perish, and plunges foremost into the River, crying out, *Let them that love me, follow me.* At which words the whole Army boldly crowded forward, striving who should follow his brave Example the closest, and presently gained the Shoar. Gondemar astonished with this sudden and unexpected adventure, so affrighted his People with his fearful Looks, that after a short and disorderly Encounter, they all fled before the English; but the Shame was greater than the Loss, because they had a safe retreat at Abbeville and S. Requeir, which were hard-by. King Philip enraged with this dishonourable Victory, resolved to revenge it, and presently to provoke King Edward to Battel. His Council advis'd the contrary, that he should suffer his Troops to rest a few Days, and recover their Spirits, and King Edward to spend his. But their King had not Patience to stay above one Day in Abbeville, but being elevated with hopes of Victory, marches into the Field to bid Edward Battel. King Edward more cool and wary, managed his Business with admirable Discretion; having very strongly encamped himself at Cracy, and on all sides by Trenches and other means secured his Army, which consist'd but of thirty thousand Men, but in Order and Courage double the number. The Van-guard he gave to the Prince, and for his Guides the Earl of Warwick, Godfrey de Harcourt, the Lords Stafford, Delaware, Bouchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, Sir John Chandois, Sir Bartholomew Burwash, Sir Robert Nevill, with eight hundred Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand Welshmen. The second Battel was committed to the Earls of Arundel and Northampton, the Lords Ross, Willoughby, Bassett, S. Albin, Multon, and others, which consist'd of eight hundred Men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. The third Battel, or Rereguard, was led by the King himself, having seven hundred Men at Arms, and two thousand Archers. The Army being thus rang'd, the King on a white Hobby rode from Rank to Rank to view them all, the one Marshal on his right Hand, and the other on his left, encouraging every Man to stand for his Right and their Honour. The French King's Army was greater both in shew and strength, being above sixty thousand fighting Men well arm'd: Of which the Chief Commanders were, Charles Earl of Alanzon the King's Brother, John de Luxemburge King of Bohemia, Charles de Blois the King's Nephew, Ralph Duke of Lorrain, the Earl of Flanders, Nevers, Sancerre, and the Dolphin of Viennois. On the Night before the Battel came Anne Earl of Savoy, with a thousand Men at Arms more to assist their King, which gave him such an assurance of Victory, that he long'd for an Encounter. The Vanguard he committed to Count d'Alanzon, the King's Brother, the Rear to the Earl of Savoy, and led the main Battel himself.

\* Of a thousand Sail of Ships, and smaller Vessels. Two hundred Ships of War and Gallies, and eight hundred Transport-Ships.  
 \* Twelve thousand Welsh, and six thousand Irish Foot; a thousand Archers, and four thousand Horse. In all 32000 Men.  
 \* Cressy. Then about sixteen Years of Age.

His



A. D. 1346. His Heat would hardly permit him to hear any Counsel of what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised, that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infantry, consisting of about fifteen hundred *Genoefes*, with Cross-Bows, and sure Men, should make the Front, and the Cavalry to follow, which were both agreed to and done. But the Count de *Alanzon* took it so ill, that the *Genoefes* were put in the first Rank, that in his Fury, contrary to Order, he caused them to change their Place with Disorder, and so much to the Anger and Provocation of the Soldiers, that they were more furiously bent against the Captain than the Enemy. While this was doing there fell a piercing Shower of Rain, which dissolved the Bowmen's Strings, and made them unuseful; and then soon breaking up, the Sun shone full in the Face of the *French*, as if Heaven had joyned with the *English* in this Victory. King *Edward*, who had posted himself on the top of a Windmill-Hill, beholding from thence the present posture of the Enemy in changing their Places, and through the accident of the Rain resolves to take the advantage of both, and instantly sends a Party to charge them, without giving them leave to settle themselves. The discouraged *Genoefes* immediately give Ground, which when the Count de *Alanzon* perceived, he comes up in great Rage with his Horse, crying out, *On, on, let us make way upon the Bellies of these Genoefes, who do but hinder us*; and so forced his way through the midst of them, attended with the Earls of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, and the Dolphin of *Viennois*, and held on his course till he came up to the *English* Battel, where he found the Prince better settled, attended on all hands with Troops of Archers, whose Strings having not felt the Rain, poured such Showers of Steel upon them, as cooled their Fury, and disorder'd them. The *French* King seeing his Brother in great danger, makes up to disengage him; whereupon the Fight grew so hot and doubtful, that the Commanders about the Prince sent to the King to come up with all his Power to assist them. The King demands of the Messenger, Whether his Son were slain or hurt? Who answer'd, Neither, but likely to be overpower'd. Well then, said the King, Go back and tell them that sent you, That so long as my Son is alive I will hearken to nothing, whatever happens; for I would have him carry away the Honour of this Victory. And thus being left to defend themselves, they bore up with such Courage, as that they recover'd the advantage by having killed the *French* King's Horse under him, so that he had almost been trodden to Death, had not he been saved by the Lord *John Beaumont* his new Pensioner. But this Accident so encouraged the *English*, and disheartned the *French*, that the *English* soon gained the greatest Victory that ever the *French* lost, having slain upon the Place, and in the Pursuit, thirty thousand; of whom the Chief were *Charles d'Alanzon*, *John Duke of Bourbon*, *Ralph Earl of Lorraine*, *Lewis Earl of Flanders*, *Jaques Dauphin of Viennois*, Son to *Imbert*, who after gave Dauphin to the Crown of *France*; the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harcourt* (Brother

The English  
Conquerors  
at the Bat-  
tel of Cref-  
sy.

to *Godfrey*) and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of fifteen hundred. The *French* King himself with a small Company got to *Bray* in the Night, where he was received with the Tears and Lamentations of his People, whom yet he sought to comfort all he could. Some few Troops, that held together, sav'd themselves by retiring to Places adjoining. This memorable Victory happen'd upon the Saturday after *S. Bartholomew's-day*, being Aug. 24. 1346.

King *Edward* managed this Victory with as great Moderation as he won it; and first having embraced his Son, and commended the Valour he shewed that Day, he rendered Thanks to God, whose Aid he had before begged at the beginning of the Battel; and early the next Morning, being Sunday, he sent out three hundred Lances, and two thousand Archers, to discover what became of the Enemy, who met great Troops of Soldiers coming from *Abbeville*, *S. Requier*, *Roan* and *Beauvais*, (ignorant of what had happen'd) conducted by the Archbishop of *Roan*, and Prior of *France*, whom they likewise defeated, and slew seven thousand more. Our Writers also report, That so great Numbers of Stragglers, which fled from the Battel, and lost their Way in the Fog the next Morning, were slain, as equall'd the kill'd in the Field. So great a Loss did *France* sustain by this one fatal Battel.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* this Year, there was another of greater Importance gotten in *England* by the Queen and his People over the *Scots*, who being set on by the *French* to divert the War there, entred the Kingdom with sixty thousand Men, (as our Writers report) assuring themselves of Victory, because, as they supposed, the main Strength of it was in *France*. But they found the contrary. For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Hunfrivile* Earl of *Angos*, *Henry Percy*, *Ralph Nevill*, *William Daincourt*, with the Archbishop of *York*, Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gather'd so strong an Army, and so well order'd them by the encouragement of the Queen (who was with them in Person) as that they utterly routed this great Army, took King *David* Prisoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteith*, *Murrey*, and *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, and others, and slew 15000 *Scots*. This Victory happen'd likewise on a Saturday, and six Weeks after that of *Crecy*. And as if Providence had design'd to make this Year in all places Triumphant, the Aids sent to the Countess of *Monfort* in *Britain*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, overthrew and took Prisoner *Charles de Blois*, the Pretender to that Dutchy, and with him Monsieur *La Val*, the Lords *Rockford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyacque*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires, and there were slain in the Encounter the Lord *De La Val*, (Father of him which was taken) Viscount *Roban*, Monsieur *De Casteau*, *Brian de Malestroict*, *De Quintin*, *De Direval*, great Lords, besides many other worthy Warriours, Knights and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred. Thus all places fell before the Sword of *England*.

\* In *Gi. Villani's* Italian History 'tis mention'd, That the old King of *Bohemia* was kill'd in the Battel of *Cressy*. His Arms were three Ostrich Feathers, and being taken by the Prince, he afterwards us'd the same Devise, which has ever since been born by the Princes of *Wales*, his Successors. According to this Author, *James King of Majorca* was also kill'd in this Battel.

\* He said to him, Dear Son, God give you Grace to go on as you have begun; you are my best Son, you have acquitted your self nobly, and truly deserve the Crown for which we fought. The Prince made no Reply, but bow'd down almost to the Ground.

\* Seven thousand Men of the Inhabitants of *Abbeville*, *S. Requier* and *Roan* were slain the next Day; and besides these, the Archbishop of *Roan* and the Grand Prior's Troops were defeated, their Leaders and most of their Men being kill'd on the Spot.

\* This successful Battel was fought at *Nevills-Croft* near *Durham*.

\* One *John Copland* of *Northumberland* took him and the King as a Reward of his Courage, gave him 500 l. a Year, to him and his Heirs for ever, and made him a Knight Bannoret.

\* The Earl of *Darby* also obtain'd a Victory over *John* the Dauphin in *Normandy*.



A. D. 1346. King Edward pursuing his Victory in France, marches on directly forward, and without meddling with the great Cities of Amiens and Abbeville, which were near, sets down before Calais\*, a Town of more Importance than any for England, and the Gate for all the rest, which John de Vienne Marshal of France, and the Lord d'Andregben, a great Man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King Edward having shelter'd his People as in another Town built of Sheds, and Coverts to dwell in, furnished with all Provisions, lay without any Molestation of the French King, who was now likewise besieged with the Miseries of his own Estate, which was not only his real Misfortune, but thought his Fault. The King of France was in great Necessity, which must be supplied from a People who groaned under the Burthen of Poverty, and were very discontented for the ill management of the Treasure, the fallshood of the Financiers, the crying down of the Money, want of Trade, greatness of Taxes, &c. No way could be found to set all things to rights, but by an Assembly of the States, wherein all the Financiers, Receivers and Managers of Monies, are called to an account, and the Treasure is committed to the disposal of the Clergy and Nobility, to take away all suspicion of ill Dealings. Pierre de Essars Treasurer of France was committed to Prison, and obliged to pay a great Fine to the King, and the other Officers and Accomptants forced to restore at once what they had been gathering many Years. The Bankiers, Lombards, and other Usurers are put to the Press for their unlawful Exactions, their Interests being proved to exceed the Principal, which was confiscated to the King, and the Interests given to the Debtors. Thus was the poor oppressed People a little satisfied, and the King's Necessities supplied, by which he was enabled with the ready Service of his Nobles and ablest Subjects to get another Army into the Field the next Spring to relieve Calis, but approaching it could find no way open to attempt it, the King of England being Master both of the Haven, and possessed of all other ways that were passible; and having the Flemmings his Friends, who with an huge Army had besieged Ayre, and did much mischief on the Confines of France, which to oppose while the King called John Duke of Normandy, the Prince out of Guien, Henry of Lancaster Earl of Darby, having an Army of twelve hundred Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand Foot, English and Gascoignes, took in most of the Towns of Zantonge and Poitou, besieged and sacked Poitiers; and so returns to Burdeaux with more Plunder than they could well carry. Thus the French suffered every where, and their King was not able to relieve them. But at length, to shew his Will more than Ability, he sends to the King of England, to solicit him to appoint some place of Battel, and he would encounter him. King Edward returned him an answer, 'If he could make his own way to come thither to him, there he should find him; but he would not leave the Place, now he was ready to take it, having lain so long at it with great Labour and Charge. Then two Cardinals were sent by the Pope to mediate for a Peace, but nothing could be effected. So that the French King was forced to break up, and retire to Paris, leaving Calis to the Mercy of the

Besieger; which, when they understood, they sent to desire a Parley, had it granted, and therein received this final Sentence, 'That six of their chief Burgeesses should be sent to the King bareheaded and barefooted, in their Shirts, with Halters about their Necks, the Keys of the Town and Castle in their Hands, and submit themselves to the King's Will, and the rest he would pardon. This Sentence being related to the miserable Townsmen, they were in great Lamentation about the choice of this Sacrifice, who of them it should be that must die for the rest, till one among them stands up, and spake boldly to this effect: 'Fellow-Citizens, I have so often exposed my Life in this long Siege for my Country, (and have been every Day so ready to die) that I am now most willing to sacrifice my Life, as my last Oblation for it, and will cheerfully carry my Head to the victorious King of England, not desiring to survive the Destruction of my miserable Country. This free and resolute Speech so wrought upon the amazed People, that now they strived who should be one of the six, and cried out, *Let us go, let us go unto Death; it is our last Duty to our Native Soil.* So that six are presently chosen, and sent according to the King's demand, presenting themselves on their Knees to the King, and beseeching him to shew Mercy unto them. The King commands them instantly to be carry'd to their Execution, and would not in regard of his Oath be persuaded to spare them by all the Intreaties and earnest Petition of his Council, till the Queen, great with Child, fell on her Knees before him, and with Tears obtained their Pardon, and had them given her. Which done, she caused them to be cloathed, gave them their Dinner, and six Nobles a Man, appointing them to be conveyed safely through the Army, and set at liberty. An Act of Mercy worthy of so great a Queen. The King, tho' in this he was severe, yet was he more sparing of Blood than his Grandfather Edward I. and had more of Compassion, as he shewed by one Act in this Siege. When Victuals within the Town began to fail, and all unuseful Persons, as old Men, Women and Children<sup>d</sup> were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again, as he might have done, to consume their Store, but suffered them to pass through his Army, gave them Victuals, and two Pence a-piece to every one. And thus was the strong Tower of Calis gotten, Aug. 3. 1347. after almost a Year's Siege, with infinite Cost and Labour. All the Inhabitants were turn'd out of it, being forced to seek new Dwellings, and a Colony of English placed in it; and so it remained in the possession of the Crown of England two hundred and ten Years. And now this Triumphant King having made a Truce for some few Months, and taken care to secure what he had gotten, goes over with his Queen, Prince, and many of his People into England, to spend some time in Feasts and Triumphs, carrying over such abundance of Spoils, that every House almost had some part, and the English Wives are grown extremely fine with French Ornaments. And to add to this Glory, the Princes Electors of Germany send in the midst of this Jollity to the King, to signify that they had chosen him King of the Romans<sup>e</sup>; but he refuses the Office, tho' it was of great Dignity, because it was out of his way, and would be burthensome to him to

The miserable condition of France.

The Queen's Mercy to six condemned Citizens.

Calis is taken.

Calis surrendered upon these Conditions.

\* On the 7th of September 1346.

<sup>b</sup> The King of France sought to draw away the Flemmings from the King of England, by Promises of Freedom, Trade, and Gifts, but could not prevail with them.

<sup>c</sup> Eustace de St. Pierre.

<sup>d</sup> To the number of seventeen hundred.

<sup>e</sup> The Archbishop of Mentz, Rodolph and Rupert Counts Palatine of the Rhine and Dukes of Bavaria, Lewis Marquess of Brandenburg and Lusatia, and the two Dukes of Saxony, elected King Edward Emperor. Stow, p. 245.



A. D. manage<sup>a</sup>. But before the end of this Year Eng-  
1347. land's Mirth was turn'd into bitter Mourning, by  
Reg. 21. the invisible Sword of Heaven. A contagious  
Pestilence, which first beginning in the East and  
South parts of the World, spread into all parts of  
The Plague Christendom, and raged so violently in England,  
in England. that it is said to have destroyed more than half  
of its Inhabitants, so that the Church-Yards were  
not large enough to bury the Dead, but they were  
1348. forced to purchase new Ground for that purpose.  
In London there died in six Months 57374 Persons,  
and other Cities and Towns suffered as deeply, ac-  
cording to their proportion. This Plague was at-  
tended with as mortal a Famine, Murrain of Cat-  
tel, and Barrenness of the Ground, caused through  
the Contagion of the Air, and want of Hus-  
bandry.

The King  
goes over  
to Calis.

But all the former Calamities did only cause a  
short Cessation of Arms between the two Princes,  
not deter them from prosecuting their Quarrel;  
Edward's Kingdom was not so emptied, but he  
made a shift to keep his Fields and Troops full.  
The first Action after it was his Passage  
over to Calis, upon an Information of a Plot con-  
trived by the French to surprize the Town after  
this manner: Monsieur de Charny<sup>b</sup> Governour of  
St. Omers had treated with Americ de Pavie, whom  
King Edward had left Governour of the Castle of  
Calis, and promised him twenty thousand Crowns  
to be admitted into the Castle. Americ accepts  
the Offer, and appoints a Night for the Business;  
in which Night King Edward, being inform'd by  
Americ, arrives with three hundred Men at Arms,  
and six hundred Archers. Monsieur Charny sets out  
likewise the same Night from St. Omers with his For-  
ces, and sent a hundred Men armed before with the  
Crowns to Americ to possess themselves of the  
Castle. The Men accordingly were let in at the  
Postern-Gate, the Crowns received, and them-  
selves put in hold; which done, the Gates of the  
Town are opened, and the King marches out first  
to encounter Monsieur de Charny, coming on with  
his Forces, who perceived himself betray'd, and  
therefore put his People into the best posture of  
defence he could. The King of England, because  
he would not be known to be there in Person, put  
himself and the Prince under the Colours of the  
Lord Walter Manny, and then fell to a sharp En-  
gagement with them, in which he was twice beaten  
down on his Knees by Mongeur de Riboumont, a  
strong and valiant Knight (with whom he fought  
hand to hand) but recovered himself, and in the  
end took Riboumont Prisoner. Charny was also  
taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward  
the Night after (which was New-Years-Night)  
feasted with the Prisoners, and gave Riboumont  
in honour of his Valour a rich Chaplet of Pearl  
1349. (which he wore himself) for a New-Years-Gift,  
forgave him his Ransom, and set him at liberty.  
The rest paid dearly for what they got not, and  
were warned how they deal again in the same  
kind. Yet the English not long after had better  
success by the same Arts, and got the Castle of  
Guines (a place of great Importance near Calis)  
for a Sum of Money given to one Beauconroy a  
Frenchman; of which Castle, when the French  
King demanded Restitution, in Consideration of  
the Truce, King Edward returns answer, That for

One Ribou-  
mont fought  
with the  
King.

things bought and sold between their People, there  
was no Exception in the Truce; and so held it.

Shortly after this, the French King, in whose  
Fate it was not to see better Fortunes, dy'd, and  
left his distressed Kingdom to his Son John, who  
endured far worse Calamities. For in his and the  
two following Reigns, the English became such  
powerful Masters of France, that they turned all  
into Blood and Confusion, and might have been  
absolute Masters of it, had not their Civil Dis-  
sentions among themselves given France time and  
leave to recover its Liberty and Strength. King  
Edward the next Year went again in Person with  
his Fleet to Sea, to encounter certain Spanish Ships  
passing from Flanders, laden with Cloth and  
other Commodities, which after a sharp Fight,  
and much Blood shed on both sides, he took, with  
their Cargo of rich Goods. And this he did, be-  
cause the Spaniards the Year before had entred  
the River Gironne, and taken certain English Ships  
laden with Wines, and slew all the English. In  
the mean time, the King's Forces in Guien were  
not idle, but there were many Conflicts between  
the French and them. In Britain also the War  
continu'd, and was hotly maintain'd between the  
two Ladies, the Widow of Monfort, and the Wife  
of Charles de Blois (who was a Prisoner in Eng-  
land.) Divers Propositions of Peace had been  
made by the Pope's Legates, and Commissioners  
had often met, to the great Expence of both  
Kings, but nothing was concluded; and so tem-  
porary Truces were set on foot to gain time.  
These Delays not only consumed our Men, but  
Treasure, for the War was not able to maintain  
it self, tho' invasive. The Money was here al-  
ter'd, and abated in Weight, and yet made to  
pass according to the former Value. And where-  
as before there were no other pieces of Money,  
but Nobles, and half Nobles, with small pieces  
of Silver called Sterlings; the King caused Groats  
and Two-pences of equal Value with the Sterling-  
money to be coined, which raised the Prices of  
Commodities, that usually rise or fall, according  
to the plenty or scarcity of Money, made Ser-  
vants and Labourers to raise their Wages. Where-  
upon a Statute was made in the Parliament now  
held at Westminster, to reduce the same to the  
usual Rates given before the late great Mortality.  
This caused much discontent among them, espe-  
cially against William Edington Bishop of Win-  
chester, the King's Treasurer, who was thought  
the Adviser of the Abatement of the Coin. In  
this Parliament also were several Orders made  
for the governing and ordering the Staple, be-  
cause the King being displeased with the People  
of Flanders for disappointing him of the Match  
between his Daughter and their young Earl Lewis  
(who was escaped into France, and marry'd to  
the Duke of Brabant's Daughter) had removed  
the Mart, or Staple of Wools from their Towns,  
which were greatly enriched thereby, and caused  
it to be kept at Westminster, Chichester, Canterbury,  
Lincoln, Warwick, York, Newcastle, Exeter, Car-  
marden, Bristol and Hull, judging it more con-  
venient to enrich his own Towns, than Strangers,  
by the Commodities of his Kingdom. An Act  
also was made in this Parliament, that all Weirs,  
Mills, and other Stoppages of Rivers, which hin-

Money made  
to go alone  
its value.

1351.

Several  
good Acts  
made.

<sup>a</sup> He was persuaded against it by his Queen; for that the Pope, who had caus'd Charles King of Bohemia to be crown'd Em-  
peror, and most of the Ecclesiastical Electors, the best Friends in those Days, would have been his Enemies.

<sup>b</sup> The Lord Geoffrey de Charny.

<sup>c</sup> The King turn'd out Sir Americ de Pavie, and made the Lord Beauchamp Governour of the Castle. The Sir Americ fell after-  
wards into the hands of the French, and for his Perjury to them was degraded, his Tongue cut out, and then hang'd and dis-  
member'd. Du Chesne.

<sup>d</sup> Besides the following Acts made this Parliament, there was also an Act made, forbidding, that any Persons should bring any  
Bull, or Instruments from Rome into the Realm, or carry any Process thither, to the prejudice of the King's Subjects, under pain of  
incurring a Premunire, i. e. being put out of the King's Protection, and forfeiting their Lives, Bodies, Goods and Chateaux. Stat.  
Prov. 27. Edw. 3. c. 1.

dred



A. D. 1351. Reg. 25. dred the Passages of Lighters, Boats, and other Vessels up and down the Country, should be removed. An Act very advantageous to the Kingdom, but through Bribing and Corruptions of great Men, it took no effect. So that that Age had only the Honour of making so good an Ordinance. It is said also, that another Act was made this Parliament at the earnest Request of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore should wear any Hood, except striped with divers Colours or Furs, and their Garments reversed, the wrong side outward; a good design to make so foul a Sin become infamous, and at length odious.

After this Parliament, Henry Earl of Darby is created Duke of Lancaster<sup>a</sup>, and Ralph Lord Stafford Earl of Stafford, and Charles de Blois, who had been a Prisoner long in England, was released for forty thousand Florins, and permitted to return into Britain to provide the same. Great Mediation was made by the Pope to reconcile the two Kings, and Commissioners met to conclude a Peace. Articles were propounded, of which the Chief was, viz. 'That the King of England should hold all the Lands of the Duchy of Aquitain without Homage, and quit his Title to the rest of France, but the French would not yield to it, (tho' after they were forced to accept of the same Article at the Treaty of Brignny.) Whereupon the King of England being incensed, would not hear of any farther Prorogation of the Truce, tho' much urged to it by two Cardinals sent on purpose from Avignon by Pope Clement VI. and prepares a-fresh for the War. And first the Prince of Wales grown now a Man, is appointed by Parliament to go into Gascoigne, with a thousand Men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great number of Welshmen; and in June following sets out with three hundred Sail of Ships, attended with the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, the Lords Chandos, and James Audley, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Frank de Hall, and many others. 1353. About Michaelmas following the King himself went over to Callis with another Army, taking with him his two Sons, Lionel of Antwerp, now Earl of Ulster, in right of his Wife Elizabeth, Daughter and Heir to William Burgh, and John of Gaunt Earl of Richmond. There met him at Callis a thousand Men at Arms out of Germany, Flanders and Brabant, which he had hired, so that his Army consisted of three thousand Men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on Horseback, besides Archers a-foot. The City of London sent him three hundred Men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one Livery, at their own Charge. But with all this great Force he could effect nothing, because the French King would not be drawn to engage him, in regard he was too powerful, and his People under discontent; but he so removed all Provisions out of his way, that the King of England was forced to return. The Disturbances of France arose at this time from Charles King of Navarr, who had marry'd Jane the French King's Daughter, a Prince of an active Spirit, subtil and proud, by reason of his great Estate and high Blood, being the Son of Lewis Count D'Eureux, and Jane Daughter to King Lewis Huttin, who was disinherited of the Crown of France by Philip the Long her Uncle, by the Salick Law, but preferred by him to be Queen of Navarr, in whose

Right this Charles her Son had the Title of that Kingdom, and other great Inheritances with it. 1353. But he not being content with them, coveted also the Countries of Champagne and Bry, which belong'd to his Mother by the same Right as the Kingdom of Navarr did; and taking himself wrong'd, enter'd into violent Courses; but not daring to complain directly of the King, he falls upon the Constable of France, as the Chief of his Council, and one of whom he was most jealous, in regard of the King's Favour to him, and in the end caused him to be murther'd in his Bed at L'Aigle in Normandy, rushing himself up into his Chamber, with his Brother Philip of Navarr, two of the Harcourts, and divers others of his Retinue; and then flying to his City of Eureux, justifies the Act to be lawful. The French King, tho' much displeased at the cruel Fact, yet was forced not to resent it, and promises the King of Navarr, if he would come and crave his Pardon, he should have it. Upon this he appears at Paris before the Council to give a Reason of the Fact, is condemned as guilty of Treason, (notwithstanding the King's Promise) and committed to Prison, and could be hardly released at the Request of three Queens, viz. his Mother, Sister and Wife. Being dismissed, he goes presently in his Passion and offers his Service to the King of England (who knew well enough how to make use of such a powerful Member) and withal surprizes several pieces in Normandy, endeavouring all he could to draw the Affections of the People from their King, when he had most need. These Injuries the French King for a while dissembles, till he could find some advantage against him, which at length fell out thus. Charles his eldest Son being lately invested in the Duchy of Normandy, was visited by all the great Men of the Country, among whom came the King of Navarr, and is Royally feasted at Roan. The French King having notice of it at Paris, sets out with a Body of Men, takes him at Dinner with his Son, and without any process of Law causes four of the Chief that massacred the Constable to be presently executed, of which the two Harcourts were part, and sends the King of Navarr under a strong Guard to Arras, and his chief Servants to other Prisons. This sudden Execution enraged the Friends of Navarr, and especially Philip his Brother, who with Jeffrey Harcourt the Uncle of the executed Brethren, posted over into England, exclaiming against this barbarous Murther, begging aid of King Edward in revenging so notorious an Injustice, and offering him their Hearts, Goods, Towns and Havens to let him into Normandy, which the King was not backward to accept and entertain.

And first the King sends over the Duke of Lancaster with four thousand Men at Arms, who by the help of so great Forces, wins many strong Towns; and in the mean while himself, that he might be well furnished for so great an Action, obtains of his Parliament, which he called for that purpose, a Tax of fifty Shillings of every Sack of Wool for six Years next ensuing; by which Imposition it was thought (say our Historians) that our King was able to expend a thousand Marks Sterling a Day; so great a Vent was there at that time for Wools. Soon after this Parliament broke up, the King, as hardy as courageous, went with his Army to recover Berwick, tho' it was then Winter, which had been of late

<sup>a</sup> This was done by the general Consent of the whole Parliament, and he was invested by the Cincture and Sword, with power to hold a Court of Chancery, in the County of Lancaster. Rot. Pa. 25 Edw. 3. Par. 1. N. 18.

<sup>b</sup> This Expedition was in the Year 1355. and Sir Frank van Hall, whom Mr. Daniell places among those who went with Prince Edward to Gascoigne, commanded the German or Flemish Auxiliaries, that serv'd the King in Picardy. Henry de Knighton. Rob. Aves.



A. D. 1355. surprized by the Scots, and not only recovered the Town, but had the whole Kingdom resigned to him by <sup>a</sup> Robert Baliol King of Scots, who had indeed the best Title to that Honour, but had not so good an Interest as his Competitor King Alexander<sup>b</sup> (then a Prisoner in England) who had a very powerful Party there, yet both of them were Kings to their own fides, to the great Distraction of the Kingdom<sup>c</sup>. So that all the neighbouring Nations were in great Troubles, but England, which flourished with Victories and Triumphs.

1356. While the King was busied at home, the Prince of Wales enters Guien, passes over Languebec to Tholouse, Narbonne and Burges, without any opposition, destroying and spoiling the Country where he went; and being laden with spoil, returns to Burdeaux. The French King being thus assaulted on all hands, gathers together all the Force he could, and first goes against his Enemy in Normandy, and recover'd many of his lost Towns, and might have prevailed there, had not the Prince of Wales, who was got abroad again, and had invaded Tureine, obliged him to carry his Army from thence to oppose him, and stop his Course; to which end he marched towards him with his whole Army, causing all the Towns and Passages upon the River Loir to be strongly guarded. The Prince knowing himself too weak to encounter so great Forces as the French King was bringing up against him, retreats again through Tureine and Poitou towards Burdeaux, but was pursued by the French, who within two Leagues of Poitiers had him at an advantage. At this Instant came two Cardinals<sup>d</sup> from the Pope to mediate a Peace between them, and prevailed so far upon the Prince, that he was contented to restore to the French King what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice to his Honour, in which he said, *He stood accountable to his Father and his Country*. But the French King supposing that he now had his Enemy at his Mercy, would accept of no other Conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages, and surrender up himself and Army into his Hands, to be used according to his Discretion, otherwise (notwithstanding the Legate's Persuasions to milder terms) he would immediately set upon the Prince with his Army (which was six to one<sup>e</sup>). The Prince being reduced to these Straights, that he must yield either to dishonourable terms, or fight immediately, prepares for a Battel, taking what advantage he could of the Ground, and providently getting the benefit of the Vines, Shrubs and Bushes on that side, where he was likely to be assaulted most furiously by the French Horse. The Success answered the Prince's Expectation; for the French Cavalry, to whom the French King designed to give the Honour of the Victory, with some discontent to the rest, being upon their first assault entangled among the Vines, were so disorder'd and gall'd by the

The Prince obtained a great Victory at the Battel of Poitiers.

English Archers, without harm or danger to themselves, that they were forced to give ground, and the whole Army was by that means conquer'd, and the Prince, who must have been ruined by delay, purchased so memorable a Victory, as was

never before attained by the English with so few hands. For the French King<sup>f</sup> himself and youngest Son Philip (who valiantly defended his Father, when his other two Brothers had forsaken him, for which afterward he had the Title of Hardy, and Dukedom of Burgogne given him) were taken Prisoners, and with them Jacques de Bourbon, Count de Pontbieu, the Archbishop of Sens, John d'Artoys, Count d'Eu, Charles de Artoys, his Brother Count de Longueville, Charles Count de Tancarville, the Counts of Vendosme, Salbource, Dampmartin, and La Roche, with many other eminent Lords, besides two thousand Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen; which the Conquerors holding to be<sup>g</sup> too great a Number to be kept Prisoners, released many of them. The French, who best knew their own Losses, relate, that there were slain in this Battel seventeen hundred Gentlemen, among whom were fifty two Bannorets, and many of the Nobility, as Peter de Bourbon, the Duke d'Atbens Constable of France, Jan de Clermont Marthal, Jeffrey de Charny, High Chamberlain. Three of the French King's Sons escaped (for they were all in the Battel) viz. Charles the Dauphin, who was the first so entitled, Lewis afterward Duke of Anjou, and John Duke of Berry, all of them Men of great Action in the following times. This Blow might seem to have given France a complete overthrow, and subdu'd it entirely to the Crown of England; but that it was a Body of so many strong Limbs, and so great extent, that it is almost impossible to weaken it so much, but that it will recover at length again, as it did soon after. The Prince of Wales in this Battel gained a double Victory, the one by his Sword, and the other by his Courtesie; for he visited the Captive King with all the Reverence and Respect due to his Majesty, comforted him by the Examples of like Fortunes in War, and assured him of all fair Treatment, according to his Dignity. The Chief Nobles, who attended the Prince in this Action, were the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, and Stafford, the Lords Cobham, Spencer, Barkley, and Bassett, and of Gascoigne, Le Capital de Beuse, the Lords Pamier, Chaumont, and others. But the most remarkable Instance of Honour and Valour was the Lord James Audley, who having vowed to be the foremost of the Battel, performed his Word, and confirmed it with many Wounds, for which the Prince having rewarded him with five hundred Marks per Annum, Fee-simple in England, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires, who had underwent the same Dangers with him. The Prince knowing it, asked him, Whether he did not accept his Gift? He answer'd, *Yea; but those Men had deserved it as well as himself, and had more need of it*. The Prince was pleased at this Reply, and gave him five hundred Marks more, as if he resolv'd, that so much Worth should not go<sup>h</sup> unrewarded.

All things being carefully settled and accommodated by the Prince after the Battel, he retir'd with his Prisoners first to Burdeaux, and shortly after he passes with great Glory into Eng-

<sup>a</sup> It should be Edward Baliol.

<sup>b</sup> King David. There was no King Alexander, either of the Baliol or Bruce Family: Tallent.

<sup>c</sup> King Edward Baliol spent the rest of his Days in England on a Pension of 2000 l. a Year allow'd him by the King.

<sup>d</sup> Of Perigord and St. Vitalis.

<sup>e</sup> The French had fifty thousand Horse, and as many Foot; the English, according to the Seigneur Riboumont's account, who was sent by King John to view Prince Edward's Army before the Battel, not above eight or nine thousand Men in all. The two Armies fought in the Fields of Beauvoir, six Miles from Poitiers, on Monday the 19th of September, 1356. Froissard.

<sup>f</sup> He was taken by Sir Denis de Morbeque, a Knight of Artois, in King Edward's Service.

<sup>g</sup> The English are said to have taken more French Prisoners than their whole Army contain'd.

<sup>h</sup> The Prince is said also at this time, after he had given most devout Thanks to God for this wonderful Victory, to have given all his Soldiers particular Thanks for their Bravery, and dispens'd as great a Largess to every one of them, as the strictness of his Fortune at that time would allow.



A. D. 1357. Reg. 31. *land*<sup>a</sup>, now the Theatre of Triumphs: The French King was lodg'd at the Savoy, then a noble Palace of Henry Duke of Lancaster's. Many Prisoners upon reasonable Ransome, and not a few upon the French King's Word (who undertook for them) were released and sent home honourably. David King of Scots, who had been a Prisoner eleven Years in England, was at the earnest Solicitation of his Queen Joan, King Edward's Sister, released; upon an Obligation to pay him an hundred thousand Marks Striveling<sup>b</sup> in ten Years: The Security the King had of France, was a means to grant this Prince his Liberty. The French King remained a Prisoner in England four Years, in which time many Overtures and great Offers were made for his deliverance, but nothing effected. Charles the Dauphin, a very prudent Prince, who manag'd the Kingdom in his Father's Captivity, endeavour'd all he could to procure a Contribution of his factious People to ransom his Father, but could not prevail. A Parliament was at length called to consult about it, and the Dauphin very gravely propounded to them the necessity of recovering and redeeming their King, in order to the Safety of the Kingdom; but after many Meetings of the Committee of fifty, to whom it was referred to avoid Confusion, there was a Resolution produced to the Dauphin, much different from what he expected: For instead of an Aid and Contribution, they require a Reformation of the State; and first the Bishop of Laon, who was chosen their Speaker, besought him to keep secret whatsoever should be spoken to him by the States. The young Prince answers, That it was derogatory to his Station in the Kingdom to receive Rules and Laws by his Father's Subjects, and thereupon commanded them upon their Allegiance, to speak their Intentions. The Bishop then complains of the ill Management of the publick Revenues, demands a speedy Redress, and that Commissioners should be appointed to call all Persons answerable to an Account. That all the present Managers of the Treasury should be displaced; That the Moneys and all Affairs of State should be manag'd henceforth by four Bishops and twelve Burgesses, of which those of the City of Paris should be the Chief, and that without this Council the Dauphin should do nothing; and in Conclusion, they require, That the King of Navarre should be set at Liberty: Which things, if he would cause to be granted, they would give any reasonable Tax for Redemption of their King. To these Demands the Prince desired time to give an Answer, thinking by delays to separate and disunite their Councils; but the Deputies at length grew cold, and so nothing was done at that Meeting, save that it so much infected the Subjects, and especially the People of Paris, that they demanded to have the King of Navarre deliver'd immediately according to the Decrees of the Deputies; and at length so prevailed with Pinguigny, the Governour of Artoys, who had the keeping of him, that he was released after nineteen Months Imprisonment, comes to Paris accompany'd with a stately Train, and so much Confidence, as if he would shew that he intended to revenge himself, and was receiv'd with universal Joy of the Citizens; to whom he declares with great Eloquence, what Wrongs he had receiv'd, and intimated, that he had a Title to their Crown, and so put that City

into such a Combustion, that the Redemption of the King was quite laid aside, and the Prince was forc'd by an Act of Abolition to pardon the King of Navarre, and all his Complices for all former Offences to pacifie them. The Prince seeing the Perverseness of the Parisians, went to other Cities and Provinces to solicit for Moneys towards the Redemption of his Father, leaving his Brother Philip Duke of Orleans at Paris to keep them in the best Order he could, in his Absence. The Province of Languedoc is highly commended in the French Histories for the first who made the largest Offers to purchase their King's Liberty, in the Assembly of the three States at Toulouse, promising in it to their Governour the Count D'Arminiacque not only to contribute their Revenues, and moveables, but to sell their Wives Jewels to raise a sufficient Sum for it; and to testify their Sorrow for their King's Misfortunes, they order'd, That no costly Cloaths, Feasting, Plays, or other Pastimes, should be us'd in their Province, during the time of their King's Captivity. Champaign follow'd this Example; but nothing could prevail with the People of Paris to give any thing. The King of Navarre had won them not only from their Obedience, but taught them to put off all Humanity, and put them into such Flames of Rebellion, that when the Dauphin return'd to the City, the Provost of Merchants beset his House with three thousand Artificers in Arms, and rushing up into the Prince's Chamber with some of his Company, slew Jan de Constans and Robert de Clermont, in his Presence, because, as he pretended, they being his chief Counsellors, had given him bad Advice; takes off the Prince's Hat from his Head, and having put on himself his own as the City Livery, went out to the Throng, and caused the Bodies of these two Noblemen to be drawn along the Streets, that the Rabble might applaud the Murther. Then the Provost writes in the Name of the whole City to all the great Towns to joyn with them, and take their Livery, as the Prince had done for the Reformation of the State; and in the mean time, they compos'd a Council among themselves, of which the Bishop of Laon was President: And the Provost, with some of the University chief Heads, assuming a Sovereign Power to order all Affairs of State as a Commonwealth. In so great a confusion was the Kingdom without an Head, and so ready to shake off all Regal Authority and Power.

The Dauphin thus disgraced and perplexed, with much Difficulty got out of that tumultuous City, and flies into Champaign, where he assembled the States at Vertus, whom he found Loyal and ready to yield him all Assistance. The rest of the great Towns refusing also with much disdain to joyn with the City of Paris, offer him their Aid: So that he was much encourag'd, and likely to have effected his Desires in a short time, had not the King of Navarre, who sought his Destruction, raised new Troubles in the State, and taken Arms against him; by which means not only he was much hinder'd in his Designs, and the Malecontents of the Nation encourag'd to disturb the Peace (for the Peasants, who had been undone by the Soldiers, and miserably plunder'd by their Lords, armed themselves in the Country of Beauvais, and reveng'd themselves upon the Gentry and such as had done them wrong, spoiling and burning their Houses, killing their Wives and Children in a barbarous manner, and Troops

The State of France during their King's Captivity.

The King of Navarre set at Liberty.

Contributions for the Redemption of the French King.

A Tumult in Paris.

Some Cities bold Loyal, but the King of Navarre promotes Tumults.

<sup>a</sup> He landed at Plymouth on the fifth of May, 1357. and went with his Royal Prisoner by easie Journeys to London, where King John made his Publick Entry, mounted on a stately white Courser, the Prince of Wales riding by his side on a little black Nag. Froissard.

<sup>b</sup> Till he cou'd send to his Father, whose Answer was, He had rather continue Prisoner to an Honourable Enemy, than return Home, and be a Slave to his own Subjects.



A. D. of disbanded Soldiers, who had nothing to subsist of, joyned together in Companies, and ravag'd the Kingdom) but also hinder'd the Redemption of their King; so that King Edward, who longed to fill his Treasure with a large Price for his Ransome, began not only to exact Homage of the Captive King for his Kingdom of France, but resolv'd to make an end of this Work with the Sword, and take Possession of the Kingdom of France by Force<sup>a</sup>, which the Captive King would not resign to him. Wherefore he passes over into France with eleven hundred Sail, and lands at Calis with a mighty Army<sup>b</sup>, which he divided into three parts, committing one to the Conduct of the Prince of Wales, another to the Duke of Lancaster, and the third he leads himself: And first he marches to the City of Arras, which he took within three Days, thence into Champaign, where the Cities of Sens and Nevers are surrender'd to him. The Dutchy of Burgogne being terrify'd with these Examples, redeem'd it from Spoil, by paying to the King two hundred thousand Florins of Gold<sup>c</sup>. Being furnished with this Treasure, King Edward marches up to Paris, where the Dauphin (who having lately overcome the Faction, and executed the principal Mutiners, was created Regent) had posted himself with a considerable Body of Men, who in the common Danger flocked together to defend their Country, and would not (by the Example of his Father and Grandfather) be drawn out to hazard them, but only stood upon his Defence; which the King of England seeing, after many Provocations, he rais'd the Siege and<sup>d</sup> returned into Britain to refresh his Army. In the mean time, the Regent lays in great store of Victuals, and provides that he might have enough to maintain his Soldiers without oppressing the Inhabitants, and with extream Diligence so fortify'd the City, that King Edward returning with all his fresh Power, was not able to do any thing against him, as he expected; and so the City, that so lately was like to have endanger'd the whole Kingdom, was now the only means to save it. From Paris therefore King Edward goes with his Army towards Chartres with a Design to besiege that City; but in the way he was so affrighted with a terrible Storm of Hail, Thunder and Lightning, which fell upon his Army, that he vow'd he wou'd make Peace with the French King upon any reasonable Conditions, as he shortly after<sup>e</sup> did at the Treaty of Britigny near Chartres upon these Articles, viz. That the Country of Ponthieu, the Fiefs of Thouars and Belleville, the Countries of Gascoigne, Agenois, Perigort, Limosin, Cahors, Torbe, Bigorres, Rovergne, Angoulesm in Sovereignty, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories; Monstruel on the Sea, Pontbieu, Calis, Guines, La Merke, Saugote, Boulogne, Hames, Vales, and Onis, should be under the Command of the King of England; That King John should pay for his Ransom three Millions of Scutes of Gold, of which six hundred thousand to be presently paid in hand, four hundred thousand the Year following, and the remaining part in the two next Years upon reasonable demand: And in Consideration of the former Grants, the King of

King Edward goes again into France.

Paris stands out against King Edward.

The Treaty of Britigny.

England, and his Son the Prince of Wales as well for themselves as their Successors, for ever should renounce all the Right which they pretended to the Crown of France, the Dutchy of Normandy, the Countries of Tourin, Anjou and Main, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dutchy of Britain, and the Earldom of Flanders; and within three Weeks King John should be carry'd to Calis, and set on Land at the King of England's Charge, except the Expences of his House. And for the sure Performance of these Articles on the King of France's part, the King of England was to have these Hostages deliver'd to him, Lewis Duke of Anjou, John Duke of Berry (his Son) Philip Duke of Orleans his Brother, John Duke of Burgogne, the Counts of Bloys, Alençon, S. Pol, Harcourt, Poncian, Valentinois, Grand Pre, De Brenne, Des Forrests; the Lords Vaudemont, Coufey, Piennes, De S. Venant, De Preaux, De Momerancy, De Garancieis, La Roche, Guion, Estou-reville, Le Dauphine, d'Avergne, d'Andrignil, and De Craon, sufficient Securities for the said Sums and Conditions. The Scots also were not to be aided by the French King, nor Flemmings by the English: Charles King of Navarre, and his Brother Philip were likewise comprehended in these Articles, &c. This Agreement of Peace enter'd into by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons Charles and Edward, and sworn to by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages were thereupon deliver'd to King Edward; who departing from Honfleur, brought them over into England, leaving the Earl of Warwick in France to compleat the Peace<sup>f</sup>. King John is honourably attended to Calis, ready to be deliver'd at the Payment of the first part of his Ransom, which to raise the City of Paris, pays one thousand Royals, and by their Example other Cities contributed their Proportions: And so King John was again set at Liberty<sup>g</sup> after having remain'd about five Years a Prisoner in England, the two King's parting from each other with all outward Demonstrations of Brotherly Love.

King Edward being returned home, calls a Parliament, wherein the Form of Peace between him and the French King was read, approv'd on by all the States, and an Oath taken by all the Nobility to observe the same for their parts. And here the King restored the Houses, Lands, and Tenements, which he had taken from the Friars Strangers, An. Reg. 12. to maintain him in his French Wars; which now being ended, he granted them to them again in as free a manner as they before had held them: A rare Example of Justice in this King, it being seldom known that a Prince will part with any thing he hath gotten. And now was the Glory and Happiness of England a little allay'd by a great Mortality, call'd The Second Pestilence, by which many Noblemen died, of whom the chief was Henry Duke of Lancaster, one of the Royal Blood; a Prince eminent for his Wisdom and Valour, who had been a chief Actor in all these Wars, and a principal Support to the Crown of England, whose Daughter and Heir was a little before marry'd to John of Gaunt (by a Dispensation from the Pope for their too near Consanguinity) whereby he was Duke of

1361.

A Parliament call'd to ratify the Peace of Britigny.

A great Pestilence, again.

<sup>a</sup> He made a Vow never to return into England till he had brought France to his Terms.

<sup>b</sup> It consisted in all of an hundred thousand Men. Froissard.

<sup>c</sup> Amounting to about 35000 l. Sterling.

<sup>d</sup> He had not been in Bretagne before in this Expedition.

<sup>e</sup> Yet with a seeming Unwillingness, and by the importunate Persuasions of the Duke of Lancaster, and Simon de Langres the Pope's Legate.

<sup>f</sup> A Scute of Gold is 3 s. 4 d. Sterling, or as others 6 s. 8 d.

<sup>g</sup> The Treaty was ratify'd by the Dauphin Regent of France before King Edward return'd to England. Du Chesne.

<sup>h</sup> The 15th of October, 1360. he was but four Years one Month a Prisoner. On the Peace King Edward left off the Title and Arms of France.

Lancaster.



A. D. 1362. *Lancaster.* And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Countess of *Kent*<sup>a</sup>, the Daughter of *Edmund*, Brother to *Edward II.* The King upon this Marriage gives to the Prince of *Wales* the Duchy of *Aquitain*, reserving to himself<sup>b</sup> Homage and Fealty; and shortly after sent him over with his Wife and Retinue to keep his Court there. His Son *Lionel* Earl of *Ulster* is sent into *Ireland* with an Army of fifteen hundred Men, to guard his Earldom against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in *November*, and continued till the Feast of *S. Brice*, his Birth-day, and fiftieth Year of his Age. This Day, that he might render remarkable to his People, and make it a Jubilee, he shewed himself exceeding Gracious to the Nation, freely pardoning many Offenders, releasing Prisoners, recalling banish'd Persons, &c. And upon a Petition of the Commons order'd, that all Pleadings, which before were in *French*, should be made in *English*, that the Subjects might understand the Law, by which he holds what he hath, and is to know what he doth. An excellent Act, and worthy of so great a Prince; but he had deserved greater Honour, if he could have freed it from those Difficulties and Mysteries, which render it a greater Affliction to the People than a Remedy. In it also was made a Statute for Purveyors (as there had been many before) enacting, That no Provisions for the King's Court should be taken up, but for ready Money, under a severe Punishment. For which Ease the Parliament granted him 26 s. upon every Sack of Wool transported for three Years. And so both People and Prince were generally pleas'd, saving that some particular Men look'd upon themselves aggrieved by removing the Staple from *England* to *Calis*, on purpose to enrich that Town of his own acquiring, which might make it to be born withal. And as this greatest of *English* Princes was careful to enlarge his Dominions, and make his People Great abroad, so also to reform their Vices, and make them Good at home. And to this end, in the next Parliament held at *Westminster*, Anno Regn. 37. he caus'd to be enacted certain sumptuary Laws to prevent all Excess both in Apparel and Dyet, appointing every degree of Men, from the Shepherd to the Prince, what Habits and Stuffs they should wear, prohibiting all Ornaments of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all, except Persons of Quality; by which foreign Superfluities were excluded from the Nation, and our own Manufacture only us'd. The Labourer and Husbandman appointed but one Meal a day, and what Meats they should eat, &c. By which means Gluttony and Drunkenness, those Vices which have enfeebled the Nation since, were totally banish'd. So careful was this wise and frugal King to preserve his Subject's Estates from excess. And as provident was he for the ordering and securing of his own Treasure, committing the Custody of it to Conscience and Religion. For by a Certificate sent to Pope *Urban*, Anno Regn. 39. concerning Pluralities, and the Estates of the Churchmen in *England*, there were more Clergymen in Office about the King, than about

any Prince in *Christendom* beside. For first *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Chancellor of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, keeper of the Privy-Seal; *David Welles* Parson of *Sommerham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Beneficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of Chancery; *William Mulse* Dean of *S. Martin le Grand*, Chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the King's Treasure and Jewels; *William Aylby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of *St. Martin's*, Clerk of the Privy-Seal; *Richard Chesterfield* Prebendary of *St. Stephen's*, Treasurer of the King's House; *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundle*, Master of the King's Wardrobe; *John Newham* Parson of *Fenni-Stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer, and Keeper of the Treasury and Jewels; *John Ronsby* Parson of *Harwich*, Surveyer and Controulor of the King's Works; *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Aylby*, Treasurer to the King for the Parts of *Guines*, and Marches of *Calis*; *John Troys* Treasurer of *Ireland*, a Priest, and beneficed there. These Men, who were destitute of Feminine Allurements to Expence and Pomp, and devoted to pious Thriftiness, were thought the fittest to be trusted with his Riches by this wise King.

Shortly after this<sup>c</sup> three Kings came to visit the King of *England*, the King of *France*, King of *Scots*, and King of *Cyprus*. The occasion of the *French* King's coming was chiefly to free some Hostages<sup>d</sup> that remained here, and to clear himself of the Imputations laid to him, for not observing the late Peace in all points; wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many Contests rose about it; so that in an Assembly of the States at *Paris*, certain Lords, whose Homages by the Treaty were due to the King of *England*, protested against it, alledging, 'That the King could not dispose of the Sovereignty of his Kingdom, nor alienate his Demesne, and therefore they would not submit to it. Nevertheless the *French* King, lest King *Edward* should look upon it as Contrivance between the King and his Subjects, published his Edict to command the Observation of the Treaty, and certified the King of *England* of it. Besides, he had resolv'd upon an Expedition to the Holy War, and desired to settle all things at Peace at home before his going. And these were the Occasions of his coming, and not his Love to the Countess of *Salisbury*<sup>e</sup>, as was imagined by some. But howsoever it was, this King shewed a strange Inclination to return to his Gaol, where he had endured so much Affliction, and where shortly after his coming he ended his Life<sup>f</sup>, much lamented of the King of *England*, who solemnly attended his Corps to *Dover*, from whence it was conveyed to *S. Dennis*, and there entomb'd with his Ancestors. The Debate for the Duchy of *Britain* was about this time ended by the Death of *Charles de Blois*, who was slain in a Battel near *Vannes* by *John de Monfort*, and the *English* Forces commanded by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandois*, and Sir *Hugh Caverley*. *John de Monfort* marries *Mary* the Daughter of King *Edward*, and by his Consent did Homage for that Duchy to *Charles* now

King Edward's Affs of Grace at the 50th Year of his Age.

All Pleadings ordain'd to be in English.

Laws for Cloathing.

King Edward's Care to preserve Treasure, and his Confidence in the Clergy.

K. Edward visited by three Kings at once.

King of France dy'd in England.

1364. The Quarrel about Britain ended.

<sup>a</sup> She was call'd the Countess of *Salisbury* by some Historians, because she had in her Youth been betroth'd to *William Mountacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom she was divorc'd by consent.  
<sup>b</sup> Which the Prince paid to his Father before his Departure.  
<sup>c</sup> He granted a general and special Pardon. Rot. Par. 36 Edw. 3. c. 15.  
<sup>d</sup> One *Henry Picard*, a wealthy Citizen of *London*, magnificently treated these four Kings, to his great Honour. *Henry Picard* was Mayor in the Year 1357. when King *John* made his Entry into *London* as a Prisoner. He was a Wine-Merchant, and treated them at his House, since call'd the *Vinttry*. Stow's Survey of *London*. p. 255.  
<sup>e</sup> To excuse his Son the Duke of *Anjou's* stealing away from *Calis*, where he was out upon his Parole, being one of the *French* Hostages, and escaping into *France*, having broken his Word and Honour, engag'd to the *English* to be a true Prisoner. Froiss.  
<sup>f</sup> As Sir *Richard Baker*, and some other modern Writers, falsely relate.  
<sup>g</sup> On the 8th of April, 1364.



A. D. 1364. King of France, compounding with the Widow of Charles de Blois for a Sum of Money, and some Estate in Land. And now Peace began to flourish,

which is unwelcome to none but Soldiers, of which many, whom the War had bred, and Peace would not maintain, getting into strong Bodies in France, did much mischief, till a new Employment was found for them in the Spanish Wars, which happened soon after. A Company of them passed over into Italy under the Conduct of Sir John Haucut<sup>a</sup> a great Warriour, who found such Entertainment among the Princes there for the Restoration of military Discipline among them, and such Honour and Estate by his Valour, that his Fame remains to this Day, and his Statue (tho' he was but Tayler) is there set among their Princes, most memorable for Virtue and Actions. So able was England at that time to furnish the World with great Commanders.

Sir John Haucut famous in Italy, and by them call'd Johannes de Acuto.

1366. And now is this mighty King come to the fortieth Year of his Reign, which if it had been the last, he had dy'd the most glorious Prince of the World, having always hitherto had Fortune his Friend; but after this he suffer'd a Declination in his Glory, and his Age and Frailties brought some Blemishes upon his Actions. Charles V. King of France, furnam'd the Wise, having learned, by the Sufferings of his Father and himself, to manage a Crown before he had one, by his prudent Government got great advantages of him, and by the Advice of a wise Council, and good Conduct of his Wars by Gueselin, a Brittain, chosen Constable of France, recovered his Estate and Power.

Charles K. of France gains much from the K. of England.

1367. The Prince of Wales remaining in the Duchy of Aquitain, with a great Court, and many military Attendants, which had no Employment, was solicited by Peter King of Castile<sup>b</sup>, whom his Bastard-Brother Henry had driven from his Kingdom to assist him in recovering it; which the Prince, having obtained his Father's Consent, and being allured to, by the large Promises of Requitall made by the said Peter, undertakes. The Cause was much better than the Person. For this Peter, Son to Alphonfus II. King of Castile, was become intolerable to his Subjects, by his many tyrannical Cruelties acted upon them, oppressing and destroying his Nobles to enrich himself, and after murdering his Wife (who was the Duke of Bourbon's Daughter, and Sister to the present Queen of France) by the Instigation of his Concubine Maria de Padilla, whom he after marry'd. These Actions of his so incensed his People, that they adhering to his Bastard-Brother Henry, a more virtuous Prince, crown'd him King of Spain at Burgos, and forced Peter to fly his Kingdom. Peter being thus rejected of his People, and expelled his own Dominions, fled to the Prince of Wales, and obtained of him so much, that he went with an Army of thirty thousand, attended by his Brother John Duke of Lancaster, and many other English Lords, to re-invest him in his Kingdom. Henry had to support his Possession the French, under the Command of Gueselin Constable, and Dandreben<sup>c</sup> Marshal of France, besides so many Castilians, Christians and Sarazens, as made him up an Army of near an hundred thousand Men. Upon the Confines of Castile these

Prince of Wales assists the King of Castile, and restores him to his Kingdom.

Princes and their Armies came to a Battel<sup>d</sup>, and the Prince had the Victory, Henry being put to flight, the French Captains taken Prisoners, and Peter placed upon his Throne again at Burgos. The Work being done, the Prince required the promised Reward, but Peter could not, nor would provide it; but having tired him with Delays, forced him at last to return to Burdeaux, without Money to pay his Army, and which was worst, without Health, which he never after recovered. This Success proved not fortunate to either. Peter, an ungrateful Tyrant, enjoy'd not his Right long, but was soon after dispossessed again, taken and put to Death. The Prince of Wales returning out of Spain without Reward, was forced to find out ways to content his Soldiers, who wanted their Pay; and imposed a new Tax upon the Gascoignes, of Feuage, or Chimney-money; which so discontented the People, that they exclaimed against the Government of the English, and appealed to the King and Court of France for Redress. The King of France, at the earnest request of the great Lords, and others, who by the late Treaty were obliged to hold of the Crown of England, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of Wales at Burdeaux, to summon him to answer to their Complaints before him and his Court at Paris<sup>e</sup>. At the same time also the Lords Arminiag<sup>f</sup>, D'Albert, Peregort, Cominges, and many others, made their Proteftations against the King of England, in behalf of the Crown of France, which, said they, they were by Nature to obey, and not a strange Prince; That it was against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom to separate them from the Crown; That the Contract was made in Prison, and therefore constrained, and so not to be observed by the Right of Nations. So that they were resolved to spend their Lives and Estates, rather than be under the Government of England. And by their Example the Cities of the County of Pontbieu submitted themselves to Guy Count de S. Poll, and Guy de Chastillon. The King of England displeased with this Breach of the Treaty, complains to the Pope, and the Emperor Charles IV. who made a Journey into France on purpose to determine the Business, and reconcile the two Kings. The Ambassadors on both sides declared their Cause to him. The English alledged first, That this Treaty having been made more for the advantage of France than England, in that we resigned thereby not only our Title to Normandy, Tourain, and Anjou, the richest Countries of France, but our Title to the Crown, that we might have the Sovereign Dominion of the Duchy of Aquitain, the County of Pontbieu, with some other pieces, which by Right of Inheritance belonged to the Crown of England, whereby the Effusion of Christian Blood was prevented, France had Peace, and their King restored upon as reasonable Conditions as could be devised. Notwithstanding this, the French King (who himself, with all the Council of France, had agreed upon the Peace, and sworn to observe it) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had gotten his Hostages by Fraud) seized upon the Duchy of Aquitain, and Country of Pontbieu, without denouncing War, &c. The

The ill Success of the Prince's Expedition to Castile.

The French Princes refuse Submission to K. Edward.

The Emperor made Umpire between the Kings of England and France. 1369.

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Hawkwood was the Son of a Tanner in Essex, and bound Prentice to a Taylor in London; but going to the French Wars, rose by his Valour to the Honour of Knighthood. He past into Italy after the Peace; was mightily esteem'd by Barnaby Duke of Milan, who gave him his Natural Daughter in Marriage. He afterwards serv'd the Republick of Florence, who when he dy'd erected a noble Monument for him in that City, where his Statue on Horseback still remains. He is call'd by the Italians Johannes Acutus, or de Acuto. Paulus Jovius Elog. Illust. Vir. lib. 2.

<sup>b</sup> The Seigneur Arnold d'Endregban Marechal of France.

<sup>c</sup> On the 3d of April, at Najara, in the Province of Rioja in Old Castile.

<sup>d</sup> The Prince answer'd, We shall be willing to wait on our Uncle the King of France at Paris, since he hath thus invited us; but it shall be with our Helmet on our Head, and attended by sixty thousand Men.



A. D. 1369. Reg. 43. French reply, 'That we by the Treaty ought to have immediately drawn our Army out of France, but did not during all King John's Reign, by which means the Peace was more offensive to them than the War, they being forced to purchase the departure of our Soldiers at more Charge than would have maintain'd an Army: So that the Breach was on our side. That King Edward was bound by it to renounce his Title to the Crown of France in an open Parliament of both Realms, which he had not done. And as to the Release of their King, they said, that it cost France more Gold than it did to redeem their King S. Lewis, with his Nobles and whole Army, when taken by the Solden of Egypt, an Infidel. Thus both sides defended themselves. But the French King (it seems) tho' willing to get in what he could of his Country, yet was unwilling to renew the War, and therefore courted the King of England to Peace by many Presents. But Edward seeing himself thus deluded, prepared to vindicate himself by the Sword; and having borrowed great Sums of Money of the Clergy, sends over John Duke of Lancaster, and Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, with a mighty Army to Callis, to invade France on this side, while the Prince of Wales endeavour'd to recover the revolted Towns of the other. But the Duke returned a little after without effect. Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was then sent over with fresh Supplies, but dy'd in the Journey. Sir Robert Knolls<sup>b</sup>, a Man highly celebrated in those times for his Conduct and Valour, was sent with another Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdaining to be commanded by one that they accounted their Inferiour, overthrew themselves, and frustrated that Expedition. Thus the English lost their ground, and the French King grew greater both in Power and Alliance. For Margaret, the only Daughter and Heir of Lewis Earl of Flanders, to whom King Edward sought to match his Son Edmund, was won to marry Philip the Hardy Duke of Burgogne, Brother of the French King. This much vexed the King of England, who to revenge himself the better, calls a Parliament at Westminster, wherein he resumes his Claim to the Crown of France, and desires an Aid of his Subjects to recover it, and obtained it. The Clergy granted him fifty thousand Pound to be paid the same Year, and the Laity as much. For the levying of which every Parish in England was rated at first to pay 23 s. 4 d. (the Great to help the Leis) upon a Supposition there had been Parishes enough to have made up that Sum. But by a Certificate made in return to the King's Writs, sent out to enquire what Number of Parishes there were in every Shire, they found it came short, and then they rated every Parish at 5 l. 16 s. (the Greater to help the Leis) and so of 8600 Parishes found to be in the 37 Shires, 50181 l. 0 s. 8 d. was raised. But in regard of the great Poverty of Suffolk and Devonshire, the 181 l. was abated, and so the King received 50000 l. for the Laity. Upon the grant of this Supply, the King again confirmed<sup>d</sup> the great Charter, and the Charter of Forests, and promised that they should be observed in all points, which in most of his Parliaments was his first Act, as appears by the printed

Statutes. And now John Duke of Lancaster, and Edmund Earl of Cambridge, are sent with Forces into Aquitaine to assist the Prince of Wales, who after he had taken Limoges<sup>c</sup> that had revolted, his Health not holding out to perform any more, left the prosecution of the War to his Brother, and with his Wife, and young Son Richard, born at Burdeaux, returns home into England, and resigns to his Father the Dutchy of Aquitaine. The Duke of Lancaster, after the departure of the Prince, did little else but provide himself a Wife. For being a Widower by the Death of his Wife, who dy'd about two Years before, near the time of the Queen Philippa's Death, he marry'd Constantine the Daughter of Peter King of Castile, by whom he had (after her Father's Death) the empty Title of King of Castile and Leon, but left it to his Daughter to possess. For Katherine, whom he had by her, being marry'd to Henry the Grandson of the Usurper, Henry the Bastard, and in her Right now King of both those Realms, became Queen of Castile and Leon, and left her Posterity Kings of Spain. Edmund Earl of Cambridge marry'd at the same time Isabel the Daughter of King Peter, and both of them shortly after return'd into England, tho' without Victory, yet with Wives. Lionel Duke of Clarence, a little before, had marry'd Violenta, the Daughter of the Duke of Milan in Italy, where they feasted him so much, that he dy'd soon after. The City of Rochel, which yet held out for the English, had endured a long Siege both by Sea and Land; to relieve which important place, the Earl of Pembroke is sent with forty Ships well mann'd and victuall'd, and furnish'd with twenty thousand Marks to defray the Charge of the Voyage. But encountering the Spanish Armado, which was sent to aid the French in this Siege by Henry King of Castile, after a long and cruel Fight he was taken Prisoner, and his Navy utterly destroyed. King Edward himself, tho' now aged, sets forth with a mighty Army to recover these Losses, but lost the more, Winds and Fortune being against him to beat him back; so that all his Preparations, in which he had spent nine hundred thousand Marks, were to no purpose. Shortly after John Duke of Lancaster went over to Callis with another, which he led through France by the way of Avergne, and lost many of his People in the Mountains for want of Victuals, and almost all his Horse; so that he came to Burdeaux with his Army almost starv'd. After he had refreshed them well, he made some attempts upon the Enemy, but without effect; the Date of the English Victories was out, and all things were unsuccessful. The Duke returns the next Year, and all Gascoigne revolted, except Burdeaux and Bayon. King Edward obtained another Supply of the Parliament, a tenth of the Clergy, and fifteenth of the Laity, towards these Wars. But sought all means to end them by a Treaty; a very unlikely way to do any good. Yet two Years were spent therein at Burges and other places, at great Charges by Commissioners, and with much Debate. The French having now the advantage of the Time, would make their own Conditions, requiring Callis, and Restitution of great Sums of Money, which would not be granted. So that nothing but temporary Truces could be gotten,

The English  
unsuccessful  
against  
France.

1370.

A Tax given  
K. Edward  
to recover  
France.

1371.

8600 Pa-  
rishes in  
37 Counties  
of England.

1371.  
Reg. 45.

The Prince  
of Wales  
goes sick in-  
to England,  
and the  
Duke of  
Lancaster  
sent into  
Aquitaine,  
where he  
marry'd.

1372.

The Earl of  
Pembroke  
taken Pri-  
soner in re-  
lieving Ro-  
chelle.

1373.

Truces with  
France, to  
the English  
loss.

<sup>a</sup> He reassum'd the Title and Arms of France, and promis'd to give his Subjects all they could conquer in France.  
<sup>b</sup> He rose from a common Soldier to the Post he was in.  
<sup>c</sup> Sir Robert did what he cou'd. He march'd through France to the Neighbourhood of Paris with a small Army, and defy'd the French King, who durst not come out of his Quarters. But afterwards the young Lords grew mutinous, and he dismiss'd his Soldiers.  
<sup>d</sup> This King confirm'd the Great Charter twelve times in his Reign; which shews not only how willing the King was to humour his Subject's Distrusts, but also how much the Laws and Customs contain'd in it were valu'd by them.  
<sup>e</sup> The Prince was so angry with the Inhabitants of Limoges, that he put four thousand of them to the Sword.

and



A. D. 1373. and in them the *Englifs* and their Party had all ways the worst.

Reg. 47. Nor was the state of the King's Affairs better at home than abroad. The Sickness of the Prince K. Edward grew desperate, the Government disorder'd, the King in his Age mis'd, the Treasure exhausted, and all Affairs ill managed. A Parliament<sup>a</sup> was call'd at *Westminster* to cure these Evils, in which the King's Wants were laid open, and Supplies required; but the whole Body of that Assembly, weary of bearing such continual Burthens, instead of contributing, prefer Complaints, charging the King's Officers with Fraud, and humbly begging, that<sup>b</sup> the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Peirce* the King's Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be removed from Court. These Complaints and Desires were so vehemently urg'd by their Speaker, Sir *Peter la Mare*<sup>c</sup>, that the King, rather than not be supply'd, gave way to them, and all those Persons are immediately expell'd from Court. The Prince was thought to favour these proceedings, because there was no good Correspondence between him and his Brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, who manag'd all under his aged Father, and whose Ambition might be dangerous to his young Son *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his Mercy. In this Parliament, the King being now in the 50<sup>th</sup> Year of his Reign, to gratifie his Subjects, granted another General Pardon, as a second Jubilee, only excepting *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was lately fallen under the King's Displeasure, through the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this Jubilee was turn'd into Sorrow by the Death of the Prince of *Wales*, which happen'd while this Parliament sat: A great loss to the State, being a Prince endued with all excellent Virtues, and free from all Vices. His Death chang'd the face of Affairs. The late excluded Persons return to the Court, and their former Places; and so this Parliament (tho' call'd the good Parliament) produced ill effects by their Petitions. For Sir *Peter de la Mare*, at the Suit of *Alice Peirce*, an impudent Woman, was committed to a perpetual Imprisonment at *Nottingham*. The Duke of *Lancaster* is<sup>d</sup> enstat'd in the Regency, and manages all the Affairs of the Kingdom. But King *Edward*, to prevent the mischiefs which might arise by disordering of the Succession, providently settled the same in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earl of *Chester* and *Cornwall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his Safety against the Designs which the Duke of *Lancaster* had form'd

to supplant him. For this Confirmation by the Parliament, which he had offended, and the Breach he had with the *Londoners* soon after, deterr'd him from so much as attempting that which his Son in the next Reign effected. But yet in the Station he was in under his Father, he play'd the King very much, and carry'd himself very imperiously. And first he shews his Authority upon the Earl of *March*, commanding him to go over to guard *Callis*, and the parts adjoyning, which the Earl refused, and chose rather to lay down his Office of Earl Marshal, than obey his Command in that. His Office the Duke gave to Sir *Henry Percy*, one of his intimate Friends. About this time the Parliament met again at *Westminster*, (whether it was a new one, or the last prorogued, I know not) and thither the Duke himself brings Prince *Richard* (being about eleven Years old) and places him in the King's Seat, having taught him to demand a Subsidy, which was two Tenths to be paid in one Year, or Twelve-pence in the Pound of all Merchandises sold for one Year, and one Pound of Silver for every Knight's Fee, and of every Fire-House one Penny. And this Demand the Duke earnestly urged, saying, 'That one of them must of necessity be granted, because the Enemy had proclaimed War, and purposed to invade the Realm. The Knights of the Parliament (who were all pack'd by the Duke, as 'tis said, except twelve, which he could not remove) required a time to give their Answer, and so a day was appointed. The major part made choice of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Duke's, to give their Answer. The other would have Sir *Peter de la Mare* to be enlarged, and deliver theirs, and answer to what could be objected against him before the Lords in Parliament, and submit to their Judgment. Then the Duke demanded Aid of the Bishops, but they refused to treat about it, without their Brother the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was prohibited from coming to the Parliament; and so nothing was obtained, and the Duke disappointed, which he shew'd no small Resentment of afterwards.

Another Accident happen'd now, which much interrupted this and all other Affairs. A certain Divine, named *John Wickliffe*, being depriv'd of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* of a Benefice in *Oxford*, which he was found unjustly to hold, grew thereupon discontented, (an Humour which generally breeds Schisms) enveighed in his Sermons, and other Acts in the Schools, against the Abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders, (which were indeed not so free from Scandal, but that they deserved blame) and had by

<sup>a</sup> This Parliament was call'd the Good Parliament.

<sup>b</sup> Who made too wide Signs of affecting the Crown.

<sup>c</sup> Who was grown so insolent, that (as if he was the King's Vicegerent) she would sit in the Courts of Judicature, controul the Judges, and manage them as she pleas'd.

<sup>d</sup> He was a Knight of *Herefordshire*, but not Speaker of this Parliament, as *Walsingham* and *Daniell* after him erroneously relate. *Chron. Eves.*

<sup>e</sup> This Bishop had divulg'd, that the Duke of *Lancaster* was not the King's Son, and that the Queen her self told him in Confession so; which coming to the Duke's Ear, he caus'd him to be depriv'd of his Bishoprick, his Goods to be confiscated, and himself injoynd not to come within twenty Miles of *London*.

<sup>f</sup> Who dy'd on the 8th of *June*, 1376. in the 45th Year of his Age, upon *Trinity-Sunday*, the Day which he always kept with most singular Devotion, as prefiging the happy Reward of worshipping the Trinity in Unity, which he was immediately to receive.

<sup>g</sup> Contrary to the Order of this Parliament, which provided, that since the King through Age and Weakness was unable to govern the Realm, twelve of the most sage and discreet Lords should dispose of all National Affairs under him, by six at a time.

<sup>h</sup> Mr. *Daniell* seems to have taken up an Account of *John Wickliffe's* Preaching, and other Circumstances, from his Enemies the Monks. He represents him little better than a poor Parish-Priest, so streightned for Preferment, that he wrongfully seiz'd upon another's Benefice; and because he was justly depriv'd of it, meerly out of Anger and Discontent, he broach'd a Schism, and factiously maintain'd several Anti-papistical Doctrines. But the truth is far otherwise: For tho' his Parentage be not known to us, yet his Education and Life is manifest enough. He was brought up in *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, where he took his Degrees to Doctor of Divinity, and perform'd all his Exercises with great applause, according to the Reputation he had for Learning in that Unversity. He was once sent Ambassador by this King to the Pope, and his Commission is extant in Mr. *Fox*, p. 390. and bears Date *July* 26. 1391. He was Reader in Divinity several Years in *Oxford*, and was only through force of Truth induc'd to hold the Doctrines against the Real Presence, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, &c. He had a Living in *Oxford*, where through Zeal to reform the Church, he preach'd the same Doctrine, and so enrag'd the Monks, that they procur'd *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to silence and deprive him. Several Noblemen favour'd and encourag'd him, if for any politic ends, 'twas their fault; we find not that he us'd their Favour for any Interest, but to defend himself in Preaching the divine Truth. We wonder Mr. *Daniell* shou'd not have inform'd himself better of *Wickliffe's* Condition. Mr. *Wood* in his *Antiq. Oxon.* c. 1. p. 184, 186. says, He was Warden of *Canterbury College* in *Oxford*.



A. D. his Doctrine there and at London, gotten himself many Followers (who after were called in 1376. Contempt *Lollards*) professing Poverty, going Reg. 50. bare-footed, and poorly clad in Ruffet; which made them (as Extrems usually are) the more noted, and get the more into the Opinion of the People, who are apt to embrace Novelties, and usually beguiled with Disguises, being more apt to believe than judge. Among other his Doctrines he taught, That neither any King nor Temporal Lord could give any thing in Perpetuity to Church-men; and that Temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take away the Goods of such Religious Persons to relieve themselves in their Necessities by the Example of *William Rufus*, &c. A Doctrine very pleasing to great Men, who embrace Sects, either thro' Ambition to get, or Fear of losing, or thro' Hatred, that they may revenge themselves. This Man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Percy*, much favour'd and encourag'd, extolling him both for his Learning and Integrity of Life; which so embolden'd him, that he daily in one Church or other publish'd his Opinions freely: Whereupon, at length, he is cited to answer before the Archbishop and Bishop of London, and others in *S. Paul's*. At the day appointed the Duke of *Lancaster* and Lord Marshal went to conduct him, and by the way he was animated by his Followers not to fear the Bishops. When they came to *S. Paul's* the Preb was so great, that hardly any Passage could be made into the Church; whereupon the Marshal using some Violence, thrust in among the People; which *Courtney* the Bishop of London observing, forbade him to do, saying, 'If he had known that he would have behav'd himself so in that place, he should not have come into it. The Duke hearing these words, angrily replied, 'That the Marshal should execute his Authority whether he would or not. When they were come to our Lady's Chapel, the Duke, Barons, and Bishops sitting down; *John Wickliff* being sent for in by the Lord Marshal, was by him desired to sit down, because as he said, *The Man had much to answer to, and needed a convenient Seat*. The Bishop of London told him, That it was against all Law and Reason, that a Person cited before his Ordinary should sit, and thereupon angry words arose between the Lord Marshal and the Bishop. The Duke takes the Marshal's part, and sharply reprov'd the Bishop, and the Bishop returns the like to the Duke; who in great Rage, seeing he could not prevail, swore, 'That he would pull down the Pride of of him, and all the Bishops of England: And tho' you trust, said he, to your Parentage, that shall do you no Service. The Bishop answer'd, 'I trust not in my Parents, nor any Man living, but in God only, in whom I ought to trust. The Duke, as if he whisper'd in his Ear, told him, 'That he had rather pull him out of the Church by the Hair of the Head, than suffer such Indignities and Affronts; which Words the Londoners over-hearing, swore with a loud Voice, 'They would lose their Lives, rather than suffer their Bishop to be thus injur'd, and threaten'd to be pull'd out of his own Church. And their Fury was the greater towards the Duke, because the day before in the Parliament (of which he was President) it was requir'd in the King's Name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Mayor of London, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City, and that the

Lord Marshal of England should arrest Offenders A. D. within the Liberties, as in other places. About 1377. this Business, and the Wrong offer'd to their Bishop, Reg. 51. the Citizens assembled the next day, to consult among themselves what to do; which, as they were concerting upon, the Lord *Fitz-Walter* and *Guido Brian*, came into the City. The People seeing them, furiously ran to them, and had like to have fall'n foul upon them for coming unsent for at that time: But the Lord *Fitz-Walter* protested, That he came for no other end, but to offer his Service to the City, being by Inheritance their Standard-bearer; and therefore thought himself oblig'd to take all Injuries offer'd to them as done to himself, and desir'd them to stand upon their own Defence. At this The Citizens assault the Marshal's Inn, and breaking open the Gates brought forth a Prisoner in his Shackles, and set him at Liberty, but found not the Lord Marshal, whom they sought, being at Dinner that day with the Duke at *John de Trespas's* House. Then did the furious Multitude run to assault the *Savoy*, the Duke's House; which a Knight of the Duke's Retinue seeing, went in haste to the Place where the Duke dined to acquaint him with this Uproar in the City. The Duke hearing it, leaps so hastily from the Table, that he broke both his Shins against the Form, and with Sir *Henry Percy*, passes over by Boat to *Kensington* near *Lambeth*, to the Prince and Princess his Mother, to complain of the Violence offer'd him by a riotous Rabble of the Citizens. In the mean time, the Multitude coming to the *Savoy* met a Priest, who being inquisitive to know the Business they were about, was answer'd, 'They were going to take the Duke and Lord Marshal, and compel them to release Sir *Peter de la Mare* from his unjust Imprisonment. The Priest replied, 'That Sir *Peter* was a Traitor to the King, and deserv'd to be hang'd. The Rabble at these words cry'd out, 'This is *Percy*, the Traytor to England, his Speech betrays him, tho' in Disguise, and presently they fell upon him and kill'd him. The Bishop of London hearing of this Tumult, leaves his Dinner, and goes in haste to the *Savoy*; where he admonishing the People to be mindful of the Holy Time of *Lent*, and beseeching them for the Love of Christ to desist from such seditious Attempts, and assuring them that all things should be ended for the Good of the City: He so pacified them that they forbore to assault the Duke's House, having missed of his Person, whom in their Fury they had certainly destroyed, if they met with him, as also the Lord Marshal; but to shew their Anger, they hung up his Arms revers'd in Sign of Treason, in all the principal Streets of the City. The Princess, from *Kensington*, sent *Albert de Vere*, *Lewis Clifford*, and *Simon Burleigh*, to the Citizens to persuade them to make their Peace with the Duke. They returned Answer, 'That for her Honour they would do whatever she commanded, but enjoyn'd the Messengers to require the Duke to suffer the Bishop of *Winchester* and Sir *Peter de la Mare* to have their lawful Tryal according to the Custom of England. They sent likewise some of their chief Men to the sick King to excuse themselves for this Tumult; protesting, 'That they were not privy to it, but endeavour'd all they could to suppress it, but could not do it, because the whole Commonalty were in a Commotion; being inform'd, That all their Liberties were likely to be taken from them by Parliament. The King

\* An Eminent Merchant.

\* Kennington.



A. D. 1377. Reg. 51. told them, 'It was never in his Thoughts to de-

prive them of their Liberties, but desired rather to enlarge them; and therefore required them to rest satisfied, and keep their People in Peace and order, which upon this Answer they easily did. But they could not hinder Rhymes and Libels (those secret Stings of Discontent) which were spread daily about the City to defame the Duke, and make him odious to the People; for which the Duke caused the Authors to be excommunicated by the Bishops. But notwithstanding these harsh Proceedings of the Duke's, very incommo-

The first  
Poll Tax.

A Tax  
granted the  
King in  
his Sickness.

dious as well to himself as the King, yet the Commons being assembled in Parliament, granted the King a Tax, upon condition that being levied, it should be put into the hands of certain Earls and Barons to be disposed of according to the Occasions of the King and Kingdom. This Tax was perfectly new; every Person, Man and Woman, within the Kingdom above fourteen Years of Age, was to pay 4 d. a Head, those that lived upon Alms only excepted. The Clergy likewise granted 12 d. a Head for every Person beneficed, and 4 d. for all other Religious Persons: A mighty and unknown Aid, never granted to any King before, but a Precedent to the following Reigns; in the next of which it caused the greatest popular Insurrection, that ever was seen in the Kingdom. And so the Parliament ended, but not the Duke's Displeasure against the City: For the Mayor and Aldermen were brought before the King at *Shene*, and advised to submit themselves to the Duke, and crave Pardon for their grievous Offences. They protest as before, That they could not stop the Rage of the Multitude, who committed those Insolencies, and beseeching the King not to punish them who were innocent and ignorant of the Fact; promised the Duke to use all means that they could to bring in the Malefactors, and oblige them to satisfy his Honour, and more they could not do. Upon this Answer, they were sent from the Court, and shortly after put from their Places by the Duke's Power: Sir Nicholas Brember was made Mayor instead of Adam Staple, and other Aldermen put in their Places. The King was desirous to have reconciled them to his Son, but Sickness disabled him from his Design, Death forced him to give over the World by its near Approaches. At his last Moment, when he stood most in need of Attendants, tho' they did not of him, he was deserted by all; his Concubine packing up all she could lay her hands on, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; which tho' a very bad Example, and like such a Woman's, yet was imitated by his Counsellors and Attendants, who forsook him and left the Room where he lay a dying empty; which a poor Priest\*, who was passing by observing, enter'd, and going to the King's Bed-side, whom he found sensible, he besought him to remember his Saviour, and beg pardon of his Offence, (which none before would do) and so wrought upon him by his Advice, that he resign'd his last Breath, with many Signs of a sound Faith and hearty Repentance, at his Manour of *Richmond* (or *Shene*) June 21. A. D. 1377. in the 64th Year of his Age, and fifty first Year of his Reign.

The Duke  
of Lanca-  
ster's Re-  
venge on the  
Citizens.

King Ed-  
ward's  
Death.

His Chara-  
cter, of Ju-  
stice.

He was a Prince best known by his Actions, the soonest a Man, and the longest that held so of any we read. He was of a comely Personage,

of a good and graceful Stature, affable and courteous, well expressing himself. He was a great Lover of Justice, Order, and his People, the chief Vertues of a King. His Justice he shew'd in making so many Statutes for the Execution of it, and the Oaths he caused his Justices to take for that end, and the severe Punishment he inflicted upon his Judges (*viz.* Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Shipwith) for their Corruptions. He also better'd the Form of publick Justice, which his Grandfather began, and settled it so as it remains to this day. His Care of the Order of the Nation is proved from so many Laws made to restrain Excesses in all kinds. His Love to his People he expressed by often easing their Grievances, and Willingness to give them Satisfaction at all times, particularly in granting the Observation of their Charters in most of his Parliaments; and when (*Anno Reg. 14.*) they were jealous, that upon his assuming the Title of King of *France* he would subject *England* to that Crown; he passed a Statute to clear their Doubts, that this Kingdom should remain entire as before, without any Violation of their Privileges. He was very circumspect in all his Actions, never undertaking any thing but what he had means to perform; which his Subjects knowing, yielded him more Taxes readily, than any of his Predecessors had before him, and he was as careful to expend them for the Good and Honour of the Kingdom. He was indeed covetous to get Money, but without the oppressing any Man, as his Grandfather did the Judges, Jews, and his other Officers. His Gifts were never profuse, or misplaced, so as to hurt his Treasure, Fame, or Reverence with his People. In fine, he was a Prince who knew his Work, and did it; and therefore was he better obeyed, more respected, and better served than any of his Predecessors.

His Works of Piety were many. He founded the Abby of *Eastminster* for *Cisterians*, near the Tower, a Nunnery at *Deptford*; the King's Hall in *Cambridge* for poor Scholars; an Hospital at *Callis*, and *S. Stephen's* Chapel at *Westminster*, and the Church he endowed with 300 l. per Annum. He enlarged the Chapel at *Windsor*, and made a Provision not only for the Churchmen, but twenty four poor Knights. These were his publick Works, the best Monuments to perpetuate the Memories of Princes. Besides these, his private Buildings were many; as the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle of *Quinborough*, Fortifications at *Callis*, and other Places. He shewed his Magnificence in his Triumphs and Feasts, which were sumptuous, with all due Rites and Ceremonies to preserve Reverence and Majesty. To conclude, He was a Prince whose Nature was so suitable to his Office, as if he were made only for it. His Failures are to be imputed to Age, in which Princes are never happy, their Vigour and Fortune departing usually together. His Queen was a Lady of excellent Vertue, who tho' she brought him little or no Estate, yielded him much Content, some Alliance and a fair Issue. She conspired to advance his Honour and Power, and was very gracious and loving to the Nation, doing many pious Actions; among which, *Queens College* in *Oxford* is a Monument of her Goodness and Name. She bare him seven Sons, of whom five lived to have Children; *Edward* Prince of *Wales*,

\* He was a Priest or Chaplain of the Household. *Tho. of Walsingham* Hist.

From him the Title of the Line of *York* to the Crown was deriv'd by his Daughter *Philippa*, marry'd to *Edmund Mortimer*, by whom she had *Roger Mortimer*, whose Daughter and Heir *Isabella* in Right of the Lady *Philippa*, on the Death of *Richard* the Second was Heir to the Crown.



A. D. 1377. Reg. 51. *Lionel* \* Duke of Clarence, *John* \* Duke of Lancaster, *Edmund* Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York, and *Thomas* of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester. Five Daughters, of which four lived to be married; *Isabel* the eldest to *Ingelram* Lord of Concy, Earl of Soissons and Bedford; *Joanna* to *Alphonso* the eleventh King of Castile, but she dy'd before she lay with him; *Mary* to *John* Monfort Duke of Britain, and *Margaret* to *John* Hastings Earl of Pembroke, by whom she had

no Issue. Thus we have seen the beginning and end A. D. of this great King: He stepp'd over his Father's 1377. Head to the Throne, which tho' it was not his Reg. 51. Fault, yet had its Punishment in that he had a plentiful Issue, but had no Son of his own to sit on his Throne, but left his Crown to a Child of eleven Years of Age, expos'd to the Ambition of his Uncles, to a factious and discontented People, and broken and shatter'd Inheritances abroad, having Lost all his gettings in France, but Callis.

### REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Edward III.

IN the fourth Year of his Reign, on the 16th of July, there happen'd a great Eclipse of the Sun, and the Rains were so violent this Year, that the Harvest did not begin till Michaelmas. At Christmas a mighty Westerly Wind overthrew several private Houses and publick Edifices, tore Trees up by the Roots, and did a vast deal of Mischiefe.

In his 9th Year the Rains were so fatal, that the Corn was spoil'd, a Dearth ensu'd, Wheat being sold for 40 s. a Quarter as much as 20 s. a Bushel now, and the Cattel was destroy'd by a Murrain.

In the 12th Year it rain'd almost continually from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, and then came a Frost upon it, which lasted twelve Weeks; yet, tho' the Corn was destroy'd by it in a great measure, the War with Scotland, says my Author, made Money so scarce, that all sorts of Grain were sold at a reasonable Rate.

In his 13th Year one hundred and twenty Laymen and several Priests, besides Women, were drown'd by an Inundation of Water at Newcastle upon Tyne.

While the Battel of Cressy was fighting, in the 20th Year of his Reign, there fell a violent Storm of Hail, accompany'd with an Eclipse, and terrible Thunders, at which time prodigious Flights of Crows hover'd over the English and French Armies.

In his 22d Year it rain'd from Midsummer to Christmas so constantly, that there was not one Day or Night dry together. This wet Season caus'd great Floods, and a Pestilence, which rag'd for a whole Year: The Earth was at the same time barren, and even the Sea did not produce such Plenty of Fish as formerly. The Mortality was so great, that in the City of London two hundred Corps were bury'd every Day in the Charterhouse-yard, besides those interr'd in other common burying Places, and this lasted from Candlemas to Easter.

His 27th Year was remarkable for the Scarcity of Corn and Provisions in England and France, occasion'd by a great Drought: 'Twas call'd the Dear Summer, Rye was brought out of Zealand to support the Poor, who otherwise must have perish'd for want of Sustenance.

In his 34th Year Men and Beasts were destroy'd in several Parts of England by Thunder and Lightning; many Houses were burnt and ruin'd by it, and strange Sightings were also seen. The second Mortality happen'd, so call'd to distinguish it from that we have mention'd already: This latter was the more remarkable, because it seiz'd generally on Men; and in the same Year, if we may give Credit to the Continuator of Nic. Trivet's History, two Castles were seen in the Air, the one in the South-east the other in the South-west, out of which Castles about Noon there seem'd to fall several Troops of arm'd Men. The Band that came forth of the Castle in the South-east appear'd in White, and the other in Black: They fought for some time, the White conquer'd at first but in the end the Black got the Victory.

In his 39th Year the Rains were again violent, and a great Dearth and Pestilence follow'd: Flights of Sparrows fought in the Air, and many of them dropp'd dead down to the Ground.

Caxton.

In his 42d Year a Comet appear'd in March between the North and West, the Beams were darted towards France, and were thought to preface new Troubles to that Kingdom in the following Year. The Western Parts of England, and Oxford particularly, were sorely afflicted with a Pestilence.

This King's Reign, as it was Glorious in Arms, so it was renown'd for the Arts and Sciences which flourish'd in his Days more than in any of the former Reigns since the Norman Invasion.

Edward the Black Prince, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Henry Duke of Lancaster his Father-in-Law, Edmund Earl of Cambridge afterwards Duke of York; the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Huntington, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Stafford, the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel; the Lord Cobham, the Lord Basset, the Lord Thomas Holland, the Lord Walter De Manny, the Lord Spencer, the Lord Chandois, the Lord James Audley; Sir John Copland, Sir Tho-

mas Felton, the Capital de Beuse Knight of the Garter, born in Gascoign; Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Baldwin Freville, Sir John Harleston, Sir James Pipe, Sir Thomas Dagworth, and Sir John Hawkwood, were all of them famous for their brave Actions in War: As those that we are about to name, were for their Vertue and Learning, John Bacontbrope, Doctor of both Laws in the Universities of Oxford and Paris; William

\* From him the Title of the Line of York to the Crown was deriv'd by his Daughter Philippa, marry'd to Edmund Mortimer, by whom she had Roger Mortimer, whose Daughter and Heiress Ann in Right of the Lady Philippa, on the Death of Richard the Second was Heir to the Crown.

† From him by the Marriage of Blanch, sole Heiress of Henry Duke of Lancaster, Son of Henry Earl of Lancaster, Son of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, Brother to Edward the first, was deriv'd the Title of the Lancastrian Family to the Crown; which the three Henry's successively enjoy'd, as Heirs of that Family, but yet with much War and Bloodshed, as we shall see in the Course of this History. This Title was very little made use of, and indeed was a very weak one; for all the Sons of Edward the third, and the Posterity of Edmund Earl of Kent, Son of Edward the first, had a Prior Title to the Descendants of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, younger Brother to Edward the first.



Ockham, *John Bloxham* a Carmelite Fryar, *William Alnwick* a Fryar Minor, *John of Thanet* an excellent Musician, and a Monk at *Canterbury*; *Hugh* of *St. Neot*, a Carmelite Fryar, an Eminent Divine, and *William* of *Alton* a Black Fryar; *Richard Stradley* who wrote several Treatises of the Scripture; *William Herbert* a *Welshman* and Fryar Minor, *Richard Comington* a Preacher, *William* of *Exeter*, *Lucas Bosden* a Carmelite Fryar, *Thomas Wallice* a Dominican Fryar, a great Divine; *Thopontius* a Monk of *Canterbury*, *John Ridewall* a Gray Fryar, *Henry Costfay* a Fryar Minor, *Geffrey Allevant* of *Yorkshire*, a Carmelite Fryar; Dr. *Simon Burnstone*, Provincial of the Dominican or Black Fryars; Dr. *Walter Burley*, who wrote a Comment on *Aristotle's* *Ethicks*, Schoolmaster to Prince *Edward*; *John Berwick*, Reader to the Fryar Minors in *Oxford*; *William Notingham*, *Robert Glaston*, of *Huntingtonshire*; *John Polested* of *Suffolk*, *Walter Kingham*, *Thomas de Hales* a Fryar Minor, *Robert Eliphal* a Gray Fryar, *Geffrey Grandfeild* an Augustine Fryar, *Hugh Wirely* a Carmelite Fryar of *Norwich*, *William Emcourt* a Black Fryar of *Boston*, *Hugh Ditton* a Fryar Preacher of *Cambridgeshire*, Dr. *Adam Carthusianus*, *John Lutterel* a Mathematician, and an Eminent Philosopher; *Walter Cotton* and *Thomas Eccleston*, both Gray Fryars; *John Folsbam* a Carmelite Fryar of *Norwich*, *Benet* of *Norfolk*, *William* of *Southampton* a Black Fryar, *Adam Nidzard*, A. M. *William Sissy* a Fryar Minor, *John Repingale* a White Fryar, *Christopher Morbusensis* a Black Fryar, *Richard Aungerville* Bishop of *Durham*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; *John Mauduit* a Divine, *John* of *Olne* in *Glostershire*, a Carthusian Monk; *Thomas Stavesbaw* a Fryar Minor of *Bristol*, *Robert* of *Leicester* a Franciscan or Gray Fryar, *John* of *Northampton* a Carmelite Fryar and a Mathematician; *Robert Warsop* of *Yorkshire* a Black Fryar at *Tickhill*, *William Bruniard* a Black Fryar, *Richard Role* an excellent Divine, *John Guent* a *Welshman*, a Franciscan Fryar, Provincial of his Order; *Rodulph Radipzorius* a Fryar Minor, *Robert Holcoth* a Black Fryar, *William Milverly* a Logician, *John* of *Tewkesbury*, *Thomas Bradwardin*, born in *Hartfield* in *Sussex*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he wrote against the *Pelagians*; *Richard Wetberfet*, *William Breton* a Gray Fryar, *John* of *St. Faith*, born in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite Fryar in *Burnham*; *John Goodwick*, born also in *Norfolk*, an Augustine Fryar at *Linne*; *William Rotbwell*, *Geffrey Waterton* a Monk of *Bury*, *Richard Fitz-Rafe*, Pupil to *John Bacontrope*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Armagh*; Dr. *Richard Killington*, *William Grisant* a Physician, who lived at *Marseilles*, he was call'd

*Anglicus* from his Country, his Son rose to be Pope, and bore the Name of *Urban* the Vth; *John Paschal*, born in *Suffolk*, Bishop of *Landaff*; *Adam Woodbam* a Fryar Minor, *Simon Henton* a Black Fryar, *William de Pagula*, Dr. *John Wickliff*, *Geffrey Hardeby* a Black Fryar of *Leicester*, *William Binbam*, *Roger Conway* a *Welshman*, and a Gray Fryar; *Richard Billingham*, *William Doroch* a Lawyer, *John Killingworth* a Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician; *William* of *Coventry* a Carmelite Fryar, *John Eastwood* a Philosopher, *Thomas Ratcliffe* an Augustine Fryar of *Leicester*, *Bartholomew Glanville*, descended from the Family of that Name, Earls of *Suffolk*; *Robert Computusta* a Monk of *Bury*, *John Wilton*, *Simon Wickengham*, *John Deir* a notable Divine, *Simon Islip* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *George Chadley*, *John* of *Tinnmouth*, *Peter Babien*, *Walter Winburne*, Divines; *Nicholas* of *Lyn* a Carmelite Fryar, and an Astronomer; *John Ridington* a Fryar Minor in *Stafford*, *Adam* a Monk of the Cistercian Order, *Roger Wibelpedale* a Mathematician, *John Elin* a Carmelite Fryar, born in *Norfolk*; *Thomas de Sturly*, *Sertorius Gualensis* a *Welshman*, *Simon de Tunstead* of *Norfolk*, Provincial of the Gray Fryars; *Lewis Caerleon* a *Welshman*, an Astronomer and Mathematician; *John Garanson*, *Nicholas Durham* a Carmelite Fryar of *Newcastle*, *William Fleet* an Hermit, who preach'd up Repentance to the *English*; *John* of *Stafford* a Fryar Minor, *Thomas Rugsteed* a Black Fryar, *Ralph Stride* a Logician, *William* of *St. Faith* a Carmelite Fryar of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* of *Dover* a Monk of that Abby, *John Stokes* an Augustine Fryar of *Suffolk*, *John Horneby* a Carmelite Fryar of *Boston*, *Henry Bederick* an Augustine Fryar, *Simon Alcock* a Divine, *Utred Balton* a *Welshman*, and a Monk at *Durham*; *William Jordan* an Augustine Fryar, *John Hilton* a Friar Minor, *William* of *Lincoln* a Carmelite Fryar, *Adam Saxlingham* the same born in *Norfolk*, *Simon Mephams* Prebend of *Chichester*, a great Divine; *John Bampton* a Carmelite of *Cambridge*, and *John Wickenham*, a Gray Fryar; *Nicholas Trivet*, Son of Sir *Nicholas Trivet*, one of the King's Justices; *John Eversden* a Monk of *Bury*, *Robert Langland*, *Roger* of *Chester*, *John Burgh*, *Walter Henningford* a Canon of *Gisburn*, *Richard Chichester* a Monk of *Westminster*, wrote a Chronicle from the Invasion of the Saxons Anno 449. to the Year 1348. *Ranulp Higden*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, *William Thorn*, *John Bromyard*, *Adam Hereford*, *Thomas Stubbs*, *John Cluni* an Irishman, *John Malvern* a Monk of *Worcester*, Historians; and Sir *John Mandeville* the great Traveller, who dy'd at *Liege* the 17th of November, 1372.



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD II.

A. D.  
1377.  
Reg. 1.

*His Age and  
Descent.*

*The Duke of  
Lancaster  
and Lon-  
doners re-  
concil'd.*

**R**ICHARD II. surnam'd of *Burdeaux*, a City in the Province of *Guienne* in *France*, because he was born there, when his Father, the most illustrious English Hero, *Edward the Black-Prince* was Duke of *Aquitain*, succeeded his Grandfather *Edward III.* in the Throne of *England*, *June 21. 1377.* He was but eleven Years old when he began his Reign; but there appear'd in him so great a pregnancy of Wit above his Years, and so sweet a Disposition, set off with an admirable Beauty and proportion of Body, that the People were enamour'd with him, and as if the Virtues of both his immediate Ancestors were united in him, received him for their King with universal Joy and Satisfaction; the loss of their brave Prince *Edward III.* so lately deceased, was quite forgotten, being swallow'd up with the hopes of that Happiness which they promised themselves under this his Successor. And indeed their high Opinion of this young Prince was much confirm'd by the first Action which he undertook after he was King, viz. the Reconciliation of the Duke of *Lancaster* and City of *London*, in which he shew'd a Prudence and Moderation much above his Age. For whereas the Citizens, who had gotten a certain Information of the King's approaching Death, had made an Address to him, then Prince of *Wales*, the day before his Grandfather's decease, assuring him of their Service and Fidelity, if their present King should die, and petitioning his Highness to mediate between his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaster* and them; he return'd them not only promises of his Love and Favour to their City, but of his Endeavours to effect their Desires; and accordingly the very next day spoke to his Uncle about it, and brought him to submit to his Decision. Of which he gave the Citizens notice immediately by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Richard Adderbury*, Sir *Simon Burley* Prince *Richard's* Tutor, and Sir *Nicholas Bond*, whom he sent on purpose upon that Message, and to tell them, that he expected the like Submission from them. The Citizens were a little afraid, lest the Influence which the Duke had upon him might prove to their disadvantage, if they should leave the matter entirely to his Judgment; but Sir *Richard Adderbury* giving them hopes of a good Conclusion, brought them to yield; and so certain Aldermen going along with them to him (then King) at *Stene* near *Richmond*, were reconciled honourably to the Duke in the Name of the whole City; and in favour to them, the King also released Sir *Peter de la Mare* from his Imprisonment, and receiv'd him into his special Grace.

The only thing which threaten'd a disturbance to the Nation being thus compos'd, the next Care was to settle the Crown upon the young King's Head; and to that end, *June 16.* was appointed for his Coronation. This the Nation took for a fit opportunity of testifying their Affections to him; and therefore all things by general consent were so prepared, that it might be as magnificent and splendid as possible. The Duke of *Lancaster*, who for his Dukedom of *Lancaster*, and Earldoms of *Leicester* and *Lincoln*, was admitted upon his Claim to be High Steward, Bearer of the King's chief Sword, call'd *Curtana*, and Carver at that Solemnity, (which two last Offices he executed by his Deputies the Earls of *Darby* and *Stafford*) held the Steward's Court several days in *Westminster-Hall*, to receive the Claims of such Persons as by certain Tenures or Custom were to officiate at that Ceremony, and such as were of an inferior degree, he put Noblemen into their places, that none but Persons of the best Quality might attend upon the King at it. On the day before the Coronation, the King rode through the City to *Westminster* in great State, and being royally attended by his Nobles and Great Men, the Citizens in his passage gave him large demonstrations of their Loyalty and Affections, having adorn'd their Houses with rich Tapestry, and erected several costly Pageants, the Conduits ran Wine, and the People in crowds saluted the King with loud Acclamations, and wishes of Blessings and Prosperity. The Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord *Peirey*, who rode before the King, behav'd themselves with so much Obligingness and Respect to the Citizens all along, that all the Spectators were fully persuaded, that the late Reconciliation made between the City and them was real and hearty. The King lodged at *Westminster* that night, and the next day was crown'd in the Abby-Church, by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the usual Ceremonies of Anointing, giving him the Sword of Justice, taking an Oath of him for the good Government of the Nation, and requiring the People's Consent to have him for their King. After his Coronation, the King return'd to *Westminster-Hall* to Dinner; but before he sat down, he created four Earls, viz. His Uncle *Thomas Woodstocke*, Earl of *Buckingham* and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, the younger Brother of *John Lord Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*; *Guisbald Angolism*, a *Gascoigne*, his Tutor, Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Peirey*, Son of *Henry Lord Peirey* Earl of *Northumberland*; allowing his Uncle and Tutor a thousand Marks a Year a-piece out of his Treas-

A. D.

1377.

Reg. 1.

*His Coronation.*

Several

Creations

at the Co-

ronation.

\* He was Earl of *Northampton* before, that Title being brought him by his Wife, eldest Daughter of *Humphrey de Beun* Earl of *Northampton*. *Cam. Brit. Tit. Northamp.*

<sup>b</sup> His Governour.

\* 'Twas the Lord *Henry Peirey* Lord Marthal, who was created Earl of *Northumberland*, and not his Son *Henry*, afterwards surnam'd *Hotspur*.

fury,



A. D. 1377. Value. He also made at the same time nine Reg. 1. Knights. The next day was celebrated a very devout Procession by the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Clergy, to pray for the Peace of the Realm, and prosperous Reign of the King. *Thomas Brinton* Bishop of *Rochester* preach'd, and in his Sermon pathetically exhorted all Men to Peace and Unity, conjuring all of a superiour degree to deal gently with the Commons, and the People to obey their Superiors willingly; but most of all, the Nobility, who were to be about the King, to give him a Religious and Virtuous Example, lest the King being either by their Flattery or Vices misled, the People should have cause to curse them. Thus was the young King fully settled in his Throne; but because he was himself, by reason of his tender Age, unable to rule, the Government was committed to the Care of the King's Mother<sup>a</sup>, his two Uncles, *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, and certain Bishops, who were as well to provide for the Security and Happiness of the Nation, as the Education of the King.

The French and Scots infest the Nation. But notwithstanding the ordering and supreme disposal of all things was put into so many hands, and those of such Persons, whose Conscience, Interest and Honour were obliged to manage all Affairs, for the good both of the King and People; yet as if a Kingdom could never be govern'd well by Guardians, or as if many Governours were very little better than none, the old Enemies of the Nation, the *French* and *Scots*, thought the Minority of the King a fit opportunity to annoy and spoil it. The *French*, who had been making Preparations for that end in King *Edward's* Reign, and had mann'd out a Fleet just before his Death, to revenge all the Losses they had suffer'd by his victorious Sword, entred the narrow Seas immediately after his decease, and while the Nation was busied in settling their new King, invaded the Coasts of *England*, and did much mischief, which they continu'd for several Months without opposition.

Ry and the Isle of Wight plunder'd and burnt. On *S. Peter's* day, *June 29.* they put in with fifty Sail at *Ry* in *Sussex*, and having rifled and plundered the Town at their pleasure, set it on Fire, and so departed, leaving the miserable and helpless Inhabitants to quench the Flames with their Tears.<sup>b</sup> From hence they coasted to the Isle of *Wight*, and enter'd it without Resistance. The Houses they spoil'd of all such Goods as were valuable, and easily carry'd to their Ships, but spared the Buildings from burning, having compounded with the People of the Isle for a thousand Marks to forbear that Cruelty; and so left it, sooner perhaps than they intended, because they could not, after several attempts, make themselves Masters of the Castle of *Carisbrook*, which was bravely defended against them by the valiant Governor of it, *Sir Hugh Tyrrell*. From hence they return'd back to do the like at *Winchelsea*, supposing that the terror of the Sufferings of their neighbouring Town of *Ry* would have made it an easie Prey to them, but they found the contrary at their coming. For the Abbot of *Battel*, being a Man of Courage, and some Skill in Warlike Affairs, had so fortify'd and mann'd the Town for its defence, that the *French* could gain no entrance into it; yet supposing it to be easily taken, they sent to

Winchelsea bravely defended by the Abbot of Battel.

the Abbot to redeem it from Assault; but the Abbot return'd them answer, *That he had no reason to redeem what was not lost.* The *French* hereupon having in vain endeavour'd to draw the Defendants out of the Town to a pitch Battel in the Fields, feil to battering the Walls with such Engines and Warlike Instruments as they had brought with them on purpose, but with no success. So that they were forced to leave the Town with little advantage. But in the mean time they sent a Party to *Hastings*, which finding almost void of People, who were gone to maintain the Siege of *Winchelsea*, they burnt and utterly consumed it. Their next attempt was upon the small Town of *Rottington* in *Sussex*, near *Lewis*, where the Prior of *Lewis*, *Sir John Falesley*, *Sir Thomas Cheyney*, and one *Mr. Brookes*, so zealous for the preservation of their Country, that they did not consider what Forces they had to do it with, encountred them boldly with an unarm'd and undisciplin'd Rabble; and tho' they kill'd many of their Enemies, yet were in the end beaten, the Prior and Knights, with some others, being taken Prisoners, and an hundred slain. Many other Towns they plunder'd and robb'd, as *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*; by the Spoils of all which, having fill'd their Ships, they return'd home; and soon after their arrival, besieged the Castle of *Arde*,<sup>c</sup> which they got not by their own Valour, but the Treason of the Lord *Gurney*, a *German*, the Governour of it, who for a Bribe resign'd it to them. But he had but small Enjoyment of his base Gain, being soon taken by *Sir Hugh Calverley* Governour of *Callis*, and sent into *England* to suffer the deserved Punishment of his Treachery. The *Scots* in the mean time were not idle, (tho' not so mischievous as the *French* desired them) for they assaulted the Town and Castle of *Roxborough*, then in the possession of the *English*, and having gain'd it with no small loss to themselves, took what was of any price out of it, and then burnt it. Thus was the Nation miserably afflicted by a double Enemy, and little or no care taken to secure the People from them; whether out of negligence, design, or want of Shipping, or whether it was forborn till a Parliament could meet, and provide some more effectual Remedy against them, is uncertain; yet the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had the chief Management of publick Affairs, brought an incurable Odium upon himself from the People ever after, because he did not endeavour their Relief so diligently as his Place and the People's Necessities required.

About *Michaelmas* a Parliament met, to rectifie the Disorders, and provide for the Security of the Nation, the first thing they went upon<sup>d</sup> was the punishment of *Alice Peirce*, the late King's Concubine, who had been the cause of many Mischiefs in the last Reign, and for that end had been banish'd from the Court, and made to take an Oath, that she would never return again; but, as it generally happens, that those who allow themselves in one Sin, seldom make any Conscience of committing another, she kept her Oath no longer than the fear of the Parliament was removed; she became as great at Court, and as insolent as before, and caus'd *Sir Peter de la Mare*, the Speaker of the House of Commons, to be imprison'd. These impudent Actions the Parliament thought fit to

<sup>a</sup> His Mother was not one of those appointed by the great Council of Peers to be his Protectors. *Holinshed.*

<sup>b</sup> They landed in the Isle of *Wight* in *August*, and having done what mischief they could, they reimbark'd, and in their return burnt *Hastings*, *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth* and *Plymouth*.

<sup>c</sup> The Town of *Ardes*, near *Calis*.

<sup>d</sup> It was not the first thing they went upon. The first was upon the Petition of the Commons, to appoint a Council to be joy'd with the King's Officers, and to advise him in the Affairs of the Government. These Counsellors were appointed by the Parliament, viz. the Bishops of *London*, *Carlisle*, and *Salisbury*, the Earls of *March* and *Stafford*, *Sir Richard de Stafford* and *Sir Henry I'Escrop* Bannorets, *Sir John Deverause* and *Sir Hugh Degrave* Knights. The next thing the Commons did, was to grant the Tax desir'd, and then they prosecuted *Alice Peirce*, or *Parrers*. *Rot. Par. 1 Rich. 2.*



A. D. 1377. take notice of, and Sir Peter de la Mare contributed his utmost to have them punish'd, which was by general consent thus agreed upon: That the should be banish'd, and all her Goods confiscated, which was immediately done. Then the Necessity of a Tax being made known to them, to provide a Navy for the defence of the Kingdom, against the Invasion of the French, and their Confederates the Spaniards, there was granted to the King two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths from the Laity; yet upon these Conditions, that the Monies collected should be deposited in the hands of two eminent Citizens of London, William Walworth and John Philpott, who were to take care that they were expended for the publick Good: 2. That for the future the King should maintain his State and Wars out of his own Revenues, which if well manag'd were judg'd sufficient to maintain both. The Laws which the King made in Compensation of this Tax, for the good of the People were several. He confirm'd the Great Charter<sup>b</sup>, Charter of Forests, and the many good Laws of his Ancestors unrepeal'd; and enacted, 'That the Peace should be carefully preserved, and Justice impartially done to all his Subjects; That the Prelates, and the rest of the Clergy, should have a Remedy by Action of Trespass against all Purveyors, who contrary to the Laws of his Predecessors, did without their consent take away their Corn, Hay, Beasts, or Carriages from their Houses, Mannours, or Granges for the King's use, and should recover treble Damages; That Persons that shall maintain any Quarrels, if Officers of the King's Exchequer, or other Courts, shall lose their places, and others be fined at the King's pleasure; That all Persons that shall arrest any Clergyman in his Church, or the Church-yard, or while he is performing divine Service, shall suffer Imprisonment, and be ransom'd at the King's Will, but shall first make satisfaction to the Person arrested. The King also confirm'd the Pardon granted by his Grandfather in the fiftieth Year of his Reign. In this Parliament it was farther moved, 'That the Clergy might be restrain'd by Statute from imposing Money-penance upon Offenders, because by this means the Church exhausted the Treasure of the Nation. The Clergy hotly opposed the Proposition, and the King unwilling to disoblige the Churchmen, order'd, 'That the Prelates should proceed therein as formerly, according to the Canons of Holy Church, and not otherwise. But tho' the Commons could not prevail in the restraint of their own Clergy's Exactions, they were more successful in opposing the Pope's Encroachments; for they obtained several Acts, whereby it was order'd, 'That the Pope's Collectors shall gather the first Fruits of Benefices in this Realm no longer, and that the Clergy should not pay them; That no Man should procure any Benefice by provision from Rome, on pain of being put out of the King's Protection; That no Englishman farm any such Benefice of any Alien, on the like penalty. In it 'tis said, the French had six thousand Pound yearly from England by such Benefices; That a Remedy be provided against the Pope's Reservations of Dignities Elective, they being against the Treaty made with the Pope by King Edward III. These Matters being thus settled and debated, the Parliament broke up about the Feast of All Saints.

After the Parliament was risen, the Governours of the Nation being enabled to act against the Enemy, began to think upon some ways to revenge the last Summer's Losses, sustain'd by the People from the French; and having received Information, that the Spanish-Fleet lay at Sluce in Flanders, richly laden with Wines, and other Commodities, and waiting only for a fair Wind to return, they sent out a great Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of Britain, Earl of Buckingham, the Lords Latimer and Fitz-Walter, Sir Robert Knolles, and other chosen Captains, to intercept them in their passage; but by contrary Winds they were so dispers'd and shatter'd, that they could at that time effect nothing. A little after Christmas, Sir Hugh Calverly Governour of Callis was more fortunate in his Adventures against the French. For making an Inroad towards Bulloigne, he plunder'd twenty-six Vessels, besides Barges, which lay in the Haven, and a great part of the Suburbs of that Town; and in his return, drove along with him into Callis a great Booty of Sheep and Oxen, which he found in the Pastures adjoyning, to the great enriching of his Garrison. He also recover'd the Castle of S. Mark, on the same day the French had it betray'd to them by the Picards, whom Sir Hugh homag'd. Not long after, Sir Hugh with his Garrison Soldiers made an attempt upon the Town of Estaples on the Fair-day, when the Merchants of Paris, Amiens, Bulloigne, and Lutterell, had brought great Quantities of Goods thither to sell, which all became an easie prey to the English. The more valuable and portable they carry'd back with them, the rest they sold to the Merchants themselves for a great Sum of Money, resolving otherwise to have burnt them. While the Garrison at Callis thus acted its part under its valiant Captain, the Fleet under the Earl of Buckingham being gotten together, and new rigg'd, set out to Sea, and cruising upon the Coast of Britain near Brest took eight Spanish Ships, and might have taken more, had not their own Divisions and the tempestuous Weather been an Impediment to their farther Success. While the King's Ships were thus employ'd against the Enemy, divers private Men and Towns provided Ships, and observed all opportunities of annoying them. The Lord Peirce with one great Ship and some small Vessels putting out to Sea, met with a Fleet of fifty Sail of Spanish and Flemish Ships, laden with French Merchandize, which to attack look'd more courageous than prudent; yet he was so fortunate, that he took two and twenty of them, the rest escaping by flight. The Inhabitants of Winchelsea and Ry, who had felt so much of the French Cruelty, being bent upon a sharp Revenge of their late Sufferings, fitted out a certain Number of Ships, with sufficient quantity of Men and Provision; with which they made an Inroad into Normandy, enter'd and plunder'd the Towns of S. Peter's Haven and Willet, where they found and recover'd many of the Goods, which the French had lately taken from them, and having set the Houses on Fire, took their Ships, and got home safe. Thus did the English in some measure repay the French for the Injuries they had done them, and free their Coasts a-while from their Depredations.

The Duke of Lancaster about this time, thro' some disgust or suspicion, desired leave of the King to retreat from Court to his private Habitation at Kellingworth-Castle, and obtained it

A. D. 1378. Reg. 2. Several Actions of the English against the French.

Took several Prisoners.

Duke of Lancaster retires from Court, but undertakes to secure the Nation from the French.

<sup>a</sup> The next Year. She marry'd Sir William of Windsor, and they obtain'd a Reversal of the late Judgment in Parliament. *Rob. the French.*  
<sup>b</sup> It appears by the Statutes made in this his first Session of Parliament, Cap. 1. That he confirm'd the Liberty of the Church, and the Great Charter of Forests. The Magna Charta, or Great Charter, is not mention'd, but that was always done of course at the beginning of every Session.  
<sup>c</sup> It should be Sir Thomas Peirce.

but



A. D. 1378. but before he retir'd, he settled such Governors about the King as were more pleasing to the People, *viz.* William Courtney Bishop of London, Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, and several others, yet because the Bishop of Salisbury and Lord Latimer were put in the Number, they were not fully contented, and thro' a desire of securing the Nation from their Enemies, he requested that the Money granted the last Parliament for that end might be put into his hands, and he would take care to guard the Coasts from the Incurfions of the French, and their Confederates, for the succeeding Year. Some of the Nobility oppos'd his Proposition, but it was at length consented to, and the Duke immediately set himself to provide a sufficient Navy for the Safety of the People, and hired eight Ships of the City of Baion to joyn with it; but before the Duke's Ships were ready (whither thro' necessity, or wilful delay, is not known) one Mercer, a desperate Scot, having gotten together a small Number of Scotch, French, and Spanish Ships, enter'd the Haven of Scarborough, and seizing upon several Ships in it, carry'd them away to Scotland. This Mischief he did to that Town, because his Father, who had been taken not long before by some Northern Vessels, was by the Earl of Northumberland committed Prisoner to Scarborough Castle. This Success much encourag'd him and his Crew, so that he greatly infested those Seas; and tho' the Duke of Lancaster had undertaken to prevent such Evils, and Complaints of it were brought to the King and his Council, yet none appear'd to oppose the Pirates, so that those Parts of the Kingdom suffer'd many Calamities from them. The News of these things being brought to London, John Philpott, an Alderman, and a great Lover of his Country, pitying the Miseries of the People resolv'd upon a Relief at his own Charge; and fitting out such a Number of well-built Ships, as would conveniently carry a thousand Men, with all Ammunition and Provision, which he hired and paid himself, he set out to Sea with them himself being their Captain, and found out Mercer and his Associates, whom he immediately set upon, and after a smart Engagement conquer'd; taking Mercer himself, and all the Vessels he had carry'd from Scarborough, with fifteen Spanish Bottoms well laden with rich, tho' ill gotten Goods. With Spoil and Victory Philpott returns to London, where he met with Acclamations from the People, but no welcome from the Nobles, who envy'd him that Honour which they had not either Courage or Fidelity enough themselves to seek and gain. For he was sent for to come before the Council, to give an Account of his Action; which tho' they could not dislike, yet much blam'd him for daring it without a Commission from the King and his Council; and Hugh Earl of Stafford charg'd him with doing a very unlawful Act to levy Arms in the King's Dominions without his Leave. But Mr. Philpott made a modest and ingenious Defence, telling them, 'That it was not out of any Desire or ambitious Aim to get himself a Name, or raise to himself the Reputation of being a great Soldier, that induc'd him to venture his Money and Men to vanquish the Scotch Pirate, but merely out of Love to his Countrymen, and for the Honour of the Nation, that the Sloth of such as ought to have secured the Nation, might not ruine the People and make it contemptible. This Answer so satisfied the Council, that he return'd with as much Commenda-

Alderman  
Philpott's  
Bravery.

tion from some of the Nobility as he was receiv'd by the City with Applause.

While the Duke of Lancaster lay at Anchor with his Ships, getting in Provision and Ammunition slowly, and with unnecessary Delays, some of his Men weary of their unmanlike Idleness, and of plundering their own Brethren, set out to Sea under the Command of the Earls of Salisbury and Arundel, and sailed towards the Coasts of Britain; Sir Peter and Sir Philip Courtney, two Brothers, who had the Command of some Ships, spying certain Vessels belonging to the Enemy inconsiderately assaulted them, being the whole Spanish Fleet; and tho' they bravely fought and defended themselves, yet in the end were beaten, most of their Men, who were good Gentlemen of Somersetshire and Devonshire, being slain, and Sir Peter with some others were taken Prisoners. This Misfortune at their first setting out much disheartned them, but yet they persisted in their Design, and went on in their intended Voyage, which proved some Compensation to their former Loss; for being arrived, they found the King of Navarre fall'n into a Difference with the King of France, and very desirous of an Alliance with the King of England: Whereupon, for a certain Sum of Money lent to the said King, and a Confederacy establish'd between the English and him. The Haven of Chierburg was put into the Possession of the English, whereby an easy Entrance was made for them at all times into Normandy, and present occasion given them to annoy the French; but this advantageous Alliance was not thought sufficient to compensate the Loss of the Gentlemen that were kill'd, and taken Captive at the beginning of this Voyage: Yet the Spaniards did not long escape without Loss; for the Ships of Baion coasting about the Kingdom to defend it from the Enemy, took fourteen Ships laden with Wine and other Goods.

In the latter end of this Year Pope Gregory XI. wrote a Letter to the King, requiring him to assist the Bishops in suppressing John Wickliffe and his Adherents; but that the Bishop's Heat stirred up by his Letters to them almost of the same Date, was little encourag'd by the King's Authority, the Favour that Wickliffe found may serve for a Demonstration. The Letters from the Pope to the King and Bishops are printed at large in Mr. Fox Acts and Mon. in the beginning of this King's Reign.

About Midsummer the Duke of Lancaster having compleatly equipp'd his Ships, put out to Sea with a great Force, and landing in Britain, laid Siege to S. Malo de Lisle, an important Fortrefs in those Parts. The Earls of Buckingham, Stafford, Warwick, and other Noblemen, who had great Experience in Warlike Affairs, manag'd it with much Art and Subtlety; but it was so well defended by the French, that the Duke was forced to raise the Siege and return home. A little after the Duke's Departure from England, viz. on Aug. 11. was committed a barbarous Murder in the Sanctuary at Westminster, which whether caused by the Duke or not, is uncertain; yet he was so far concern'd in it, as that it redounded much to his Dishonour, and increased the Hatred of him among the People. The Occasion of it was this: In the War, which the Black Prince Edward had in Spain for the Restoration of Peter King of Castile and Leon, two Gentlemen Robert Hawl, and John Shakell, had by their Valour taken the Earl of Denia Prisoner; and that such brave Actions might be encourag'd,

\* This was done in Parliament the last Year, and not now by the Procurement of the Duke of Lancaster.



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the Prince himself, and Sir *John Slandois*, a chief Commander under him, gave him to the Gentlemen to make the best of his Ransom. The Earl being thus left in their hands, made an Agreement with them for his Liberty, and left his Son with them as an Hostage, till the Ransom was paid; which the Earl neglecting, the Earl's Son remained with them many Years. The Duke of *Lancaster*, who had marry'd one of the Heiresses of the Crown of *Spain*, but was kept out by their Uncle, casting about him to find out all ways how to recover his Wife's Right, thought upon the Restitution of the Earl of *Denia's* Son, whereby he might oblige his Father to engage in his Interest, and make a Party among his Friends for him. Wherefore the Duke sends to Mr. *Hawl* and *Shakell*, in the King's Name, to deliver up their Prisoner; and because they obstinately refused, he caused them to be imprison'd in the Tower. The Gentlemen, tho' thus unjustly handled, yet kept him; but after some time made their escape out of the Tower, and got to the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where they hoped to find more Liberty and kinder Usage. The Constable of the Tower, Sir *Allen Buxhall*, a great Friend of the Duke's, much troubled at this escape, contriv'd with the Lord *Latimer* and Sir *Ralph Ferrers*, two of the Duke's Creatures, to take them by Force out of the Sanctuary; and accordingly with a sufficient Strength of arm'd Men enter'd the Abby-Church when the Monks were at Prayers, and seiz'd upon the two Gentlemen. Mr. *Hawl* made some Opposition, and was slain in the Quire, with a Monk, and his Servant who stood up for his Assistance; but Mr. *Shakell* they carry'd away with them to the Tower, from whence he at length got his Freedom, by resigning his Prisoner to them, upon condition, that he should receive an hundred Marks *per An.* and that the King should found a Chantry of five Priests to pray for the Souls of Mr. *Hawl* and his Servant. This Violation of the Sanctuary was so highly resented by the Archbishop, Bishop of *London* and other Bishops, that they excommunicated all that were Assistants in this Murther, except the King, Queen, and Duke of *Lancaster*; and the Bishop of *London* pronounced the Excommunication every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, for a long time after. The King looking upon it as a Reflection upon himself and the Duke, sent to the Bishop to cease it; who not regarding the Order, he was summon'd to *Windfor*, but he would not obey: Whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* in a Rage told the King that he would fetch the Bishop by Force to him in spite of those Rebels the *Londoners*, if he would give him leave. These words lost the Duke the Good-will of the City, and made him generally thought the Author of the Murther.

On the 20th of October the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and *Glocester*, out of Displeasure taken against the *Londoners*. In it many things were propounded, but few concluded; besides that the King had granted to him a Subsidy of a Mark for every Sack of Wooll, and Sixpence in the Pound for all Foreign Commodities brought into, and sold in the Nation. The chief things enacted were, 1. Concerning Merchant Strangers, That it should be lawful for them in all Places of the Land to buy or sell all sorts of Commodities by Wholesale or Retail, which was a great Encouragement to Merchandize. 2. And whereas both Pope *Urban* and *Clement* had sent to the King, Nobles, and Bishops, to accept each of them for lawful Popes, the Legality of both Popes Election was debated, and in Conclusion it was agreed upon and passed into a Law, That Pope *Urban* was duly chosen,

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and so ought to be accepted and obey'd; That all Benefices of the Nation, which were held and enjoy'd by such Cardinals, or others of the Clergy, as were Rebels to Pope *Urban*, should be seized into the King's hands, and the Profits of them answer'd to him; That whosoever should purchase or obtain any Provisions, or other Instruments from any other Pope than the said *Urban*, shall be put out of the King's Protection. This Law is said to have been made through the Advice of the Archbishop. 3. That all Persons that shall report any slanderous words, concerning any Bishop or Nobleman, shall be imprison'd till he can produce the Author of such Calumnies. Some other things were propounded, but nothing enacted concerning them. The Archbishop complained of the late Violation of the Sanctuary of *Westminster*, and desired that some effectual Course might be taken to secure the Privileges of Sanctuaries; but the Nobles objecting the voluntary Abuses of them maintained by the Clergy in protecting Debtors, Accountants, &c. the Archbishop dropp'd the Motion, lest they should be depriv'd of those Advantages. Complaint also was made by the Commons against the Clergy for taking Timber as Tyth under the Notion of *Silva Cadua*; and it was desired, that it might be limited to Woods of ten Years Growth, but the King answer'd them, That he would not alter common Usage.

Soon after the Parliament was risen Robert The Scots King of Scots raised an Army to invade the Borders of England, being put upon it by the King of France; and one Alexander Ramsey, a valiant Scot, with forty of his Countrymen, surpriz'd the Castle of *Barwicke*, and slaying Sir Robert Bointon, the Governour of it, with the whole Garrison, made themselves absolute Masters of it. This first Attempt proved not only advantageous to the fortunate Aggressors, who seized much Spoil, and put the Governour's Wife and Children to pay two thousand Marks for their Ransome, but open'd a freer Passage for the whole Army into England. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the keeping of that Castle and Town committed to him, as soon as he had received Information of it, raised an Army out of those Parts for the Recovery of it; the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Lucy*, *Graistocke*, and *Stafford*, Sir *Thomas Musgrave*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen brought in their Assistance to him: So that the Earl had soon gotten an Army of above a thousand Men well arm'd. With these he march'd to *Barwicke*, and finding that the Townsmen had broken down the Draw-bridge, by which only the Scots could get into the Town; so that Ramsey and his Fellows could have no Assistance from their Army, which lay near. He laid siege to the Castle, and within nine days after his Arrival took it by a two hours Assault: All the Scots but Ramsey their Captain were put to Death, and he saved partly in respect to his Valour, and partly that he might discover the Strength and farther Designs of the Scottish Army. The Earl and Lords with the English Army being flush'd with this Success, sent out a Party of six hundred Men under the Command of Sir *Thomas Musgrave* to pursue the Scots Army, which upon the Loss of *Barwicke* were a little withdrawn into the Country: But Earl *Douglasse* watching his Opportunity, fell upon them at such an Advantage, that he utterly defeated them, taking Sir *Thomas* himself, and one hundred twenty more Prisoners, the rest hardly escaping by flight. In this Expedition the Earl of *Northumberland's* eldest Son *Henry*, behaved himself so bravely, that he was highly commended and admir'd.

A. D.  
1378.

I i

About



A. D. 1379. About Christmas Sir Robert Rouse, who was made Governour of Chierburg the last Summer, and had done many brave Actions against the French in taking Sir Oliver Clifton<sup>a</sup>, and by other adventures, was call'd home, and Sir John Herleston put in his place. Sir Hugh Calverley also was remov'd from his Government of Callis, and made Admiral, being joyn'd in Commission with Sir Thomas Percy, and William Montacute Earl of Salisbury succeeded Calverley as Governour of Callis. This noble Person began his Office with an Inroad into France, by which he took a great Booty of Cattel, and much enriched the Town. Nor was Sir Hugh less active against the Enemy by Sea, than he had been formerly by Land; for soon after he had set out, he took seven Merchant Ships laden with Goods, and one Man of War. The Merchants of London being angry with a Genoese Merchant, who had brought into Port a Ship laden with rich Spices, because he would not sell them at such low Prices as they would give, but was departing to seek a better Market, fell upon him and slew him<sup>b</sup>; which unjust Action was very much reſented by the Government, and the Actors, as they could be taken, punished according to their deserts. About this time began the Popes to stir up an Holy War, for the Establishment of themselves singly in the Papacy, and sent their Agents into the Nations, which submitted to them, to undertake a War against the Antipope. The Archbishop of Cassis in Ireland, who had been lately at Rome, brought with him a full power from Pope Urban to excommunicate all Persons that should hold with Clement, or uphold his Cause; and because the French were the chief Maintainers of Clement, who had establish'd his See at Avignon, the same Archbishop in a Sermon preach'd at London, told the People, 'That the French were excommunicated, and that if ever they could hope for success against that old Enemy of the Nation, now was the time, when they would have no Courage to make Resistance; or if they had, the powerful Curse would so weaken their Hands, and bind them over to inevitable Ruin, that they would become an easie Prey to the English.' Thus did the Vicar of the Prince of Peace blow up the Flames of War among Christians; a very bad proof of so high Office, to act so directly contrary to the Practice of him, whose Deputy he pretends to be.

A little after Easter the Parliament was assembled at Westminster, and some things settled of most necessity. For after the King, according to the usual Custom, had confirm'd the Privileges of the Church, and the two Great Charters; the principal was about the Privileges of Sanctuaries, and particularly of that of Westminster, which being found to be abused to protect Debtors against their Creditors, it was enacted, 'That all such Debtors, as after they have made over their Goods and Lands by Feoffments, Deeds of Gifts, or otherwise, to their Friends, and had for protection fled into Sanctuary, so defrauding their Creditors, if they did not render up themselves upon Proclamation made at the Gates of the Sanctuary, Judgment should pass against them, and an Execution be awarded upon their Goods and Lands, which were without such privileg'd places, as well such as are given by Collusion as otherwise. By this Parliament a Poll-Tax was given to the King, but with a particular Exemption of the Commons, and therefore laid the

more heavy upon the Nobility and Gentry; for A. D. Dukes and Archbishops were to pay \* twenty Marks; Bishops, Earls, and mitred Abbots, six Marks; Monks, ten Groats; and Gentlemen, and all the other Clergy, at a certain Rate, none was spared; but the Commons paid nothing.

This following Summer the Plague so afflicted the Northern Counties, that the Inhabitants were many of them forced to remove their Dwellings into other parts of the Nation; and those, whom either Necessity or Charity oblig'd to remain there, the Scots being sure of no resistance, so infested with frequent Incurſions and Robberies, that the Country was almost wholly depopulated.

The Duke of Britain, who in the first Year of Reg. 2. this King's Reign came into England to beg the King's assistance against his Rebellious Subjects, who by joining with the King of France had expelled him out of his Dominions, was now invited home by his Nobles, to return and accept the Government of his Country. He had hitherto solicited with small success, because the Duke of Lancaster thought to have got his Dukedom for himself, and for that end went over with a powerful Army; but the Constable of France opposed him with so strong a Force, that he was obliged to give over the thoughts of it; but now he had sufficient Aid granted him to attend him into his Country, and greater Forces promised to be sent after him. On August 4. Sir Hugh Calverley and Sir Thomas Percy set him ashore in his own Country, where he was received by his Nobility, and all his other Subjects, with a great deal of Joy, except some few who held great places under the French Government, and were likely to lose them by his coming. But because it could not be expected, but the French Faction would create him great Troubles and Disturbance; therefore on the Feast of St. Nicholas, Sept. 10. the Army promised him, to maintain him in his Dignity, was sent after him under the Command of Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir Nicholas Trumpington, and Sir Thomas Delaware, with others; but in their passage they met with so terrible a Tempest, that they could not touch the French Shore, twenty five Ships were cast away, most of the Captains drowned, and a great number of Soldiers. This unlucky Accident was look'd upon as a just Judgment from Heaven upon them for their Wickednesses, which they had committed on Shore, not only plundering Houses, and robbing Churches, but ravishing Men's Wives and Daughters, and carrying them on Board with them to satiate their Lusts, whom they cast into the Sea when the Tempest began, and so inhumanly hasten'd the ruin of their Souls, as well as corrupted their Bodies.

Sir John Harleston, and his Men, who held the Town of Chierburg, having Intelligence that the French had laid up great quantities of Provision in a Church and Mill adjoining, as in Storehouses, fall'd out with a strong Force, and possessed themselves of them, tho' guarded and defended by the French. But in their return were encountered by Sir William de Bourd, the French Captain in Mountbergh, the Counter-Garrison to Chierburg. The English, loth to lose so soon what they had so lately gotten, stood upon their defence, and there follow'd a furious Battel. The French were the greatest in Number, but the English in Resolution, which Fortune so far favour'd, that by the help of a few fresh Men, who came out of the Town to their assistance, they ob-

<sup>a</sup> Sir Oliver Gueſelin, Brother to the famous Constable of that Name.

<sup>b</sup> They murder'd him for offering the King to fortifie Southampton, and make it a free Port for foreign Traders out of the East. The Merchants of London being jealous of their own Trade, to spoil the Project, caus'd him to be assassinated.

<sup>c</sup> This Wickedness is particularly laid to the Charge of Sir John Arundel.



A. D. 1380. Reg. 3. tain'd a compleat Victory, taking Sir William himself, and a hundred and twenty Prisoners. But this advantage was allay'd by as great loss to the English soon after; for several English Ships lying in the Haven of Britain, under the protection of a Castle, then kept by the English, under the command of Sir John Clarke, a valiant Captain, the French had intelligence of it, and going with a Squadron, sent one Ship into the Haven, either to fire them, or draw the English Ships to a pursuit of it, by which means they might come into their hands. The English, not suspecting the design, accordingly pursu'd the Ship, and Sir John Clarke and his Men went aboard to effect the taking of it, and so fell into the Ambuscade. Sir John perceiving his danger, fought bravely to free his Ships, but all was in vain, the French were too strong for them; and tho' few of the Men fell into the Enemy's hand, many being kill'd, among which was the Captain himself, and some escaping ashore, they gain'd the Ships, but so shatter'd they could not carry them home.

1380. About Christmas the Earl of Salisbury was remov'd from the Lieutenancy of Calles, and Sir John Devereux was put in his place. Sir John Harleston also was call'd home from Chierburg, and Sir William of Windsor sent over to succeed him. About the Feast of St. Hilary a Parliament met at Westminster, and sat till the beginning of March. In this Parliament it was enacted, 'That since many of the richest Church-preferments of the Nation were got into the hands of Strangers, who neither could nor did do their Duty in hearing Confessions, preaching to, and teaching the People, maintaining Hospitality, or furthering the good of Men's Souls, contrary to the intent of the pious Donors, and the ancient Custom of the Realm, whereby the Riches of the Nation was carry'd into foreign parts; therefore no Alien should hold any Benefices in England, nor any Englishman be a Farmer, Procurator, or Attorney for such Aliens, without an express Licence from the King and his Council. The Commons also petition'd, 'That a Provision should be made against the Pope's Collectors of the first Fruits of all Ecclesiastical Benefices within this Realm, and that all Priors Aliens might be remov'd out of their Houses, and licens'd to depart the Nation, never to return, and that Englishmen be put in their places, answering the King's Revenues as they did. At the Request also of the Lords and Commons, Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was made sole Governor of the King's Person, instead of the greater number of Bishops and Barons, which hitherto had enjoy'd that Office, because they were found burthensome and chargeable to the Nation; and he had a competent Salary allow'd him for his Care and Attendance. This Parliament granted to the King a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity, but upon condition that the King should not summon another Parliament till the Michaelmas twelve-month after, which tho' at present he assented to, yet was not perform'd.

The Lady Joan Courtney marry'd to the Earl of S. Paul. A little after Easter, the Lady Jane de Courtney, the King's half Sister, was marry'd to the Lord Valeran Earl of S. Paul, who having been taken Prisoner in the Marches of Calles, was kept in the English Court, and by his winning Behaviour much engag'd the young Lady's Affections to him. The Princess her Mother was very much against the Match; but fearing lest it might be prejudicial to the young Lady to cross her Affections, she yielded, and the King gave his Consent, and for her Dowry bestow'd upon the Earl the Mannour of Breffert.

The Duke of Britain having been disappointed

of the Aids which he expected from England soon after his arrival, but were kept back by a Tempest, not knowing the Cause of the Delay, sent a fresh Petition to the King for his assistance; whereupon seven or eight thousand Men were rais'd to be conducted thither, under the Command of Thomas Woodstocke Earl of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Peirce, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Robert Knowles, Sir John Harleston, and other experienced Commanders; but to avoid the former danger by Sea, were set on Shoar at Calles, June 4. and so were to pass through France into Britain. In their March through the Country, tho' they did much harm to the French, yet they met with no Opposition. The Duke of Burgundy would have vain oppos'd them, and the injur'd People were very ready and desirous to crush their Insolencies; but King Charles, being a very politick Prince, strictly commanded his People not to engage them, who could have no Refuge in the midst of their Enemies, but an irresistible Boldness and Desperateness; he order'd them to keep themselves and Cattel close in their Towns, while they pass'd by, and in the mean time he so dealt with the Britains, that he made their Journey unsuccessful; for the City of Nantz deny'd utterly to receive them, and the Britains gave them a cold welcome; which Disappointment did more damage to the English, than the French had suffer'd by them, and Charles's Policy outdid their Force, tho' he liv'd not to see the success of it. For that great Prince having been poison'd about the time that the English landed at Calles, was hardly preserved by a German Physician a few Months, and dy'd Sept. 26. just as the English were passing the River Sartie, and left his Kingdom to his Son Charles VI. then but twelve Years old. This Accident might have prov'd fortunate to the English, had the Duke persisted in his Quarrel with France, especially since there was a Dissention among the French Princes of the Blood about the Regency and Government of the King's Person; but the Peers of Britain being more desirous of Peace than War, and the French as willing to comply with them, the English were sent home again, and a Peace concluded to the no small displeasure of the Earl of Buckingham, and his whole Army, whom to appease the Duke pretended, that his Nobles over-rul'd him, and forc'd him to it; which Excuse did not satisfy the angered Soldiers.

While the English under the Earl of Buckingham were passing France, the French and Spanish Gallies under the Command of the Lord Oliver de Clisson, and other great Men, much infested the Coasts of England, especially in the Western parts, where they took several Ships; and at last, entering the Thames, burnt Gravesend, after they had plunder'd it, and so return'd with much Booty. About the latter end of June the Merchandizing Towns of the West set out a Fleet to repress their Insolencies, which being in pursuit of them, forced them into Ireland to King'sale; but they were so assaulted from the Irish and English on both sides, that above four hundred of them were slain, most of their Captains and Ships taken, besides one and twenty Vessels, which had been taken from the English, which they now recover'd; but four of the most desperate of their Captains escaped, who being enrag'd at their loss, got up what Force they could together, and observing their opportunity, came again upon the English Coasts, robbing, killing, and burning in a more outrageous manner than before; against whom, tho' the People oppos'd themselves with what strength they could get, and did some Execution upon them, yet they suffer'd much damage, for they burnt the Town of Winchelsea, and put the Abbot of Batel

A. D.

1381.

Reg. 4.

Aids sent

to the Duke

of Britain,

and their

success.

Reg. 4.

Charles the

French

King dy'd.

The French

much annoy

England.



A. D. 1380. *to flight, who came to defend it, as also Rye, Hastings, and Portsmouth, were destroy'd and plunder'd by them; which having done, they retir'd for Fear.*  
Reg. 4.

*The Scots invade England.*

The Scots, who were always joyned with their old Confederates the French, in assaulting England, were not backward at this time to contribute their Assistance; and because the French acted only as Pirates, without Declaration of War, therefore the Scots made this a Pretence of their Invasion, that the Townsmen of Newcastle and Hull had taken one of their Ships worth six or seven thousand Marks, tho' they took it not from the Scots, but from the Pirates that infested England. Whereupon the Scots, with a considerable Body of Men, enter'd Cumberland and Westmorland, spoiling and destroying the Country; and out of the Forest of Inglewood drove away forty thousand Head of great and small Cattle as was thought. It happen'd, that just at this time Penrith Fair was kept; of which, when the Scots had notice, they halted thither; and finding none to oppose them, for the Tradesmen, who were naked and unarm'd, hearing of their coming, had left their Goods to save their Lives; they seized upon all their Shops and Stalls, and returned laden home by the City of Carlisle; which, tho' strong enough to defend it self, yet made no Resistance; and so the Scots got safe into their own Country, save that an Ambush of Archers cut off some few of them. The Earl of Northumberland, who was the Guardian of those Northern Parts, hearing of these Mischiefs done by the Scots, was preparing a sharp Revenge against them, but was forbidden by Letters from the King and Council to proceed against them, till the time of Treaty with them was past, that it might be known, whether they would make any Satisfaction for those Wrongs or no.

*A Treaty with the Scots.*

About Michaelmas the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Warwick and Stafford, with other Noblemen, went with a great Army into the North, and lay on the Borders to treat with the Scots. This Negotiation, which lasted long, ended in a Truce till Easter following, but was so great a Burthen to the poor Inhabitants, that they had rather have had the Scots still their Enemies, than the Company of their Friends with the Army that attended them, who did them as much Injury as they could have done. The Truce was indeed no Security to the English, the Scots ever making use of such Cessations of Arms to plunder England the more fearlessly; for they never observ'd them longer than they could gain an advantageous Opportunity to break them. While the English Army lay here, some treasonable Letters were found at London by a poor Man, seal'd with Sir Ralph Ferrers's Arms, who was one of the King's Council, and directed to Sir Bertram Glegurn, the Lord de la River, Chamberlain of France, the Lord Gueselin, and the Patron of the French Gallies. They were carried to Mr. John Philpott, and by him to the King and Council, who sent him with them to the Duke of Lancaster, that the Knight might be seiz'd and secur'd; which the Duke accordingly did, and imprison'd him in Durham Castle, but upon his Examination at the next Parliament he was set at Liberty, four Barons being bound for his Appearance, till his Innocency could be more fully cleared.

*Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.*

The King called another Parliament to meet at Northampton in November, a place tho' not very convenient in Winter for the Entertainment of so great a Company, and so August an Assembly, yet was thought more fit than London at that time; because he was resolv'd to punish

John Kirby, a Merchant of London, who was one of those that had barbarously kill'd the Gencefe Merchant: And it was feared, that his suffering in the City might occasion some Tumult by the Interests of his Dependants or Friends, so he had his Tryal at Northampton, and was hanged. By this Parliament was granted to the King a Tax of 6 s. 8 d. for every Priest and Nun, and 4 d. by the Poll upon all Persons whatever being of the Age of fourteen Years and upward (such as took Alms only excepted) which was then thought so considerable a Sum, that it rais'd a great Discontent among the Commons, as we shall see, when we come to the Account of the Collection of it.

Soon after the rising of this Parliament, which was about Christmas, Thomas Braintringham Bishop of Exeter, was put out of his Office of Treasurer, and Sir Robert Hales Lord Prior of St. John's Hospital in Smithfield, was put into his place; a very worthy and gallant Person, but not beloved of the Commons. Also a Marriage began to be treated of between the King and the Emperor's Sister, and the Duke of Tarfilia and the Cardinal of S. Praxeder, came over to the King about it. The Cardinal made it a very advantageous Negotiation, for presuming upon the King's Favour and Permission, he sold Indulgences, Confessional Letters, Portative Altars, Absolutions and Dispensations at dear Rates to the superstitious People and Clergy, who glad of such near Markets, catch'd at them eagerly, to the great enriching of the Cardinal.

The Truce with the Scots being now just upon the Expiration, the Duke of Lancaster was sent into Scotland to procure a Continuation of the Truce for a longer time, viz. three Years. The Duke was the more zealous to promote a firm Peace at home, because he had an Opportunity put into his hand, as he thought, of recovering his Wife's Right to the Crown of Spain, by a Breach between the King of Portugal and the Usurper. The former had sent to the Duke to assist him, and he dispatch'd away his Brother Edmund Earl of Cambridge, with the Lords William Beauchamp and Botreux, and Sir Marston Gourney, with a considerable Force to help him, intending to follow himself with greater Strength as soon as things were put into a settled Posture at home; but while he was endeavouring to lengthen the Peace with a Foreign Nation, an unexpected Disturbance, but very dangerous one, arose at home among the People upon this Occasion.

The Collection of the Poll-Tax, which was so much displeasing to the Common People, began in the Spring, and, being manag'd by indiscreet and uncivil Officers, rais'd such Discontents in most Counties of England, that they were every where almost ripe for Rebellion: For tho' 'tis probable the severe exacting of so small a Sum would not have rais'd such Combustions alone, yet meeting with other Grounds of Dissatisfaction, which the People had long smother'd, it swelled them to so big a Bulk, that they could not be kept longer in. The Government of the Duke of Lancaster, the Exactions and Corruptions of Lawyers and Attorneys, and the Oppression from Lords of Manors by their Tenures of Villanage, had sat very uneasie upon their Shoulders a great while, and they longed for a Deliverance from both; but more especially from the insupportable Burthens of their Lords, whose Slaves and Servants they generally were, doing all their Work and Drudgery, as plowing, sowing, carrying their Dung, cutting

• This Tax was propos'd by the Lords.

their



A. D. 1381. Reg. 5. their Wood, and carrying it to their Houses, which being a great Avocation from their own Business, and Disadvantage to their Labours, they were glad of a just Cause and Opportunity of vindicating their Liberty. And this they were much the more encourag'd to do by the Sermons of a seditious Priest, nam'd *John Ball*, who in his Popular Discourses told the Commons, 'That all Men were equal by Nature; That as Children of *Adam* no Man is better than another; That if God had appointed any Man to Slavery, he would have declared, who should be Lords, and who Servants; That Servitude, which is gotten by unjust Force, is confirmed by as unjust Laws; and therefore he advised them to go to the King and require their Liberty, which if they could not obtain, to recover it with their Swords. Whether these Instigations had produced any settled Resolutions in the People to ease themselves after that manner, is uncertain; but that they made them more ready to lay hold of a slight Occasion to rebel, is out of Question, and so were the chief means to raise that Flame, which the Poll-Tax served but as a Pretence to. This Rebellion first began at *Dartmouth* in *Kent*, where a rude Collector of the Poll-Groats having offer'd some Incivility to one *Jack Tyler's* Daughter, created a Quarrel with the Father; which coming to Blows, *Tyler* being a Thatcher, with his thatching Staff beat out his Brains. The Fact was applauded by his Neighbours, but yet fearing he should be punish'd for it, they gather'd together for his Defence, and in a short time were become a large Multitude able to defend themselves against any Force almost whatsoever: For not only the People of *Kent*, but *Essex* united themselves in one Body, and as if his Cause were common to them all, resolv'd to vindicate themselves and him from all such unjust Oppressions and Abuses. *Wat. Tyler* became the Head and Captain of this Rabble, which being so strong as he thought to be beyond all Resistance, and able to vindicate themselves from all Wrongs, which they in their own Opinions sustained from their Superiors; he first engag'd them each to other with an Oath, 'That they would be true to King *Richard*, and the Interests of the Commons of *England*; That they never would receive a *John* (meaning the Duke of *Lancaster*) for their King; That they would persuade all their Neighbours to joyn in the same Cause, and would never yield to the Payment of any Tax, but a 15th. Being firmly united by this Oath, they began their March from *Maidstone*, where their first Rendezvous was, towards *London*, plundering all that would not joyn with them in their Passage. At *Blackheath* they had a general Muster, where they appeared to be sixty thousand, or as others say, an hundred thousand strong. The King hearing of the Approach of so great a Multitude in an Army, sent to them to know the Cause of their tumultuous meeting, and they sent him word, 'That they were come to speak with him about Matters of Importance, and desired him to come to them. The Message being related to the King, it was debated in the Council, whether he should go to them or

no: Some thought it the best way to appease them, but *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Chancellor, and *Sir Robert Hales* the Treasurer, were utterly against it, as not safe for the King's Person. This Advice was taken, and the Rebels Petition rejected, which as soon as they heard the Authors of, they vow'd they would cut off their Heads; but the King fearing that this Denial would provoke them, he went down by Water as far as *Rotterdam* to talk with them. They were pleas'd with his Presence, and petition'd him to come a-shore among them, but that would not be granted: So that this new Distrust created a greater Displeasure against the King's Ministers, and Persons about him.

As soon as the King had left them, they march'd forward to *London*, and on *Corpus Christi Day*, June 2. enter'd *Southwark*; where they plunder'd the rich House-keepers, let out the Prisoners of the *Marshalsea* and *Kings-Bench*, whom they lifted into their own Company. The Mayor and chief Men of the City adher'd firmly to the King, and shut up their Gates against them; but the Commonalty taking their part, and the Rebels themselves threatening to burn all the Borough of *Southwark*, unless they had free Access into the City; they were forced to open the Gates to them, as well for their own as Friends Safety. And now being Masters of all the Wealth and Power of the Nation, they made no Law for their Actions, but their own Will; the Wine-Cellars and Shambles yielded them Dainties for their Bellies and Palates, and every Banker's Shop was their Treasury. The meanest Peasant knew no Want, when abundance of all things was at hand: But these Lawless Actions they justified by their Zeal for the common Good, and taking off such as they called the Enemies of the publick, which they were not sparing in the Execution of, or in destroying their Houses and Possessions. For they burnt the Archbishop's Palace at *Lambeth*, and the Duke of *Lancaster's* House in the *Savoy*, with all their rich Furniture and Goods; which, as if they had been devoted to God, they would suffer no Man to rescue from the Flames; but when one of their Company took a piece of Plate, and put it in his Bosom, they cast him into the Fire. *S. John's* Hospital in *Smithfield* also they set on fire, and the Manor of *Highbury*, belonging to it. All the Professors of the Law, which they could get into their Power, they put to Death; and entering into the Temple, they destroy'd all the Rolls or Records of the Chancery which they could find, with all Law-Books and Writings of the Students, and so they dealt with the other Inns of Court. They divided themselves into three parts to prevent any Opposition, and remained one part in the City under *Jack Straw*, another at *Mile-End*, and a third at *Tower-Hill*. The King and his Guards (tho' twelve hundred) were so much afraid of them, that they allow'd them to come into the *Tower*, and took out from thence the Archbishop *Simon Sudbury*, then Chancellor, and *Sir Robert Hales* the Treasurer, and beheaded them on *Tower-Hill*. In the City also they were very severe to Foreigners, especially the *Flem-*

\* 'Tis so far certain, as that he was among them at *Blackheath*, where he made this Sermon. He was a Prisoner in *Maidstone* Gaol, and had been set free by the Rabble, whom he excit'd to proceed from Riot to Rebellion, taking this Rhime for his Text, When Adam delv'd and Eve span, Who was then a Gentleman?

† This was done at *Debsford* in *Kent*. The Fellow's Name was *Walter* or *Wat*, his Trade a *Tyler*, whence He is call'd *Wat Tyler*.

\* With his Lathing Hammer.

† An hundred thousand Men.

\* These were the *Essex* Men to the Number of sixty thousand, who on Promise of Charters of Freedom, dispers'd and went home.

† *Kentish* Men headed by *Wat. Tyler*.



A. D. 1381. *mingt*, and taking them out of the Sanctuaries, whither they were fled to escape their Fury, beheaded many of them. Their *Shibboleth* to discern them by, was to pronounce the words *Bread and Cheese*, which if they could not do, but said as usually, *Brot and Cause*, they instantly beheaded them. *Wat. Tyler's* private Revenge in beheading his old Master, *Richard Lym*, in *Cheapside*, for his necessary Severity to him when he was his Apprentice, much stain'd their glorious Pretences of reforming publick Disorders, and punishing bad Ministers of the State. Nor was it very agreeable to the Justice they pretended to observe, to open the Prisons of *Newgate* and the *Compters*, and let out those Pests of Societies, Thieves, Burglers, and other disorderly Persons, burning their Registers, that in more settled times they might not be again apprehended: But so it for the most part happens, Hypocrites can't keep the Vizard on so close, but their Pretences will be seen through, and their disagreeing Actions betray the Wickedness of their Designs.

King's methods to appease the Rebels.

The King compassionating the Miseries of his People, which by force he was unable to relieve, consulted with his Council about such Courses as were best to be taken to prevent them; and upon deliberation it was advis'd, That since Rebels, tho' strong, are yet timorous, the King should offer them all Pardon for their former Offences, and give them Charters of Freedom to confirm their Liberties for the future. The greatest part of the Rebels accepted of the King's Favour, and especially the *Essex* Men, who sorry for their Disloyalty, departed immediately home, leaving only some of their chief Men to get their Pardon and Charter of Freedom pass'd and sign'd. But *Wat. Tyler*, and his *Kentish* Men, which were about twenty thousand, still continued unsatisfy'd, and persisted in their mischievous Actions of plundering and killing whom they pleas'd. The King and his Council made larger Proposals to him, but nothing would be accepted, tho' he pretended he would be quiet upon reasonable Conditions; which that the King might know, and comply with for the Peace of the Nation, he with many of his Nobility, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and his Guards, went into *Smithfield*, and sent one of his Attendants, *Sir John Newton*, to summon *Tyler* to a Parley with him. *Sir John* thinking it Condescension enough in the King to send for so mean a Subject, hasten'd *Tyler* to attend upon his Majesty; but he told him, *he would come at his own time*; and tho' he set forward, yet did it so slowly, as if he had been as great a King, which he dream'd he should soon be, and the King were to wait upon him. His delays caus'd *Sir John* to be sent again, and to quicken his pace, without respect to him; which so angered the proud Rebel, that he drew his Dagger at him to kill him; and tho' he was in the King's Presence, would not lay aside his Fury: Whereupon *Sir John* was commanded by the King to deliver up his Dagger to *Tyler*, and submit. When the King and *Tyler* came together, as he gave very little Respect to the King, so his Demands were very unreasonable; for he required, That the ancient Laws of the Land should be abolished; That the Sword, which was carry'd before the King, should be deliver'd to him; and many other insolent matters, unfit to be granted. *William Walworth* the Mayor of

*London*, and *John Philpot* an Alderman, both Men of as undaunted Courage as zealous Loyalty, told the King, That the rude Behaviour of *Tyler* to him was intolerable, and desired that the Mayor might have liberty to arrest him, being in his Jurisdiction. The King doubting the issue of such an Attempt, which their Pailion would not suffer them to consider, was very unwilling to permit them, but at last yielded; and *Walworth* immediately with his Sword struck him from his Horse, and being seconded with *Philpot*, and others that stood by, they kill'd him. The Rabble seeing their Captain dead, presently incited one another to revenge his Blood, and bent their Bows to shoot at his Murtherers, as they call'd them. The King considering their unavoidable danger, though but fifteen Years of Age, rode bravely up to the People, and said, *What will you kill your King? Be not troubled for the loss of your Leader, I will be your Captain, and grant you what you desire.* These Words had so great an influence upon them, that they laid aside their Intentions, and march'd with the King into *St. George's Fields*, as sure to obtain their Requests of him. In the mean time, *Walworth* posted into the City, and brought back with him a thousand Citizens well arm'd, who waited under *Sir Robert Knowles* to give the King assistance, when it was most seasonable; and upon this notice, immediately march'd in good order into the Fields to the King. The Rabble were amaz'd at their approach, and flung down their Weapons, begging the King's Pardon; which being obtain'd, they fled, and got home as fast as they could. The Nobles and others that attended the King, desired him to execute three or four hundred of them instantly for a terror to others; but the King would by no means consent to it, and only order'd, that the City should give them no entertainment, and that the Heads of them should be apprehended, and legally punish'd. The Tumult being thus compos'd, the King sensible of the Service which *Walworth* and *Philpot* had done him, with so great hazard of their Lives, conferr'd the honour of Knighthood upon them and some other Aldermen, *John Standish*, *Nicholas Brambre*, *John Lawnd*, and *Nicholas Twiford*; and as a perpetual Memorial of the City's Loyalty, commanded the Dagger to be added to their Arms, and gave also an hundred Pound *per Annum* to *Walworth*, and forty Pound *per Annum* to all the rest. After this success, the King return'd to the Tower, where he was receiv'd by his Mother with much Joy, and the more, because she knew him to be in great danger of Life from the numerous and heady Rout of his rebellious Subjects.

While the former Commotions were about *London*, the Commons in other parts of the Nation rais'd the like Stirs and Tumult, under the same Pretences, being instigated by the Emisaries of the *Kentish* Rebels, *John Ball* and *John Wraw*, two seditious Priests, who had a special Talent of Haranguing the Rabble into Discontents and Rebellion. In *Suffolk*, about *St. Edmundsbury*, they were gather'd together into a Body of fifty thousand, under the Command of *Robert Westbroom* an Inkeeper, and *John Wraw* the above-mentioned lewd Priest, as his Assistant. They made it their business also to go about the Country to plunder and murder Lawyers, Justices, and all such as they imagin'd to be the Instruments of

\* This cannot be right, for *Mr. Lyons* was a very eminent Merchant, the same that had been in the former Reign condemn'd in a great Fine to the King for several Misdemeanours, and *Alise Pince* begg'd it off for him when she was in favour. So 'tis not probable, that *Wat* the Thatcher or the *Tyler* was ever Prentice to him.

† He was angry with the Knight, because he did not dismount in his Presence, but presum'd to talk to him on Horseback.

‡ *Sir William Walworth* seeing *Tyler* begin to meddle with the Bridle of the King's Horse, and play'd with his Dagger, shifting it from one Hand to the other, was afraid he meant some mischief to his Royal Person, and struck him on the Head with his Dagger; Alderman *Philpot* seconded the Blow with his Sword, and so the Rebel came down.



A. D.  
1381.

the People's Slavery. These beheaded Sir *John Cavendish* Lord Chief Justice, who had his Dwelling in those parts, and the Prior of *Bury*, *John* of *Cambridge*<sup>a</sup>, forcing the Monks of the Abby to bring forth and burn those Writings, by which the Privileges of the Monastery over the Townsmen were granted and confirmed; and left the Abbot, who escap'd from them, should recover his former Immunities of them, they put a Cross, Chalice, and other Jewels belonging to the Monastery into their hands, that the Abbot should be oblig'd to seal a Release of all Services to them for the recovery of them. In *Cambridgeshire* also and the Isle of *Ely* there were the like tumults, and many mischiefs done by the seditious People, who shrunk away upon the first Proclamation of Pardon, and sav'd themselves. But in *Norfolk*, tho' they were as forward in disquieting the Nation, yet they were not so wise to secure themselves. *John Litterster*, a Dyer of *Norwich*, whom they stiled King of the Commons, headed a vast Rabble, and with the same mad Fury destroy'd the Lawyers, Lords of Mannours, and such as they believ'd Instruments of their Slavery. These were, as they thought, more politick than their Fellows in other parts, in compelling several Gentlemen of that Country to joyn with them to increase their Numbers, and make themselves the more Considerable, as the Lord *Scales*, Sir *William Morley*, Sir *John Brewes*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Salle*. This last was too Loyal to comply with such a rebellious Rout, and too Bold to keep his Sentiments of their wicked and unjust Actions to himself; wherefore reproving both their Attempt, and the ill Conduct of it, he was knock'd on the Head by them. The rest sav'd their Lives with such servile Compliances as were worse than an honourable Death, for they were forced to serve *Litterster* at Table upon their Knees<sup>b</sup>, and outwardly applaud his brave Endeavours for the People's Liberties. They sought to have brought *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* to the same Union with them, but he had some notice of their Intentions, and so timely made his escape, and went to the King. When the Proclamation of Pardon to the Rebels about *London* was published, they had news of it; but whether they suppos'd themselves not included in it, or whether they disput'd with themselves about accepting it, is uncertain; yet they kept together in a Body, and sent three of their chief Leaders, with Sir *John Brewes* and Sir *William Morley*, with store of Money<sup>c</sup> to obtain their Pardon. The Bishop of *Norwich*, *Henry Spencer*, a Man of a Warlike Spirit, tho' a Clergyman, being zealous to purge his Diocese of such Troublers of the Nation, was at the same time coming down with a small Force, of eighty Lances, and a few Archers, and hoped by the assistance of such as continued Loyal in his Diocese, to rout the Rebels. The Messengers from the Mutineers met the Bishop near *New-Market*, who question'd them about their Business, Company, and the People in Arms; and finding that three of the chief of the Rebels were with them, and that their Camp lay at *North-walsbam* strongly entrench'd, the Bishop being hot in the pursuit of them, beheaded the three Leaders, set up their Heads at *New-Market*, and hastening forward with Sir *William Morley* and Sir *John Brewes*, gather'd an Army of such Gentlemen and Commons, as flock'd to them in their passage; which making up no inconsiderable Body, the Bishop assaulted

their Camp, and routed them, tho' with some difficulty. *Litterster*, and several others of his Associates, he beheaded; but *Wraw*, with several Prisoners, were sent up to *London* to receive the just Punishment of their Demerit. Thus was the Rebellion ended, and almost as soon suppress'd as rais'd, not continuing above three Weeks, or thereabouts, from the beginning to the end of *May*, the heady Rabble wanting Skill and Courage to maintain their bad Cause.

The Nation being thus a little appeas'd, tho' not settled, the Governours with the young King thought it necessary, for the compleating of its Quiet for the future, to raise a good Army of such as were firmly Loyal to the King, who might be able to suppress any Insurrections hereafter, which were not a little to be feared, because the Commons were yet in a ferment, and they had resolv'd to punish many of the Leaders of the Rebellion, that were in Custody in several places of the Nation, with as great severity as their Crimes deserv'd, which would probably incense the People, and cause new Stirs. The King thereupon call'd all his Friends together about *London*, and sent into the Country to such as he knew to be Men well-affected, and Persons of Interest, to attend him, and bring what Men they could with them well arm'd; by which means he got in a few Days a gallant Army of above forty thousand Men, which he muster'd himself in Person at *Black-heat* with great pleasure and satisfaction. As soon as this Force was got together about the King, news was brought him, that the Commons were risen again in two parts, viz. in *Kent*, and in *Essex* about *Billerica*. The King, whether tired with the former Provocations, or exalted with the Presence of his Army, which he wanted before, forgot all his former Gentleness, and immediately resolv'd to go himself into *Kent*, and destroy the whole Country, and to send the Earl of *Buckingham* and Lord *Piercy* to repress the *Essex*-Men, to whose Petition for Liberty, though promis'd before, he reply'd, that "Slaves they were, and Slaves they should be." But the Lords, by their earnest Persuasions, allay'd the Fierceness of his Passion, and brought him to yield to more gentle and legal ways of proceeding against them. So the Earl of *Buckingham*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy*, with a good strength of Men, went into *Essex*, and finding the Rebels entrench'd between *Billerica* and *Harfield Peverell*, within Ditches and Carts; they assaulted their Camp, kill'd five hundred of them, and took eight hundred Horses, the rest escaping towards *Colchester*, which they solicited in vain to joyn with them, and from thence went to *Sudbury*. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* and Sir *John Harleston* with a Body of Men pursu'd them so hard, that they slew and took them almost all Prisoners, and committed them to several Gaols in their own County. And with the like success did the King's Army subdue the seditious People of *Kent*. After the Composition of these Disturbances, there appear'd a general Quietness over the Nation, which made way for the Punishment of those Captains of the Rebels which were reserv'd for Justice.

The Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *William Walworth*, had taken several of the chief of them, as *Jack Straw*, *Allen Threader*, *John Kirby*, and *John Starling*, who bragg'd that he had slain the Archbishop with his own hands; and being seiz'd within his Precincts, they were by Law to be tried before him, from whom they received the

A. D.  
1381.The King  
raises an  
Army.A second  
Rising in  
Kent and  
Essex.Reg. 5.  
Several Re-  
bels execu-  
ted.

<sup>a</sup> John of Cambridge and John de Lankinbeath, two Monks of that Priory, were both beheaded.

<sup>b</sup> They manag'd themselves so cunningly, that they became his Favourites, and were made this King of the Mob's Chief Officers, Sir *Stephen Hales* being his Carver.

<sup>c</sup> This Money was given 'em by the Citizens of *Norwich* to save their Town from being burnt.

<sup>d</sup> They were born Villains, and so they shou'd remain. Something softer than to call them Slaves.



A. D. Sentence of Condemnation, to be beheaded; 1381. which was executed on them accordingly. *Jack*

*Jack  
Straw's  
Confession.*

*Straw*, without any Promises, or Hopes of Pardon, ingenuously confessed at his Execution, 'That if they had been successful in their Enterprize, and could have gotten all the Power into their hands, as they had no small Reason to hope, being so very strong, they intended to have slain the King, Noblemen, Bishops, Monks, Canons, Parsons, and all the richest and wealthiest of the Commons, and seiz'd upon their Possessions, leaving only the Fryars Mendicants to administer Sacraments and divine Service: And when they had thus gotten all into their hands, they would have established new Laws for the Government of the Realm, which they had contrived to divide among their Leaders; *Wat Tyler* was to be King of *Kent*, and others of them in other Countries were to have their petty Kingdoms. This, he said, was true, as God should help him in those his last Moments. *John Ball*, who was taken about *Coventry*, was sent up to the King, and try'd before him at *S. Albans*, with other of the Rebels, brought thither from *Hartford* Goal. *Ball* behaved himself with very great Irreverence to the King; and tho' he was advised to submit and beg pardon, he scorn'd and despis'd his Monitors: So he was condemn'd and executed with fifteen others, *July 15th*. As for the rest, the King sent out his Judges with Commissions into the several Counties of the Nation to try them. *Sir Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice, went into *Essex*, and the King himself accompany'd him at their Examinations. The *Essex* Men in a Body of about five hundred Men, address'd themselves bare-foot to the King for Mercy, and had it granted upon condition, That they should deliver up to Justice the chief Instruments of stirring up the Rebellion; which being accordingly done, they were immediately try'd and hang'd ten or twelve, on a Beam at *Chelmsford*; because they were too many to be executed after the usual manner, which was by beheading. In other Counties also, where the Rebellion had come, were the like Executions done; and the Lords of Manors dealt with the like Severity with their Tenants, and punish'd many of them with Death: So that in divers places of *England*, no less than fifteen hundred are computed to have suffer'd for this their Disloyalty; by which means the Mischiefs they did to others, and the Blood they shed, was justly return'd upon themselves.

*Wickliffe's  
Doctrines  
no cause of  
this Rebel-  
lion.*

This Rebellion hath since been imputed to *Wickliffe* and his Followers Principles, of whom *John Ball* is said to have been one; but that this is an Aspersion invented by Monkish Historians, to blacken the Protestant Doctrines, may appear from hence, that the Rebels were very cruel to some of the chief Followers of *Wickliffe*, as the Duke of *Lancaster*; and that *Wickliffe* himself, then residing upon his Parsonage of *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, was never called in Question for this Rebellion; and tho' *John Ball*, who was a Franciscan Friar, was said to be imprison'd by the Archbishop for preaching *Wickliffe's* Doctrine; yet 'tis probable his Discontents, not Opinions, made him forward to promote these Disturbances of the Nation, and therefore neither *Wickliffe* nor his Doctrines were to blame.

*The Duke of  
Lancaster  
in Scotland  
during this  
Rebellion.*

The Duke of *Lancaster* was all the time of these Commotions in *Scotland*, not so much to conclude the Peace, which upon the first News of them he suddenly clapt up; because if the *Scots* had heard of them, they would certainly have rejected all Propositions for it, as to secure his own Person, to whom he knew they bore a deadly

Hatred. The *Scots*, tho' vexed that the Duke had by his Policy debarr'd them from a great Advantage upon *England* by it, yet offer'd him twenty thousand Men to guard himself against the Rebels, if he purpos'd to return home; or if he thought it better to stay till the Storm was spent, the Accommodations of *Holy-rood* House; but the Duke accepted the latter, and abode some Months in *Scotland* extraordinary. This gave the tumultuous Multitude occasion to report, That the Duke of *Lancaster* was gone over to the *Scots*, and had obtained of them an Army to invade and conquer *England*; but as soon as the Rebellion was allay'd, the Duke cleared himself of that foul Aspersion, by sending a Message to the King to give an account of the Reasons of his stay; yet assuring his Majesty, That if he had any Suspicion of his Disloyalty, he would either come to him without any Attendance, or at his Command go into a voluntary Exile. But the King giving no Credit to the Report, sent him word, That he might return with his Retinue; and being come to Court, gave him an hearty welcome. Soon after his Arrival there happen'd a furious Quarrel between the Duke of *Lancaster* and Earl of *Northumberland*; because *Sir Matthew Redman*, Governour of *Barwicke* under the Earl, had deny'd the Duke Admittance into that Garrison, when he was on the Borders of *Scotland*, by the Earl's Order. This Act the Duke complain'd of to the King in the Earl's Presence, and accus'd him of Ingratitude, Unfaithfulness and Disobedience. The Earl being a Man of an high and angry Spirit, burst out into foul and reproachful Language against the Duke; and was so very furious, that tho' the King commanded him Silence, yet he would not hold in his reproachful Language. Whereupon the King commanded him to be arrested and imprison'd; but the Earls of *Warwick* and *Suffolk* undertaking for his Appearance at the next Parliament, he was left at Liberty, and returned into his own Country. About this time the King made *William Courtney*, Bishop of *London*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was a zealous Opposer of *Wickliffe* and his Followers.

About the beginning of *November* the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Duke of *Lancaster* attended it; but with very large Retinues of armed Men, to the great Terror of all Places where they came. The Earl and his Company were lodg'd in the City, and the Duke with his Men in the Suburbs, and both went every day to the Parliament House with their Guards, to the Amazement of the Citizens. The Quarrel between these two great Personages was first debated by the Houses, and took up so much time before it was fully decided by the King, that News was brought of the Queen's Arrival at *Dover*, before they could proceed to any other Business; and so the Parliament was prorogued to give Attendance upon her Reception, and the Celebration of the Marriage: For many of the Nobility, and others of the Parliament, were sent to receive her, and convey her honourably to the King's Presence. Before she came to *London*, the Mayor and Aldermen, with a great Company of the chief Citizens, met her at *Blackbeath*, and led her into their City with great Honour and Respect; from whence she was conducted in Triumph to the King at *Westminster*. Within a few days she was marry'd to the King by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Name of *Ann*, the Daughter of the late Emperor *Charles IV.* and Sister to *Winceslaus* the present Emperor. Her Coronation soon follow'd, which was celebrated with infinite Splendour.

A. D.  
1382.

The Death  
of the Earl  
of March in  
Scotland.

month  
lia-  
is  
and  
as.



A. D. 1382. Splendour and Magnificence; all the Nobility of the Nation attending, and sparing no Cost to heighten the Glory and State of that day. These Solemnities being ended, the Parliament met again soon after the Feast of *Epiphany*, and settled many good Laws for the publick Benefit: For after the Confirmation of the Liberties of the Church, the great Charters, and many old Laws found by Experience conducible to the Nation's Welfare, they establish'd several new ones, viz. That no Gold or Silver should be carry'd out of the Realm, either in Coin, or otherwise; it being found then, as well as now, that Traffick with ready Money impoverishes the Nation. That all Merchants, that were the King's Subjects, should traffick in *English* Bottoms only. That no Wines should be sold for above six Marks by the Tun. That all Manumissions, Obligations, Releases, and other Bonds made by Force and Compulsion in the late Tumults, as being against the Laws of the Land, should be void. That it should be lawful for the King's Loyal Subjects to seize and apprehend all Persons, whom they suspect to be riotously assembled, if there be in number above six or seven, without the King's Writ, and imprison them till they are brought to answer it. That such Persons as out of Zeal to the Safety of the King and Peace of the Realm, had taken up Arms to repress and subdue the Rebels without a special Commission from the King, should be all pardon'd. That such Persons, as in the late Troubles had lost their Charters, Releases, Obligations, Deeds, and other Monuments, (for the Rebels burnt many, and destroy'd them) upon their Petition to the King and his Council, and a Proof of the Contents of the Form and Tenure of them, their Rights, Titles, and Privileges, should be confirm'd otherwise to them. That Strangers might personally sell their Goods in *London*, without Impeachments to the Merchants of *England*. That no Furs nor Girdles garnish'd with Gold or Silver, should be worn, with some other Laws concerning the Regulation of Courts of Law, and Officers Fees. By this Parliament a Subsidy call'd a *Maletoft* (which is a fiftieth part) was imposed upon all Wools bought or sold by the Merchants, and at the Request of the Lords and Commons, the Lord *Scroop*, a Person eminent for his Knowledge and unbiass'd Integrity, was made Chancellor, and Sir *Hugh Segrave* Treasurer, those great Places remaining vacant ever since the Rebellion, wherein the Archbishop and Sir *Robert Hales* were slain.

The Death of the Earl of March in Ireland. About this time *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Lieutenant in *Ireland*, dy'd in that Nation. He was nearly ally'd to the Crown by the Marriage of *Philippa* the only Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, by whom he had large Possessions in the Province of *Ulster*; and by his prudent Government, had before his Death settled that barbarous People in great Peace and Order; he left one Son, *Roger*, who succeeded him in the Earldom of *March*, and a Daughter, *Ann*, who by *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* was Grandmother to King *Edward IV.* *John Wickliffe* also published an Explication of several of his Doctrines and Opinions, which the Archbishop and Bishops were very zealous to suppress; as Mr. *Fox*, and our Ecclesiastical Histories relate it.

On the Tuesday after the Feast of *S. John Portlatine*, May 6. another Parliament met at *Westmin-*

ster; in which, at the earnest Petition of the Knights of the Shires, *John Wraw*, a Priest, who had been active in raising the Rebellion in *Suffolk*, was tried, and after a Legal Sentence drawn and hang'd. In this Parliament, among other things of less Importance, one Act very memorable is said to have been made, which began the first Persecution that ever was among the *English* for the Christian Religion, on the Followers of *Wickliffe*. By it it was enacted, That Commissions should, upon the Certificate and Request of the Bishops into the Chancery, be directed by the Chancellor to the Sheriffs, and others, to apprehend certain Preachers of Heresie, who without the Licence of their Ordinaries, preached not only in Churches and Church-yards, but in Market-places, and other Places of Concourse, Sermons full of Errors and Heresie, and their Followers, and to keep them in strong Prison until they shall justify themselves according to the Law of the Holy Church. By Authority of this Act, the Bishops not only proceeded with great Severity against the Followers of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, but as if the Power had been in their own hands, they procured Commissions from the King directed to themselves to prosecute them; and so cruelly imprison'd them in their own Houses, and punish'd them as they pleased. But this Act, tho' put in our Statute-Books, was not passed by the Assent of the Commons (as Mr. *Fox* in his *Acts and Mon.* p. 406. shews) but was fraudulently procured of the King by the Bishops to gratify their own bloody Malice against those whom they pleased to call Hereticks. A Subsidy was granted to the King by this Parliament, but upon condition, That it should be expended upon a Navy to guard the Nation by Sea.

This Summer some Ships that belong'd to *Rye*, and the adjacent Towns, meeting with some Pirates engag'd them, and overcoming them took seven of their Ships (of which one was an *English* Ship, call'd the *Falcon*, belonging to the Lord *Latimer*) richly laden with Wine, Wax, and other Merchandize, which they had taken from others. Also *John Northampton*, alias *Comberton*, Mayor of *London*, observing with Sorrow the Lewdness and Debaucheries of the Citizens, set himself with all Diligence to suppress them; and severely punish'd all such as he found guilty of Whoredom, by imprisoning both Sexes, and causing the Women to be carry'd thro' the Streets of *London* with their Hair shorn, as Thieves were in those days usually expos'd to Shame, with Trumpets and Pipes going before them; nor did he spare the Men more. The Bishops pretending, that the Punishment of such Immoralities belonged to their Jurisdiction rather than the Mayor's, were highly displeased with him, and forbid him; but that did not in the least deter him from proceeding in so good a Work, so long as his Power lasted, tho' against the Bishop's Will, who ought to have encourag'd him. Whether this uneven Zeal of the Church-men against Opinions and Doctrines, more than vicious Practices, were the cause of those fearful Judgments which happen'd at the same time they were carrying on their Prosecutions, is hard for us peremptorily to determine; but certain it is, that many heavy Calamities befel the Nation at this time. Such an Earthquake was felt, as not only wrought great Terrours in the Inhabitants, but shook down divers Churches and Houses in the Nation, and

\* In this Parliament an Act of General Pardon pass'd, with some Exceptions to the following Towns, *Canterbury*, *S. Edmunds Bury*, *Beverly*, *Scarborough*, *Bridgewater*, and *Cambridge*; which, it seems, had been most mutinous in the late troublesome Times, and at last these Towns were also pardon'd, by Petition of the House of Commons.

\* *John Wickliffe* is said to have put the Mayor of *London* upon this Reformation of Manners in that City, because he saw the Bishops Ministers tolerated all Lewdness for Money.



A. D. 1382. principally in *Kent*. Not many Days after happen'd a *Water-shake*, as it was call'd, which beat the Ships in the Havens so violently together, that many received no finall damage. And about *S. Thomas-day* there fell such great Rains, as caus'd mighty Inundations, which drowned many Villages, and carryed away divers Bridges.

Reg. 6.  
King's Disposition at seventeen Years of Age.

His Favourites.

Id. Scroop the Chancellor remov'd, and the occasion.

The King, being now in his seventeenth Year, began to discover his Inclinations and Affections. He lov'd the State and Magnificence of a King, and was very Noble, Generous and Liberal, out-going all his Ancestors in stately Equipages, and the pompous Gallantry of a Court; but he lov'd not the burthenfome Cares and dangerous Achievements of a Crown, giving himself up to Pleasures and Ease, and favouring such as most encouraged and applauded him by their Flatteries and Company in that course of Life. His best Friends, and wisest Counsellors, knowing how much such a Life was inconsistent with the Greatness and Interests of a King, could not countenance his Choice, but much disapproved his Actions, to which he being too fondly addicted, and beyond all compulsive Restraints, became averse to the Persons and Counsels of such as really tender'd his Advantage, and the flourishing State of his Reign, and pleas'd himself in the Company and Careless of those Persons which sought to please him, with advantage to themselves, magnifying his Power, and extolling that Life of Ease and Pleasure which he naturally lov'd, as most suitable to the Happiness and State of a King. The chief of these Men were *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *York*, *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, a young and sprightly Nobleman, *Michael de la Poole* a Merchant's Son of *London*, and *Sir Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice. These Men had the Ear, the Company and Favour of the King, whilst others bore the heavy Toils and Troubles of Government, and scarce received Thanks for their pains; which rais'd Discontents in the one, and Pride and Insolency in the other; Passions which can never subsist long quietly together, as this Accident discovers to us: One of these Favourites having obtain'd a Concession of some part of the King's Revenues, went to the Lord Chancellor, *Richard Scroop*, to have it confirm'd by the Great Seal. The Chancellor, considering that Gifts are the Rewards of Deserts only, and that it was hardly agreeable to the Trust reposed in him, to confirm such Grants rashly as the King had given indiscreetly, put him off with this Answer, 'That the King was himself much in debt, and that all Profits of the Crown were therefore to be employ'd to the benefit of the King; wherefore he refused to set his Seal to such Grants till the King was of greater Age and Judgment. The angry Petitioner goes immediately to the King, and with Aggravations of the Chancellor's Disobedience, represents his Denial to him. The King, impatient of all Opposition at best, but much more now, being enrag'd by the Instigations of such as were about him, sent immediately to him to deliver up the Seal; but the Chancellor, having been put into that Office by the Parliament, refused to resign it, till the King came himself in Person and demanded it of him; to whom he, with all due Respect, said at his parting with it, 'That since his Fidelity to his Interests was so displeasing to him, he never would again serve him in any place of Trust, tho' he would obey him as a good Subject. The King having thus gotten the Seal, gave it to *Robert Braybrooke* Bishop of *London*. And tho' he pleas'd himself and Favourites in thus transferring that great Office, yet it much disgusted the Parliament,

who had put the Lord *Scroop* into it, and discontented the People, who accounted him the fittest Person of the Nation for that Office, because of his impartial Justice and great Knowledge.

Not long after this Change, the Parliament met at *Westminster*, in the Octaves of *St. Michael*. In this Parliament, after the Confirmation of the Charter and old Laws in the usual manner, it was enacted, 'That Deeds enrolled, which had been torn and defaced by the Rebels, should be exemplified under the King's great Seal, and such Exemplifications shall be of as great Force as the Originals; which much pleas'd the King's loyal Subjects, whose Estates were endanger'd by the loss of their Writings. *John Northampton* Mayor of *London* also procured an Act, in prejudice to the Fishmongers of *London*, 'That no Victualler should exercise any Judicial Office, either in the City of *London*, or in any Borough, Town, or Sea-port, through the Realm, unless where no sufficient Person else can be had for such Office, in which Case such Person was to abstain from his Trade during the time of his Office. By this Act all Victuallers, viz. Fishmongers, Butchers and Grocers, (for so it seems they were then reputed) were debarr'd from being Mayors of *London*. *Sir John Plilpot* was much against this Action of the Mayor, and is said to have been put from the Bench of the City for opposing it. *Mr. Fox* in his *Acts and Mon.* p. 406. sets down a Petition of the Commons of this Parliament, extracted out of the Parliament Rolls, Art. 52. wherein the Commons humbly request of the King, 'That the Act made the last Session, giving the Bishops Authority upon their Certificates into Chancery to require Commissions to apprehend and imprison the Preachers, Maintainers and Abettors of *Wickliffe's* Doctrines, should be disannulled, because it was procured without their consent; and the King yielded to their Petition. Yet by the Artifices of the Bishops the aforesaid Repeal was suppressed, and Prosecutions carry'd on by virtue of the said surreptitious Act, without the least regard had to the Repeal; which is the Reason that that Act of Repeal has never since been printed among our Statutes. These were the chief Matters transacted by this Parliament; for no Tax was granted but a single fifteenth, instead of which the King granted a general Pardon to all concerned in the former Rebellion, excepting only some of the more notorious Leaders in it.

The second Holy War began now to be espoused in earnest in *England*. For Pope *Urban* sent over his Bulls to *Henry Spenser* Bishop of *Norwich*, a Man better qualify'd for the Camp than Church, granting large Pardon of Sin, and promising as great Imputations of Merit and Happiness, as if they had went against Turks and Infidels, to all such as would either go in Person, or contribute Money to maintain a War against *Clement* the Antipope, and his Adherents. The Clergy preach'd up the Merit of this Expedition, and gained many Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, as well as great multitudes of the common People to undertake it. Nothing but Money (which they had gather'd in great Sums, yet not sufficient for so chargeable an Undertaking) and the Consent of the King and Nation were wanting to the intended design, both which they referr'd to the Consideration of the next Parliament.

Toward the latter end of this Summer, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge* return'd out of *Portugal*, with the *English* Army under his Command, much discontented for the ill success of his Voyage. They had had a very hard and dangerous passage, and when they

\* The King kept the Seal for some Days in his own Custody, and seal'd several Grants with it himself.

arriv'd,



A. D. 1382. arriv'd, found the King of Portugal, who had invited them, very backward in his Preparations, as if he were hardly resolv'd upon a War. They lay nine Months in Lisbon in Garrison, without any Action of moment, giving their Enemy the King of Spain time to raise an Army, which with such aid as he procured out of France thro' Arragon, was too strong for Opposition. So that by that time the Portuguese and English were ready to fight, the Spaniard was irresistible, and that King, who had no mind to fight at first, was in the end justly deterr'd from it. The English nevertheless being weary of Idleness, could not by the Persuasions of their General be kept from attempting something. Wherefore they invaded the neighbouring Territories of Spain, and taking several small Cities, put Garrisons into them. This angered the King of Portugal so much that he refused to pay the English according to agreement, which had like to have begotten a Quarrel between them, tho' Confederates; for the English had purposed to plunder the Country, and satisfy themselves. But this Breach being compos'd, the King of Portugal made a Peace with the King of Spain, and sent away the English with all speed, as if he had been glad to rid his Kingdom of so terrible Guests. The Earl of Cambridge was so much incens'd with this unexpected Treatment, that he departed in a great anger, and would not leave his Son behind him, tho' he had affianced him to the King of Portugal's Daughter. His arrival in England was no good news to the Duke of Lancaster, whose Title became so much the more worthless, as his Enemy was more successful.

1383. A little after Christmas a Parliament met at Westminister, to which the Consideration of the intended Expedition against the Adherents of Pope Clement was referr'd, and upon a full Debate disallow'd; but the Clergy and their Friends at length made such Interests that it was permitted, and a fifteenth which had been granted to the King by the former Parliament was given for the carrying on the Expedition, and only a tenth granted by the Clergy, reserved for the King's use. The Bishop of Norwich having received this Encouragement, sent out his Letters immediately unto all Parsons of his Diocese to preach up the Merit of this Holy War, and pronounce Pardon of Sin to all that would go to it; and his Brethren in other Diocesses did the same: Which had so great an effect, that by the entrance of the Spring he had an Army ready to attend him of fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. The chief Men, who accompany'd the Bishop in this War, were Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Farrington, Henry Lord Beaumont, Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir John Ferrers, Sir Henry Spenser the Bishop's Nephew, Sir Matthew Redman, Sir Nicholas Traillton, and some others. Few of the Noblemen would engage in it, because the Duke of Lancaster oppos'd it, and would by no means be induced to joyn in it, unless they would have made War upon the King of Castile, who was also a Clementine. On the 23d of April these Religious Warriours put to Sea, and landed at Callis. The King had some Days before sent to the Bishop to attend him at Court before he left the Realm, for what Reason was not known; but the Bishop fearing it was to countermand his Proceedings, would not go to the King, but went on his intended Voyage. When they were all arriv'd at Callis, they entred into a Consultation which way they should bend their Forces. Some were for invading France, because their Commission was to make War only upon Pope Clement and his Party,

of which the French were the chief. But the Bishop was for invading Flanders, because the Earl Lewis had lately expell'd all the English out of his Dominions, upon a Supposition, that King Richard had joyned with the People of Gaunt against him, and many in their hasty Removal from Bruges, and other places, had sustain'd great Damages in their Merchandizes. To the Bishop's Judgment they all yielded, tho' Sir Hugh Calverley and some others did not approve of it; and therefore entering Flanders in the beginning of May, they besieged and took in less than three Weeks Graveling, Burburgh, Dunkirk, and Mardike. This sudden Storm the Earl of Flanders not suspecting, sent to the Bishop to know the Cause why he made War upon him, and was answer'd, Because he had a Commission to assault all the Abettors of Pope Clement. The Earl's Messengers reply'd, That they then were his Friends and Allies, being for Pope Urban; but that was not sufficient to divert the English from them. Whereupon the Earl raised an Army of twelve thousand Men to oppose the Current of their Victories, and engag'd them about Mardike; but the English behav'd themselves with that Valour and Resolution, that they slew nine thousand of their Enemies on the place, and gained a great Victory; upon which they immediately became Masters of all the Country between Graveling and Sluce, and got such Spoils as laden one and forty Ships with the Riches of the Country. The Earl of Flanders being thus driven to the lowest ebb of Fortune, hath no Refuge but to the King of France, whom he solicited with the greatest Earnestness to oppose and stop the Current of the English Victories, which would certainly in the issue prove dangerous to his Kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy seconded the Earl's Request, and prevail'd so far with the French King, as to raise an Army of a hundred thousand Men. In the mean season, the English being reinforced with twenty thousand Gauntiners, had laid close Siege to the City of Ipres, and tho' it was a very strong Town, were in no small hopes of taking it. But the Earl of Flanders hastening out the French Forces against them, oblig'd them to raise the Siege, after one successful Assault, and retire to Burburgh, wherein they fortify'd themselves with Waggon's set upon the Rampeirs and Ditches. The French pursu'd them, and besieg'd the Town; but by the mediation of the Duke of Britain, a fast Friend to the English, a Composition was made, 'That the English, upon their surrendring up the Town to the French, should have safe Conduct, with Arms and Baggage, to Callis; which was perform'd on both sides. The English being thus driven out of Flanders again, all the places which they had taken fell into the hands of the French, who spoil'd them of all the English had left. The King, to whom the Bishop of Norwich had given an account of the French Army's success while he was besieg'd in Burburgh, had order'd the Duke of Lancaster to hasten over with all the Force he could to relieve the Bishop; but the Duke delay'd so long, till the Bishop had left all, and was landed in England. Thus this Expedition concluded, with both Dishonour and Disadvantage to the English; for they not only lost the Towns, but the Prey they had gotten, being forced to burn their Ships, lest they should come into the Enemy's hand; which that the King might shew his Repentments of, he seiz'd upon the Bishop's Temporalities, and imprison'd Sir Thomas Trivet and Sir William Elmham soon after their return.

After the Departure of the English Army home, the French and Scots began their wonted Ravages

A. D. 1383.

Flanders invaded, and the Flemings conquer'd.

1383. Reg. 7.

The French drive the English out of Flanders.

French and Scots assault England.

\* Walsingham says Twelve thousand, and other Historians but Three.



A. D. 1383. into *England*; the one by Land, and the other by Sea. The *French* sent out several Ships to infest the Coasts, and annoy the Passage into *Gascogne* and *Flanders*: The *Scots* invaded the Borders, drove away a great Booty of Cattel, took the Castle of *Werke*, and burnt it. The Inhabitants of *Portsmouth*, and the Neighbouring Towns, set out some Ships to defend their Coasts, which took five Ships of the *French* after a sharp Fight; another Squadron of *English* Vessels took eight *French* Ships laden with Wines, to the Quantity of fifteen hundred Tun; but the *Scots* found no Opposition till the Parliament met, and gave a Tax to defray the Charge of the Expedition.

Tenth Par-  
liament, its  
Acts and  
Taxes.

On the *Monday* before the Feast of *All Saints*, the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and after the Confirmation of the Charters, and other old Laws, repealed the Act against the Victuallers made in the last Parliament, and enacted, That no Foreigner should purchase any Benefice of the Church in this Realm, or enjoy the same without a special Licence from the King, with several other Laws. But since the main end of their meeting was to provide for the Defence of the Nation against the *Scots*, it was resolved, That a puissant Army should be immediately raised to repress their Insults with Severity; and for that end, there was given the King half a fifteenth of the Laity, and half a tenth of the Clergy; and because it would require some time to raise an Army of such Strength as was design'd, therefore a part of the Tax was order'd to be allow'd the Lords of the North to guard the Borders, till the Grand Army could arrive. The *Scots* having Advice of this impending Storm, sued to the King for the Continuation of the Truce, which they had broken, but were deny'd, and sent home to provide for their Defence; and the Care of providing and conducting the Army, was committed to the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Buckingham*, with Order to be ready to march early in the Spring.

A Peace pro-  
pounded be-  
tween the  
English  
and French.

1384.  
But a Truce  
only con-  
cluded.

The Duke of *Britain* seeing Matters to ripen apace to a War between the *French* and *English*, small inroads and Incurfions being usually Prologues to great Battels, solicited the *French* King earnestly to come to a Peace, and by many Importunities prevail'd, of which he gave the King of *England* speedy notice. About *Christmas* the Commissioners on both sides met: The Duke of *Lancaster*, Earl of *Buckingham*, Sir *Thomas Holland* and Sir *Thomas Peirce*, were Plenipotentiaries for the *English*; the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgogne*, the Bishop of *Laon*, and the Chancellor of *France*, were for the *French*. The King of *Spain* also had some Embassadors at the Treaty, because the *French* would not conclude any thing, unless the *Scots* and *Spaniards* were included in it. Three Weeks or more were spent in Propositions on both sides, but the Demands of the *French* were so extravagant, and so obstinately persisted in, especially in having *Aquitain*, *Callis*, and some other Castles, which the *English* then held in *France*, deliver'd up to them, that they came to no Agreement; but for the present made a Truce for ten Months, and at the end of them agreed to meet again to conclude a Peace, and so the *English* returned. The *Spaniards*, *Scots*, and *Gauntiners*, were included in this Truce; and the *French* were, by an Article of it, to give the *Scots* notice of it. Soon after this Accord the Earl of *Flanders* died, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had marry'd the Earl's Daughter, being Heir of all his Dominions, was very busie in settling himself in his Government, so that he forgot to give the *Scots* notice of the Truce. The *English* having already made Preparations to invade *Scotland*, proceeded in their

Design; and about the beginning of *Lent*, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, went with a very great Army down thither, and wasted all the Country with Fire and Sword, as far as *Edinburgh*; out of which also the Inhabitants were fled, with the best of their Goods, to save themselves from this Torrent. The Duke of *Burgundy* hearing of this Rupture, which was no Breach of the Truce, because it was not confirm'd with the *Scots* through his own Neglect, immediately dispatch'd an Embassy into *Scotland* to compose this Breach; but the *Scots*, who had receiv'd so much Damage, were so hardly brought to sit down without Revenge, that the *English* Army did almost as much harm by their long Continuance on the Borders to their Countrymen, as they had done to the *Scots*; but at last a Cessation of Arms was consented to for the time fix'd, and the *English* return'd home. About this time happen'd very great Thunders and Lightnings, Presages of those Tumults, which concurr'd in the City of *London* between *John Northampton*, call'd for his turbulent Humour *Cumbertown*, and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, Mayor.

A little after *Easter* there was a Convocation of the Nobles at *Salisbury*, and in it one *John Latimer*, B. D. an *Irish* Fryar appeared, and brought an Information against the Duke of *Lancaster*. That he had a design to destroy the King, and usurp his Crown, relating such Circumstances of his Actions, as render'd the Accusation very probable. The Duke being about the King at the same time came into his Presence, as soon as the King had receiv'd the Accusation, not suspecting what had happen'd; but seeing the King displeased, withdrew. The King having taken Advice of his two Chaplains about it, sent for the Duke, and told him how and by whom he was charged of high Treason against his Person. The Duke not seeming concern'd, as if he had been innocent, gave such an Answer to every Particular, as satisfied the King that he had no such Intentions; yet desired, that the Fryar might be put into safe Custody, till he should clear himself of what he had charg'd him with: Whereupon he was committed to the keeping of the Lord *Holland*, the King's Brother, in the *Tower*. When the day of Tryal was come, and the Duke was to clear himself, and convince the Fryar of false Accusation, in a publick Judicature, the Lord *John Holland* and Sir *Henry Green*, two of the Duke's Friends, the Night before entering the Fryar's Lodgings, cruelly put him to Death with their own hands, by hanging him up by the Neck and privy Members, and laying a great Stone upon his Breast, which brake his Back; and as if they had done this by publick Authority, drew his dead Body through the Streets the next day, as being deservedly punish'd as a Traytor. This cruel Action got the Duke much Dishonour, and tho' it rid him of a false Accuser, as was thought till the Fryar was so illegally put to Death; yet it render'd his Innocency more suspicious than before, and many believed him really guilty, who before thought him falsely accused. This Parliament gave the King half a Tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, and so was dissolv'd.

The *Scots* notwithstanding the Truce, which they were over-persuaded, rather than yielded to, could not forbear to revenge the Wrongs they so lately suffer'd by the *English*; and therefore infested the Borders with continual Inroads and Plunderings all this Summer, and particularly did much Wrong to the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, who were the

A.  
1384.  
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Barwick  
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the Scots  
and recov-  
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A. D. 1384. the Guardians of these Northern Parts, gather'd an Army of two thousand Spears, and six thousand Archers, and pursuing the Scots ravag'd the Country, as far as *Edinburgh*, and return'd safely.

Reg. 8. The Truce renewed with France. The Truce made with the French and their Allies being now near the Expiration, the Duke of Lancaster was sent over again with a great Equipage to endeavour a Peace, or renew the Truce for a longer time. He remain'd a great while there, as if some great things were settled; but at length return'd with the News only of a Continuation of the Truce till May, which was generally meanly thought of, as not worth the time and Expence that was consumed about it. In the Duke's absence *John Northampton*, Alderman of London, was accused by his own Chaplain of conspiring against the King and Government, and raising Stirs in the City. He had his Tryal at Reading, before many of the Nobles of the Realm, but could alledge nothing in his own Defence, only that he ought not to be condemned in the absence of the Duke of Lancaster<sup>b</sup>; yet being found guilty, he was sentenced to perpetual Imprisonment at an hundred Miles distance from London, and all his Goods to be confiscated, which Sentence was executed strictly, and he was sent to *Tintagil* Castle in Cornwall and his Goods and Estate were all seized for the King. The like Punishment did his Associates *John More* and *Richard Norbery* suffer.

Eleventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes. On the Morrow of St. Martin, Nov. 12. the Parliament met at Westminster to furnish the King with Moneys for the War, which threaten'd him from the Scots and French; which, when his Subjects had given liberally, the King in Recompence passed several Laws for the exact Administration of Justice, viz. That no Judge should keep an Assize in the County where he lives; That a Judge should take no Fee or Reward for the Administration of Justice, but only of the King; and if any Judge raise a Record, make a false Entry, or change a Verdict, he shall after Conviction make Satisfaction to the Party aggrieved, and be fined at the King's Pleasure. While this Parliament was sitting, the Scots besieged and took the Town and Castle of *Barwicke*, yet not so much by their Valour as by the Bribery of the Governour; who being put in by the Earl of Northumberland, to whom belong'd the keeping of that Garrison, by Inheritance from his Ancestors, brought great Blame upon the Earl. For the Duke of Lancaster, who bore an ill Will to the Earl, so aggravated the Loss of the Town, that he had almost persuaded the Members of both Houses, that it was a treasonable Conspiracy in him and his Deputy to resign it to them; but the King observing the Passion and Prejudice of his Uncle, permitted the Earl to go down to recover it, tho' many of the Nobles were for imprisoning him. He bestir'd himself so briskly among his Friends in the North, that he gather'd an Army, and so straightly besieg'd the Castle, that the Scots surrender'd it in a few days upon better Conditions than they gave the English, viz. That they should march out with their Arms and Goods, and have two thousand Marks paid them down by the Earl, because he was willing to get it again in as small time, and with as little Loss to the Nation as possible. This set him right again in the good Opinion both of King and Parliament, and taught him more Care for the future, in chusing such Deputies as would be faithful. In the time of the sitting of this Parliament were two Combats fought before the King, one between *John Welsh*, an Eng-

lish Gentleman, and a Navarrais, and the other A. D. 1384. between *John Wallis*, and a Navarre Esquire. The English Gentlemen were Victors, and the Navarrais hang'd, as false Accusers; for Victory in these single Fights was accounted a sign of Innocency.

The Duke of Lancaster, who being the King's Uncle, and chief Governour about the King, was the greatest Obstruction to the ambitious Aims of the King's Favourites; who growing now impatient of Delays, thought upon all ways to remove him, if not out of the World, yet out of the King's Affections, was now in great Danger of losing both his Life and Honour by their means. For these cunning Flatterers having by forged Crimes and Accusations incens'd the King against him, contriv'd to have him suddenly arrested, and try'd before Judge *Trisilian*; who being perfectly framed to their Interests, would be ready enough upon such Evidence as they should produce to condemn him. But these Consultations were not so closely manag'd, but they got Wind, and came to the Duke's Ear; who knowing that Innocency in such cases could not be Guard sufficient against their bloody Designs, fled to *Pomfract* Castle, and there strongly fortified himself against his Adversaries, drawing in all his Friends of the Nobility to his Assistance. The Duke indeed was not very well belov'd by the People, yet the King's Favourites were generally so odious, that the greatest Endearment to the People was to oppose them: So that if the King had persisted in his Anger against the Duke, here was a Foundation laid for a Civil War between his Favourites and Nobility. This the King's Mother presently observ'd, and easily foresaw the Effects of, and therefore in her own Person undertook a Mediation between the King and Duke; and to make a Peace between them, tho' she was very corpulent and unfit for Travel, yet made many Journeys from the one to the other; and in the end, by the Duke's dutiful Submission, wrought a perfect Reconciliation between them, to the great Satisfaction of the Nation, as well as her own Eternal Honour.

The Truce between the English and French being to expire in May, the French King resolv'd upon a vigorous War with England as soon as it was ended, and to that end first sent the Duke of Bourbon with an Army into Aquitaine to drive the English from thence, and then provided a great Fleet, which he fill'd with Land Soldiers, to invade the Coasts; and that the Scots, his inseparable Confederates, might be able to make the stronger Opposition on their part, and divert the English the more, he sent his Admiral *John de Vienne* into Scotland with a thousand Men at Arms, besides Cross-Bows, to strengthen them against the English. The Scots were not at all pleas'd at their Arrival, because they thought themselves strong enough to encounter the English alone, and chiefly because their Country being barren, could not afford Forage for Strangers, without some Prejudice to the Inhabitants: But the French Admiral promising the King of Scots a large Sum of Money for the Damages they should sustain; and for their Assistance, encouraged him to raise an Army of thirty thousand Men, to joyn with his Master. The King of England and his Council were not ignorant of these joyn't Proceedings against the Nation; and to provide against both, not only fitted out a strong Navy, under the Command of the Lord *S. Johns* and *Sir Thomas Peirey*, but sent into all Parts of the Kingdom to summon together an Army against the common Enemy. The general

<sup>a</sup> The Duke spent fifty thousand Marks in this Embassy.

<sup>b</sup> Whom he call'd his Lord. This Man was thought to favour Wickliff's Opinions.



A. D. 1385. Fear of an Invasion stirred up so many to stand up in the publick defence, that the King in a short time had an Army of three hundred thousand Men to attend him. With a part of these, viz. sixty thousand, the Duke of Lancaster was immediately sent towards Scotland, the King himself resolving to follow as fast as he could with the rest.

Reg. 9.

The Scots and French had been very busie in plundering, burning and killing, before they had the news of the Duke of Lancaster's approach; but as soon as they heard of that, they retreated home, and with their Cattel withdrew themselves into the Mountains: So that the Duke found no opposition. The King being come to York, heard of the Scots retiring, yet proceeded in his Journey, and joyning with the Duke destroy'd the Country of Scotland as far as *Edenburgh*, which City also they burnt, all but the Abby of *Holy-rood*, which was spared by the Intercession of the Duke of Lancaster, because he had been civilly entertain'd in that Convent in the time of the late Rebellion. The French were very desirous to have stopped the progress of the English Army, by giving them Battel; but the Scots shewing them from the Hills the Numbers and Strength of the English, prevail'd with them to wait for a more probable way of revenging themselves by an Invasion of England on another side. So they passing over the Hills, fell into Cumberland, and did much mischief there to countervail their own Losses. The King of England and his Army remain'd but five days about *Edenburgh*, and then return'd, and by the way heard of the Scots Inroads. The Duke of Lancaster advis'd the King to stop up the Passes strongly, that they might all fall into his power, which they could not have avoided, had it been done; but the Earl of Oxford, who was most in favour, and whose advice the King principally follow'd, suggested to him, that the Duke of Lancaster designed to bring his Person into danger: Whereupon the King neglected the advantage, and departed home. In his return, a great trouble happen'd to the Army by the Murther of the Earl of Stafford's eldest Son, slain by the Lord John Holland, the King's half Brother. The Murther was so foul, being without any provocation on the Lord Stafford's part, that the King resolv'd to punish his Death by Law, and so much the more, because he was the Queen's Favourite. The King's Mother was very importunate with him to pardon the Lord John Holland her Son, who was fled to Sanctuary at *Beverley*, but not obtaining, she fell sick with the violence of the discontent, dy'd within four or five days, and was bury'd at *Wal-lingford*. The Scots being return'd home, found their Country so miserably harass'd and wast'd, that they turn'd their Fury upon the French, who had been the Movers of them to this War, and spoiling them of all they had, sent them home.

The King's Justice in punishing Murther.

Nor was the French Navy more successful against the English, than their Land Army had been. The English Fleet indeed, through negligence of the Commanders, did not act its part so well as it might have done; but yet it kept them from landing, and the People of *Callis*, *Portsmouth*, and *Dartmouth*, with the Ships belonging to their Ports, took about thirty Ships at several times from them, which with eleven that they lost by Storms, much lessen'd the Fleet, and depriv'd them of the Triumph they dream'd of. And thus ended the French Expedition.

Twelfth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

On the Monday after *S. Luke's-day* a Parliament met at *Westminster*, wherein though little publick Business was done, yet there happen'd a signal

Contest about the raising of a Subsidy then granted to the King; for after the Laity had granted him a fifteenth and an half, the Clergy refused to bear their proportion of a tenth and an half, according to the usual manner, and Archbishop Courtney boldly deny'd the Payment of it. The Commons being incensed at this Refusal of the Clergy, petition'd the King, that he would seize upon their Temporalities. But the King, who was always a great Favourer of the Church, answer'd, 'That he would continue the Patronage which he had always shew'd to the Church so long as he liv'd, and would rather gratifie the Clergy's Humour, than offer any Injury to their Function. This mild and pious Answer so prevail'd upon the Clergy, when the Archbishop related it to them, that they voluntary gave the King a tenth part of their Benefices; which being so freely done, and beyond the King's expectation, the King told them, That it was more pleasing to him than if he had received four times as much by Compulsion; and upon the Petition of the Bishops, who came to make the Tenders of this Subsidy, he restor'd the Bishop of *Norwich* to his Temporalities, which he had kept some Years in his hands. In this Session of Parliament the King made several Promotions, creating several new Dukes and Earls. Edmund Earl of Cambridge he made Duke of York; Thomas Earl of Buckingham, Duke of Gloucester; Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, Marquis of Dublin; Henry of Bullingbrooke, eldest Son of the Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Derby; Edward Plantagenet, the eldest Son of the Duke of York, Earl of Rutland; Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor; Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, Earl Marshal; and by the Authority of this Parliament Roger Mortimer Earl of March was publickly proclaim'd Heir apparent to the Crown of England. And then the Session ended by reason of the approach of Christmas.

A. D. 1386.

The King and Queen kept their Christmas at *Eltham* this Year, according to Custom of these times, which was at the three great Festivals of the Year to keep open Court, and in a most magnificent and princely State to feast and entertain all the Nobility of the Nation, and foreign Princes or their Ministers. To the King at this time came Leo King of Armenia, who had been expell'd out of his Dominions by the Turks, endeavouring to make a Peace between the Kings of England and France, that he might engage them both against the common Enemy of Christianity. He had no success in his Proposals of Peace, because both Nations hated each other too much to hearken to any moderate terms of Agreement; but he was nobly entertain'd for two Months by the King and Nobility, and presented with many rich Gifts, and at his departure the King, by the advice of his Council, settled a yearly Pension of a thousand Pound for his Life upon him. A little after Christmas, the Earl of Derby marry'd the only Daughter and Heiress of *Humphry Bobun* Earl of Hereford, in whose Right he was a little after made Duke of Hereford. A Peace also was now concluded between the Citizens of *Gaunt*, who had by the assistance of the English held out a War with the late Earl of Flanders all his Life-time, and the Duke of Burgundy their new Lord; whereupon Sir John Bourchier the Captain of the English, and Peter de Bois one of the chief Captains of the Gauntiners, were sent over into England from *Callis*, and King Richard allow'd De Bois a hundred Pound a Year Sterling out of his Customs upon Wools. About the same time also Roger Earl of March having re-

Leo King of Armenia came over to K. Richard.

<sup>a</sup> This Tax was granted for the Duke of Lancaster's Expedition into Spain.

<sup>b</sup> With this Title he had all the Revenues of Ireland given him, paying five thousand Marks a Year into the Exchequer.

ceived



A. D. 1386. *Reverend Morimer killed in Ireland.* Received fresh news, that the wild *Irish* had done much Injury to his Estate in *Ulster*, which was descended to him by his Mother, he undertook a Voyage into *Ireland* to appease them, and rescue his Lands from their Depredations, but was very unfortunate in this Attempt; for not long after his arrival, the *Irish* being assembled in a great Company, assaulted and took his Castle, slaying him and almost all his Retinue. He left behind him a numerous Off-spring, viz. two Sons and three Daughters. His two Sons, *Edmund* and *Roger*, dy'd Childless; *Ann* his eldest Daughter was marry'd to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, then eldest Son to the Duke of *Tork*, by whom she had *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Father to *Edward IV.* Of the other two, *Eleanor* was a Nun, and *Alice* left no Children, if she were marry'd.

*R. of Spain invades Portugal, and D. of Lancaster goes against him.* The King of *Spain* pretending a Right to the Crown of *Portugal* by his Wife, made War this Spring upon that King, and besieged *Lisbon*, the Metropolis of his Country. The *Portuguese* had twice encounter'd the *Spaniards*, and had by the help of some *English* as often foil'd them, but yet could not raise the Siege of *Lisbon*. Wherefore the King of *Portugal* being sensible that the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was King of *Spain* in Title, would be glad of any opportunity to make himself so indeed, and that there could not be a better way to secure himself, than by a Conjunction of their Arms together, sends an Embassy into *England* to the Duke, to beg his speedy assistance, and promise him an easie recovery of his Right, because he had already foil'd the *Spaniards* twice alone, and their united Arms would infallibly effect a Conquest. The Duke, who had been for some time making Preparations for this Expedition, and was much encouraged to it by the King and his Friends, who long'd to have him out of their way, was ready to embrace so likely an Offer; and therefore, that he might lose no time, muster'd up his Forces with all speed, and began his Voyage thither in the beginning of *May*. His Fleet was eighteen Ships, and seven Gallies, of which *Sir Thomas Percy* was Admiral; and his Army, of which the Lord *John Holland*, who marry'd his Daughter, was Constable, and *Sir Thomas Moreaux* one of his Marshals, consisted of twenty thousand Men, viz. two thousand Men of Arms, eight thousand Archers, and ten thousand others. Many Noblemen accompany'd the Duke to share in his Fortunes, as the Lords *Lucy*, *Talbot*, *Basset*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Water*, *Poynings*, *Bradston*, *Fitz-Warren*, *Beauchamp*, and *Beaumont*, besides many Knights and Gentlemen. He carry'd along with him his Wife, the Lady *Constance* Princess of *Spain*, and *Katherine* her Daughter, with *Philippa* his other Daughter. Just before his departure, he and his Dutcheß took their leave of the King and Queen, and the King gave the Duke a Silver Crown, and commanded that his Men should obey him as King of *Spain*; and the Queen gave the Dutcheß another Crown of Silver, with many good Wishes of Success in obtaining their Right.

Reg. 10. As the Duke pass'd by *Brest* with his Army, he called upon *Sir John Roche* then Governour of the Town, who complaining that he was much infested by two Forts lately built by the *French* to annoy his Garrison, the Duke sent out a strong Force under the Lord *Fitz-Water* to assault and demolish them, which they at length did; but they were so well defended by the *French*, that it cost them many Lives of valiant Men, as *Sir Robert Swinerton*, *John Bolton* Esq; and others, and was gained by them at last by Capitulation, the *French* Governor the Lord *Maletret* being wound-

ed, and most of the Men in the Fort slain. From *A. D. Brest*, after this brave Exploit, the Duke pass'd along the Coasts of *Gallicia*, and landed at the *Groin* with all his Army upon *S. Lawrence's Eve*, Aug. 9. Here they tarry'd a Month, and then the Duke went to *Compostella*. While the Duke winter'd at *Compostella*, the Lord *John Holland* kept the Army in Action, and won many small Garrisons in the neighbouring Country, and others willingly submitted to the Duke, because his Dutcheß, the right Heir of the *Spanish* Crown, was with them. The Duke in this Season, which was not fit for Action, consulted with the King of *Portugal* about their Expedition in the Spring at *Moujon*, and it was agreed that they would with their united Forces invade *Spain*; and to confirm their Alliance, the Duke affianced his Daughter *Philippa* to the King of *Portugal*.

While the Duke of *Lancaster* was in his passage towards *Portugal* with a numerous Army, the King of *France*, who had for some Years past resolv'd upon an Invasion of *England*, resum'd his Thoughts afresh, and as if he had now met with an opportunity, wherein he could not miss of the Success he desired, because he thought the Duke of *Lancaster* had empty'd the Nation both of Soldiers and Commanders, gather'd such a mighty Army and Fleet, as if he intended to conquer and people *England* at once with his *French*. He is said to have had fifteen hundred Ships, and a numberless Army, in which were twenty thousand Noblemen, with a proportionable Number of Commons. The news of these mighty Preparations not only struck a terror into the *English*, but put a stand to all the important Affairs of *Christendom*. The King of *England*, to secure his Nation, gather'd an Army of two hundred thousand Men, and with part of them fortify'd all the Sea-port Towns, and with another part defended the naked Shores in the places where they were most likely to land. The City of *London* also was in such fear, that they guarded their Walls, pulling down many Houses to make their defence the easier from them. Publick Fasts were appointed to lament the Dangers, and implore the Protection of God from their Enemies. All good Men bewail'd the approaching Invasion, as an unavoidable Scourge for the Nation's Sin, and could think upon nothing but Servitude or Death. The only Remedy and Defence against this Calamity was a Parliament, which upon that account was call'd together about *Michaelmas*, and accordingly met; but the Nobles brought such numbers of Men along with them, to be ready for their defence against the *French* if they should land, that all Towns within twenty Miles round about *London*, as well as that City and Suburbs, were filled with armed Men, who for want of pay were a great damage to the Inhabitants. At the opening of this Parliament, the King, as the occasion requir'd, demanded a present Subsidy to pay those Armies, which he had already got for the defence of the Nation, and make such other Provisions against the Enemy as the state of Affairs required. The Parliament were sensible of the danger the Kingdom was in, and easily consented to the King's desires, but thought it unreasonable to put any great Sums into his power, so long as he was so pliable to the covetous Humours of his Favourites, who made his Revenues but a Prey to enrich themselves. For *Michael de la Poole* the Chancellor, had, in less than a Year's time, by farming the King's Customs, and other Incomes, and wasting his Treasure, purchased a thousand Pound a Year in Land, and gather'd great Sums of Money which he kept in bank;

French K. intends to invade and conquer England.

Thirteenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

Mich. Poole the Chancellor accused, and brought to account for his Office.

\* Henry Knighton says, they were Crowns of Gold.

† They were kill'd accidentally by the fall of a Tower.



A. D. 1386. He was generally reputed guilty of Bribery in his Office, and indeed it could not be thought he

could grow so suddenly rich, but by the Abuse of the King's Favours: Wherefore the Parliament unanimously resolved to have him removed with the rest of his Associates, or to give the King no Tax. This they signified to him by a Petition, wherein they not only represented the Misdemeanours of the Chancellor in his Office, and abusing the King's Favours to his own Gain; but the Poverty of the People, which ought much to be consider'd, and not further pressed than Necessity requir'd, which they humbly conceiv'd was not so great; but if the Chancellor were brought to a just Account, the King's Revenues, and the great Debts in the Chancellor's hands would be sufficient to defray them\*. The King receiv'd the Petition very ill, and that he might avoid an Answer to it, withdrew to *Eltham*, leaving the Chancellor to press them to grant a Tax, and to demand four fifteenths in his Name. The Lords and Commons seeing the Cause of the King's Retreat, plainly told him, That they would give no Answer to his Demand, unless the King himself were present, and he was removed from his Office. The King had Intelligence soon of these Proceedings, and immediately sent up to the Parliament to order, that forty of their wisest Members should come down to him at *Eltham*, to declare to him the Reasons and Grounds of their Actions. The Parliament were in a great Dispute about this Message, because it was said, That the King had a Design to destroy and ensnare them; but at length it was agreed upon by both Houses, That the Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, should be sent to the King in the Name of the whole Parliament, and the King was contented to have it so. When they came into his Presence, after all due Reverence paid to him, they submissively declar'd their Message to this effect, 'That the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, desir'd nothing more than to live in Peace and Quietness like good Subjects under his Government; That as he might lawfully once a Year summon a Parliament, and require the Presence of the Lords and Commons at it, that by mutual Advice and Consent, they might reform all Oppressions, Wrongs, Extortions, and other grievous Enormities in the Realm, and enact such wholesome Laws as were for the Peace and Welfare of the King's Subjects, so they were met according to their Duty, and had no other Design than to pursue those Ends; That his late absence was a great Discomfort to them, and since there was an old Statute, whereby it was enacted, That if the King not hinder'd by Sicknes or necessary Business did absent himself forty days from his Parliament, they might return home, they should be oblig'd to leave him, if he still deny'd them his Presence. The King remaining yet in his Discontent and Anger reply'd, That he perceiv'd his People went about to rebel against him, and that he thought it better to desire the Assistance of the King of France, than submit to his own Subjects. The Lords reply'd, That the French King was the ancient and most inveterate Enemy of the Nation; who as he usurped his Do-

minions in France, so gaped after the English Throne, and therefore no Assistance was further to be expected from him, than such as might be a fair Pretence for him to get the Possession of his Right: That such Resolutions could proceed from nothing but the desperate Advice of his evil Counsellors, who by their Policy sought to uphold a Breach between him and his Parliament, which would end in his and his Peoples Ruine; wherefore they besought him to lay aside all Prejudice against his good Subjects, and to return to his Parliament, which no less sought and desir'd his Felicity than Presence. These, and other Arguments, which these wise Peers urged to the same Purpose, had so good an Effect upon the King, that he promis'd them to follow them, and accordingly came to the Houses soon after them. And here, in the midst of his Nobles and People, he immediately shewed how wise and good a Prince he was in himself, being separated from the bad Company and ill Counsellors that were about him; for he without much Reluctancy granted a Commission to the Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Arundel, and certain other Bishops and Noblemen, to survey and examine the Estate of his House and Courts, all his Officers and Ministers, Rents, Profits and Revenues; to correct and amend any Defaults and Offences prejudicial to his Person or Crown, and particularly to call Michael de la Poole Earl of Suffolk, the Chancellor, to an account about the Management of his Office. John Ford, or Fordham, Bishop of Durham, also was removed from his Place of Treasurer, and John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, was put in his Place. And because the Realm had for some Years past been badly govern'd, the Administration of all publick Affairs was put into the hands of thirteen Persons chosen by the Parliament, viz. Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, the Treasurer; Nicholas Abbot of Waltham, Lord Keeper; William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Richard Earl of Arundel, Richard Lord Scroop, and John Lord Devereux. Richard Earl of Arundel, and Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, were made Admirals, and sent to Sea with a strong Navy to defend the Shore, and hinder the Passage of the Enemy. Robert de Vere Marquis of Dublin, created Duke of Ireland in this Parliament, was at the Petition of the Lords and Commons, order'd to be sent to Ireland before Easter next; and that the Nation might be rid of so dangerous a Person, and ill Counsellor, they consented that he should have thirty thousand Marks, which were shortly to be paid the King for the Heirs of the Lord Charles de Blois by the French, to provide him with an Equipage, and support his Charge there. While these things were thus order'd by the main Body of the Parliament, the Duke of Gloucester, and Earl of Arundel, with the other Lords in Commission with them, had examin'd and try'd the Chancellor; whom having found guilty of many high Crimes, Frauds and Treasons, they not only deposed him from his Office, but confiscated his Estate of a 1000 l. a Year, and fined him twenty thousand Marks. Thus did the Parliament not only pro-

\* They remonstrated farther, That the Chancellor and Treasurer ought to be remov'd from their Offices. He answer'd them, They should not mention that, but proceed to Business: For he would not on their Account, or at their Request, remove the meanest Scullion Boy in his Kitchen.

† Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, was made Chancellor. Henry Knighton. There were but eleven Commissioners appointed to have the Inspection of Affairs. These eleven were William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, the King's Uncles; William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Nicholas Abbot of Waltham, Lord Privy-Seal; Richard Earl of Arundel, John Lord Cobham, the Lord Scrope, and the Lord Devereux.

‡ It appears by the Parliament Rolls 10. Richard II. No 13. that there was no Fine, and that the Lands taken from him were only such as he had procur'd Grants of from the King which were now resum'd. When King Richard heard the Articles against his Bribery, and Maladministration, he blush'd for him and shook his Head, saying, Alas, Alas, Michael, See what thou hast done. vide

The King and Parliament disagree, and the King leaves it.

A. D. 1386.

The King returns to his Parliament.

The Duke of Ireland sent into Ireland.

Michael de la Poole found guilty of many Crimes, deposed and fined.



A. D. 1386. vide effectually for the Security of the Nation, from its foreign Enemy both by Sea and Land (to support the Charge of which, they gave the King half a Tenth and half a Fifteenth) but also for the Happiness and Peace of the King and People, had the King been so resolute as to maintain their Orders and Decisions when it was dissolved.

Notwithstanding these Preparations in England for its Defence, the French King held on his purpose to invade it with no less hopes of Success; and having all things ready for that Enterprize, waited at *Sluice* for nothing but the coming of the Duke of *Berry*, and a fair Wind. On *All Saints* Even a fair Gale blew, and the French King set Sail for England, tho' the Duke of *Berry* was not arrived, chusing rather that the Duke should follow them than lose so fair an Opportunity; but when they had passed about seven Leagues the Wind unexpectedly and suddenly turned, and brought them back again with much Loss. Before the Wind favour'd their Design again, the Duke of *Berry*, who was always averse to the Attempt, and delay'd his coming on purpose to prevent or discourage it, was arriv'd; and because the Winter was pretty well advanc'd, it being December, he very much dissuaded the King and Council from proceeding in it, as being both unsafe to his Kingdom and Army. This Advice was thought so reasonable, that the farther proceeding was laid aside till the Spring, and so that chargeable Design in the end came to nothing. But a clear different Account was carry'd of these Affairs into Spain; for there it was given out, that the French Army was landed in England, and therefore the King of Portugal's Council gave him Advice, That he should defer his Marriage with the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, till they should know the Event of the French Expedition into England; because if that proved successful, as 'twas probable, an Alliance with the Duke would be of no Worth, which occasion'd some Coldness in the Duke's Affairs in Portugal, tho' the Reasons were kept from him for the present.

The Parliament being broken up, and returned home, the King was left again to his own unsteady Resolutions and partial Affections, which being so fast link'd to his old Companions, easily made way for their Reconciliation, or rather for fresh Engagements of his Favour: For as if their Sufferings had been immerited, or inflicted against his Will, he received them again with wonderful Expressions of Love. The Fine which had been impos'd upon the Earl of *Suffolk*, *Michael de la Pool*, he immediately released; and as if he had intended to make him Satisfaction for what he had suffer'd by redoubling his Honour, he caused him to be cloathed in Royal Robes, and to sit at Table with him, and that in publick upon *Christmas* Festivals, to the no small Grief and Trouble of the Nobility. The Duke of *Ireland*, and Archbishop of *Tork*, he admitted into greater Intimacy than ever, and they became again the three only Persons in the Nation, which the King shewed any particular Delight in. This dotting Humour of the King they were not sluggish to improve, as they thought for their own Advantage, which they imagin'd would be best promoted by a sharp Revenge upon the chief Instruments of it, whom they look'd upon as the only Obsta-

cles of their ambitious Aims and design'd Happiness. They easily persuaded the King, That all they suffer'd was for his Sake; That their Crimes were forged to make him odious to the People; and that if he could not protect them, who did nothing but by his Command, and for his Interest, it would not be long but he would be too weak to defend himself; That the main Aim of those ambitious Nobles, their Enemies, was to dethrone him by disgracing his Ministers. For 'tis an easie and popular Inference, That the King is not fit to rule, who knows not whom to trust: He must be a bad Prince, that hath bad Officers. By these, and such like Arguments, the King was wrought to so great an Hatred of those they accounted their Enemies, that he readily concurr'd with them to put in Execution any Contrivance for their Deduction. The Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Arundel* were the most eminent, being the Earl of *Suffolk*'s Judges; and therefore the first Plot was to take off the Duke, and then proceed to the rest, as they had Success in their first Attempt. This they contriv'd to do under the fair Pretence of Friendship, inviting the Duke to a Feast at Sir *Nicholas Bramber*'s House in the City, where the Mayor, Sir *Nicholas Exton*, and Aldermen, had made a Treat for several Peers and great Men; and having resolv'd, that while the Duke was in his Mirth, and not suspecting any ill Design, he should be either poison'd or assassinated. This base Action was so much abhorr'd by the Mayor, Sir *Nicholas Exton*, that he privately gave the Duke notice of it, and desir'd him to take care of his present and future Safety, which he did by not going to the Feast: And so this their first wicked Purpose was defeated.

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, who were appointed Admirals of the Navy, which by Order of Parliament was to defend the Nation and annoy the French, did all the Winter following use their utmost diligence to furnish themselves with able Ships and stout Men, that the Noblemen who were to see them muster'd before they embarked, might give a good Account of them to the Governors; for they had spar'd no Cost nor Charges to gather up the bravest and strongest Men in the Nation for this special Service. In the Spring they were all ready to embark, and having receiv'd Information that the French, Flemish, and Spanish Fleet, laden with Wine, lay at *Rockell* waiting for a fair Wind, to sail to their several Ports for which they were bound, the Earls put to Sea with all speed to intercept them in their Pallage. On *Lady-Eve* they met them, and after a short Engagement took an hundred Sail of them richly fraught, with nineteen thousand Tun of Wine, besides other Commodities. The Citizens of *Middleburgh* offer'd the Earls to buy all their Wines at 5 *l.* a Tun, but they refusing so good a Market told them, That they would let none but the People of England whom they served, to have the Use and Advantage of them; and bringing them into divers Ports of the Nation, caused so great a Plenty, that Wines were sold generally for a Mark a Tun, and the best not above 20 *s.* Their own Shares they generously gave among their Friends, and having refitted their Ships, went out to Sea again. The Success of their first Atchievement

\* He waited at *Sluice* from the middle of August to the middle of November. *Mex.*

\* The Army consisted of no less than sixty thousand fighting Men, and the Fleet of near thirteen hundred Sail; on board which, besides the King himself, there were forty Dukes and Earls, and a vast Number of Knights and Esquires. *Froissart.*

\* *Walsingham* writes only, That he suffer'd him to sit down at his Table, and does not mention his cloathing him in Royal Robes, which indeed is improbable.

\* Who said, He would never have his hands imbr'd in innocent Blood.

\* *Knigton* says, the Admiral of *Flanders* and several other Persons of Quality were taken.



A. D. 1387. had much terrify'd the Enemy, and therefore in this second they met with but faint opposition; for they landed in many places on the Coasts of *Flanders*, and burnt or plunder'd the Country as they pleas'd; and at length arriving at *Brest*, they took a new Fort<sup>a</sup> which the *French* had lately erected to annoy the Castle, mann'd it, and supplying it with plenty of Provision and Ammunition, return'd home. Success always raises Men's Reputation with the Commons; but these Earls having added to their courageous and brave Actions a generous Contempt of their own Advantage, and a signal Zeal for the common Good and publick Safety, begot so high an opinion of their Worth in the Minds of all Men, that they became a Subject of publick Praise and Admiration. But this

*The Earl of Arundel's Service decry'd by the Court.*

happend very unluckily for the Designs that were managing at Court against the Earl of *Arundel*, and those of his Party, that he whom they had decreed to Destruction should be thought most worthy of Life by all Men; and lest the King himself should conceive a more favourable Opinion of them for these Actions, they endeavour'd by all their Artifices to blast the Reputation of them, telling the King, 'That though the Vulgar cry'd up the late Action of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, in taking the *Flemish* Fleet, as a brave and glorious Achievement, yet to such as could see farther into things it was really far otherwise; for by thus robbing the Merchants all our foreign Trade would be spoil'd, and no Nation would care to trade with us, who liv'd so much upon the ruin of them. So that tho' a small Gain did redound to the Nation by their Piracy for the present, it would prove an inestimable Damage in the end. The King's Mind being thus byass'd by their Calumnies, look'd upon his Admirals great Service as demerit; and when they came to Court, gave them such a cold Reception, that they could easily see their Enemies had been with the King before them, and their good Actions were made their Crime; at which they took so great a disgust, that they resign'd their Office<sup>b</sup> and retired to their private Mansions, choosing rather to live in Obscurity, than to serve that King who would not thank them for their most faithful Labours, but counted their Merits little better than Faults.

*Duke of Ireland puts away his Wife, the Duke of Gloucester's Neice.*

The late disappointment which the King's Favourites had met with in acting against the Duke of *Glocester's* Life, did not so discourage them from farther attempts, but they were still hatching new designs against him, till they could find out some more effectual way; the Duke of *Ireland*, knowing him to be a Person very jealous of his Honour, and impatient of the least contempt to his Royal Blood, put away his Wife to anger and affront him, without any just cause for a Divorce, and marry'd a *Bohemian*, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour. The injur'd Lady, being so nearly related to the King himself, (for she was the Daughter of *Isabel* his Father's Sister<sup>c</sup>, and so Cousin-German to the King, and Neice to the Duke of *Glocester*) hoped to find some redress of her Wrong by appealing to the King, but petition'd him often in vain: Her Husband was too deep in the King's Favour for her to obtain any Justice against him. But the Duke of *Glocester* could not forbear to shew his Resentments of the Wrong done to his Family, and to the King himself (if he would have impartially consider'd it) and told him plainly, That he would revenge the Wrong done to his Kinswoman. This Threat from a Man of such Power and rough Disposition as the Duke of

*Glocester* was, put Spurs to the wicked Contrivances of the three Favourites and their Friends, as fearing, that if the Duke were not suddenly taken off, their own Lives were in manifest danger.

*Easter* now drawing nigh, at which time the Duke of *Ireland* was to go into that Kingdom, Ireland's great Preparations were made for his departure, as if he had been in earnest. And not long after that Feast, he began his Journey into *Wales*, in order to his passage thither; the King himself, with the Earl of *Suffolk*, Judge *Tresilian*, and some others, accompanying him in State, stay'd some time there with him, till they thought the Expectations of the Nation being satisfied, he might return again without much notice. In this Progress, or rather Retirement, for the safety of their mischievous Consultations, they set all their Wits on work by various methods to compass the destruction of their Enemies; and being come to *Nottingham* in their return, which is near the heart of the Nation, they began to make some Essays how their Devices would succeed. The first thing they had contrived, was to suppress them by force; and to effect this, they summon'd all the Sheriffs of the adjoining Counties to the King at *Nottingham*, and demanded of them what Forces they were able to raise to assist the King against the Lords, if they were required to do it? They answer'd, 'That the People were generally persuaded that the Lords were the King's Friends, and that they fought the good of the Nation in all they did, and therefore they believed that they should get very few to oppose them. This disappointment was the less, because they knew that the Lords were very popular, and they had still other Plots which they hoped would prove effectual, tho' this had miscarry'd. Wherefore they next mov'd it to the Sheriffs and Gentlemen, then attending on the King, whether they could not by their Interests and Power choose such Men for the next Parliament as the King should nominate to them, and approve as most faithful to him? They reply'd, 'That the People would be very hardly depriv'd of their ancient Privilege of choosing their Members of Parliament, and that if there were a true freedom observed in choosing, it would be almost impossible to impose any Persons against the People's liking, especially since they would easily guess at the design, and the more resolutely stand upon their Right. The Sheriffs answer a little startled them, because they confided much in this Invention; for what was done by a Parliament would, as they imagin'd, carry a face of Justice, and their private Revenge would be turn'd into publick Punishment; but losing their point, they dismissed the Sheriffs and Gentlemen, and fell upon their last, but most desperate Stratagem, to ruin them by Law. And to this end the King sent his Summons to all the Judges to attend him. Sir *Robert Tresilian*, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was one of the Cabal, and being present with the King, had drawn up several Articles for their purpose, to have the Opinions of the rest of his Brethren upon. Sir *Robert Belknap* Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, with Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, and Sir *William Burgh*, Judges of the same Bench, and *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant, *Robert Bramble*, and the other Judges of the King's Bench, obey'd the Summons, and went to *Nottingham* according to appointment. Soon after their arrival, a solemn Council was called, Aug. 11. and the King, in the presence of many Nobles, demanded of them the Judgment of the Law upon these following Questions,

<sup>a</sup> And burnt and destroy'd another.

<sup>b</sup> *Walsingham* calls her *Lancerona*, a mean *Bohemian*.

<sup>c</sup> And the King made the Lord *Henry Peirey*, surnam'd *Hospur*, Admiral.

<sup>d</sup> By *Ingelram Seigneur de Concy*.

stions,



A. D. 1387. fions, which had relation most of them to the Actions of the last Parliament, and chiefly to their dealings with the Earl of Suffolk, and required them by their Faith and Allegiance which they ow'd him, to deliver the true Sense of the Law upon them, viz.

1. Whether the Statute and Commission made the last Parliament were prejudicial to the King's Prerogative? They all unanimously answered Yes, because it was obtain'd against his Will.

2. and 3. How these Persons ought to be punished, who were either eager to procure it, or mov'd the King to consent to it, and grant it? They said, With Death, unless the King would pardon them.

4. How they were to be punished, who forced the King to grant it? They said, As Traitors.

5. How they ought to be punished, that restrained the King so far from exercising his Prerogative, that he might not remit Penalties or Debts owing to him? They reply'd, As Traitors.

6. Whether, when the King hath order'd the Parliament to proceed upon certain Articles, the Lords and Commons may refuse, till the King shall grant what they please to demand of him? They answer'd, That to resist the King's Commands in such Cases was High-Treason.

7. Whether the King may not dissolve the Parliament when he pleases? They resolv'd he might.

8. Whether, since it was a Prerogative of the Crown to punish the Offences of, or remove all publick Officers or Judges, the Lords and Commons, without the King's permission or order, might impeach such Officers and Judges in Parliament? They determined, That they might not, and it was Treason in any or all the Members of Parliament to attempt it.

9. What Punishment they deserv'd, who mov'd or brought in the Statute, by which Edward II. was deposed to be a President for the above-mentioned Commission? They defined, As Traitors.

10. Whether the Judgment given against Michael de la Pool Earl of Suffolk were erroneous, and revocable? They said, That it was erroneous and revocable in every part, and that if it were again to be done they would not pass it.

These Resolutions being given, the King required them to subscribe them, and set their Seals to them, in the presence of the Lords and other great Persons there assembled. Tresilian and his Judges readily comply'd, but Belknap with his Brethren, well knowing the drift of what was done, was not willing to leave any such Marks of his Opinion behind him, and therefore refused to subscribe them, till the Duke of Ireland and Earl of Suffolk by severe Menaces forced him to sign them, contrary to his Conscience, as may be justly thought from his words which he then spake, 'That he wanted only an Hurdle, an Horse, and an Halter, to compleat the Reward of that Action, by which he had betray'd the Lords. The

The Lords condemned by a Jury of Londoners. Opinions of the Judges being thus known, a Jury of Londoners summon'd to Nottingham for that purpose were ready to indict the Duke of Gloucester, Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Darby, and Nottingham, of High-Treason for what they did in the last Parliament, and upon a full and formal hearing before the Judges they were condemned to Death, and their Lands being forfeited to the King, were disposed to and among his Favourites; and that the Sentence might be fully executed, the King sent into all parts of the Nation to gather an Army able to master all Opposition they could make against what had been done; which, tho' it met with cold Reception from many, yet

great multitudes not knowing the Design in Hand, A. D. readily yielded their assistance, as their Duty to 1387. their King in their opinion oblig'd them.

While these things were transacting against the Lords at Nottingham, there happen'd a very great disturbance in the Church upon this occasion. One *Monkish Hypocrite discover'd by one of their Brethren.* Walter Disse, a Carmelite Fryar, and formerly Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster, having ob-

tained of Pope Urban, in favour of his old Master, a liberty of conferring the Honour and Privileges of the Pope's Chaplains on such as would purchase them for their Money, Peter Pateshull an Austin-Fryar, and a Favourer of Wickliffe's Doctrine, being desirous of liberty and freedom from his Monkish Confinement, and the Society of those vile Persons he lived with, procur'd himself to be admitted the Pope's Chaplain, and immediately left his Monastery. He was a Person pious and learned, and spent his time much in Preaching after his Release. His abhorrence of the wicked Lives of the Monks, which he had with great Sorrow observ'd while he liv'd among them, made him very zealous in blaming their Hypocrisy and wicked Actions, so unbecoming their strict Profession of Religion. The People much applauded his Discourses, being generally disaffected to the Monks, and addicted to Wickliffe's Doctrine, which his Invectives favour'd of. The Monks, impatient of Reproof, shew'd great displeasure against him and his Sermons, and so frequently disturb'd his Preaching, that partly through the Contests between his Hearers and the Monks, who sometimes would come to Elows even in the Churches, and partly through fear of them, he was forced to give over publick Preaching, and by the advice of his Friends (of whom some were very considerable, viz. Sir William Nevill, Sir Richard Sturmy, and Sir John Montacute) betake himself to Writing; in which he accused the Monks of many horrid Crimes, as Murther, Sodomy, and Treason, of which he gave such convincing proofs, by naming the Persons, both Actors and Patients, that all People credited his Relations, and believed the Monasteries no better than what he term'd that from whence he came, *The Devil's Dungeon.* But these Books angered the Bishops, being look'd upon as the Disgrace of the Clergy, who thereupon were very zealous to suppress them; and to that end obtain'd of the King a Commission directed to all Sheriffs and Justices, commanding them to search for, and seize all Heretical Books, and suppress Lollardy in the whole Kingdom; which tho' it took no great effect, yet allay'd the present Heat and Contest between the Monks and their Enemies.

The Judgment which the King and his Favourites, through the compliance of the Judges, had passed upon the Lords, tho' absent, was no sooner given, but the Lords themselves had a full account of all the proceedings of it to their great amazement; and tho' the Duke of Gloucester was an hot and cholerick Man, yet the sense of his Duty to his Prince taught him a more submissive way of providing for his own defence than to run presently to Arms, which he knew would embroil the Nation, and hazard many Lives. Wherefore sending for the Bishop of London, Robert Braybrooke, he represented to him his own Case, and that of the Nobles with him, how unjustly they were condemned, and what danger they were in; and having taken a solemn Oath upon the Evangelists, that he was studious of the Safety and

\* The Lords were Alexander Archbishop of York, Robert Archbishop of Dublin, John Bishop of Durham, Thomas Bishop of Chichester, John Bishop of Bangor, Robert Duke of Ireland, Michael Earl of Suffolk; together with John Ryson a Priest, and John Blakist a Lawyer.

† The Lords were not try'd and condemn'd. Walsingham says only, that the Londoners who were pack'd for the Jury found the Bill, and no other credible Author mentions that they were actually condemn'd.



A. D. 1387. Prosperity of the King's Person and Realm, and never had entertained so much as any undutiful Thought against him, much less had done any thing which might deserve so severe a Sentence as was pass'd upon him, unless the Revenge which he had threaten'd the Duke of *Ireland* with for doing so great an Injury to his Kinswoman, and did not yet recede from, might be interpreted for such; and desired him to wait on the King to mediate a Reconciliation between himself, and the Lords and King. The Bishop did not unwillingly undertake so good an Office, and being a Person both prudent, learned and eloquent, prov'd so good an Advocate, that the King seem'd satisfy'd with his Uncle; and because the Bishop had fully satisfy'd him, that a Quarrel between him and his Uncle would ruin them both, he desired a Reconciliation. But the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was by, knowing that if it were compleated 'twould prove fatal to him, interposed, and with a virulent Charge of Popularity and Rebellion laid upon the Lords, alter'd the King's good Inclinations to Peace, and the Bishop was commanded out of his Presence; tho' he with undaunted Courage maintain'd his first Arguments, and told the Earl, That he being a Person condemn'd by Parliament, had no other way to be safe, and revenge himself of his Adversaries, (as he accounted all the chief Members of it) but to set all things in a Combustion, and therefore was not to be allow'd to speak, who was a Party; yet he return'd, without success in his Negotiations, to the Lords. The Duke of *Glocester* and the condemn'd Peers in the mean time were not unmindful of their own safety, but had conferr'd together to secure themselves in case their submissive Address to the King for Peace should prove ineffectual, which they had reason to fear, so long as the Authors of those violent Courses were about his Person, and could so easily byass him against them. Wherefore when the Bishop return'd with the news of his ill success, they resolv'd immediately to raise what Force they could, and standing up in their own defence to expostulate with the King, why he fought their Death, and suffer'd himself to be govern'd by such Traitors. The King and his Friends easily foreseeing the effects of this fresh Provocation, thought to prevent any opposition from them by seizing them singly before they could get together, and for that purpose sends the Earl of *Northumberland* to apprehend the Earl of *Arundel* at his Castle of *Rygate*; but he found him so well guarded, that he was forced to dissemble the Reason of his coming, and let it pass for a Visit. This disappointment the King thought to amend by surprise, and therefore sent a strong force the same night to arrest him; but the Earl suspecting what after happen'd, had made his escape to the Duke of *Glocester* at *Haringey-Park*, near *Highbate*, and there they joyn'd their Forces<sup>a</sup> with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Darby*<sup>b</sup>. The news of the Lords being united much disturb'd the King and his Friends, who could now expect no easie terms from those whom their own ill dealings had made desperate, and who were too powerful to be readily master'd. Wherefore a great Council was call'd to debate and consult what was best to be done in so difficult a Juncture. *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of *Tork* would have had the King to send his Commissioners to the City of *London*, and into all parts of the Nation, to raise a Royal Army, and repress those his Rebellious Subjects by main force; but this being found upon tryal a thing not feasible, (for tho' the City

could raise an Army of fifty thousand Men soon, yet very few of them would fight against the Lords) the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Suffolk*, and two or three more, who persuaded the King that the Lords intended to bring him under their Government, and make themselves absolute, advised him to make the King of *France* his Friend, by resigning *Callis* and all his other Dominions beyond Sea to him. These three Favourites counsell'd thus, because nothing but Arms could secure them from the Lords Fury. Whereas those whose Guilt and Fears were less, offer'd quite different Proposals. *Ralph* Lord *Basset* told the King plainly, That he was his true Subject, and so would ever continue, and if the Quarrel had been his own, he would venture all he had in the defence of his Right, but would not have his Head broke in the Duke of *Ireland*'s Cause. The Earl of *Northumberland* assured the King, That the Lords, tho' now in Arms, were his true and faithful Subjects, and would not attempt any thing against his Crown and Dignity; but all they aim'd at was to ease themselves and the Nation of those ill Persons about him, who sought to oppress and destroy them, and many of his good Subjects; and therefore humbly begg'd of the King, that he would send to them, and require the Reasons of their assembling with so many People, and he doubted not but they would give him just Satisfaction. The greatest part of the Council approv'd of this Proposition, and the King himself assented to it. Whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *Ely* were sent immediately to the Lords, who were advanced near *London*, to inform them, That the King had no mind to commence a War with his Subjects, but was willing to know the Cause of their Discontents, that he might relieve them; for which end he desired the Lords to meet him in *Westminster-Hall* on *Sunday* next, and exhibit their Complaints to him. The Lords were not unwilling to meet the King, but were jealous of the treacherous designs of such as were about him, and told the Bishops, That they would certainly attend his pleasure upon promise of Protection. The Bishop of *Ely*, being very zealous to make up the Breach between the King and his Nobles, engag'd himself upon Oath, that if there were any dangerous Designs laid against them, he would give them timely notice of it; and so got their promise to meet the King that day. The time of Meeting approaching, and the Lords being ready to attend the King, a Message came the night before from the Bishop of *Ely* to them, giving them Information, That an Ambush of a thousand Men, commanded by Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*<sup>c</sup>, was laid in the *Mews* to surprize them; and advising them either to delay their coming, or if they adventur'd to come, to guard themselves with a sufficient Force for Security. But the Lords thought the first least hazardous, and so appear'd not. The King, as had been agreed upon, came to *Westminster*, expecting to have met the Lords; but seeing himself disappointed, demanded with some warmth of the Bishop of *Ely* why the Lords did not appear according to their promise sent by him? The Bishop as boldly and plainly reply'd, That the Lords had certain Information of a Plot against their Lives laid in the *Mews*, which being so contrary to the Faith of a Prince, they thought it in vain to treat with him. The King startled at this reply, as if he had no ways been privy to it, swore that he knew nothing of it; and immediately gave the Sheriffs of *London* order

The Lords provide an Army for their own Safety, and unite.

A meeting agreed upon between the King and Lords.

<sup>a</sup> Which were forty thousand strong. *Hen. de Knighton*.  
England, by the Name of *Henry IV*.

<sup>c</sup> An Alderman of *London*.

<sup>b</sup> Son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and afterwards King of



A. D. 1387. to search the place mention'd, and if they found any such thing, to kill or take them; but before it could be done, the chief Actors in it had notice of the Discovery, and had dispers'd themselves. This Action of the King's, confirm'd by his Oath, seem'd such a Proof to the Lords, that that base Contrivance was carry'd on purely by their Enemies without the King's Approbation, tho' not without a full Confidence of his Pardon, if it had been effected; that upon his fresh Promise of their Security, they soon after attended upon him at *Westminster*, yet with such strong Guards, as shew'd that they came not to submit or petition, but to demand or capitulate. On the day of their meeting the King being set on his Throne in his Robes, and the Nobles present and kneeling before him, the Chancellor, who was the Bishop of *Ely*, deliver'd the King's Mind to them in a short Speech, telling them, 'That the King hearing of their riotous assembling in *Haringey-Park*, tho' he was advis'd to have repress'd them by force, which he could easily have done; yet out of his Princely Clemency, had chosen to put gentler Methods first in Execution, to avoid the Effusion of his Subjects' Blood if possible; and therefore had sent for them to discourse with them, and know the Reasons and Causes of their Discontents, and why they in so tumultuous a manner had drawn together such a number of People. The Lords made answer, 'That it was not out of any ambitious or turbulent Humour, that they had taken Arms; for they neither affected his Crown, nor envy'd his Peace, but through an unavoidable Necessity of preserving his Person and Realm, and securing their own Lives from the impending Dangers, which were falling upon them by such Persons as were Enemies to both, and shrowded their ill Actions under his Favour; That the Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Archbishop of *Tork*, Sir *Robert Tresilian*, Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, and some others, were those Traytors to the King and Realm, which they were afraid of, and sought to remove; because so long as they were in Place and Favour, the Nation must be miserable, nor could any Man be safe; and that they had not brought any false Accusation against them, they declared themselves ready (if his Majesty would yield to it) to justify what they had alledg'd by single Combat (and then threw down their Gloves as the Challengers). The King having heard them with much Calmness, gave them this moderate and rational Reply; 'That supposing it were true which they had alledg'd, yet they had taken a very improper Method to rectify their Grievances, which ought to be done by Rules of Justice, not Acts of Rebellion; That their present Tumults were of very ill Consequence, and would encourage the Multitude to make use of the like Methods, which would be difficult to repress; That he would speedily call a Parliament, wherein the Persons accused should appear and all Matters of Difference should be adjust'd, and all true Causes of Trouble or Fears to themselves or the Nation be remov'd; and in the mean time, would pardon all that was past, and take them into his Protection. The King having thus finish'd his Speech, took the Duke of *Glocester* by the hand, rais'd him from his Knees, and bid the rest arise; and retreating with them into a private Chamber, gave them a Treat, and licens'd them to depart. The Lords were greatly satisfisd with this Behaviour to them, and after the King had put forth his Proclamation of Pardon, looked upon all things in a certain way of Settlement at the next Parliament.

The Duke of *Ireland*, and the rest of the Persons accused, were not present at this Meeting of the King and Lords; and therefore tho' the Lords were in good hopes of a fair Conclusion, yet they thought it not safe, lest there should lurk some secret Contrivance against them, to dismiss their Army. Which Resolution taken up merely from Suspicion, or upon Information, proved very fortunate to them; for while Affairs looked so well at *London*, the Duke of *Ireland* had a private Commission from the King to gather an Army of such as were his Friends about *Chester*, and to come to *London*; in which they hoped to find so many Assistants, as to make up their Forces collected from the Western Parts to become invincible, and so able without great Difficulty to subdue the Lords. This tho' acted with great Privacy, and at a mighty Distance, was not hidden from the Lords and their Friends; who therefore contrived to intercept the Duke in his Passage, by sending the Earl of *Darby* with a strong Party to lie in those Countries through which he was to pass. The Duke of *Ireland* having by the Interest and Assistance of Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Constable of the Castle of *Chester*, Sir *Ralph Vernon*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, the Sheriff of *Chester*, and others, gather'd a good Body of six thousand Men out of *Cheeshire* and *Lancashire*, stout and well armed, marched according to the King's Order towards *London*; but at *Radcott* Bridge near *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, they were met by the Earl of *Darby* and his Men, who to prevent their Progress and force them to fight, had broken down the Bridge. The Duke was surprized at their approach, and being fearful of his own Fate, perswaded the Gentlemen to retreat; but Sir *Thomas Molineux* being a Man of great Courage said, 'That it was but a Party of the Lords Army, and that commanded by the Earl of *Darby*, a Man famous neither for Courage nor Conduct; and if they should give ground to these, they could not hope to effect any thing against the whole Power of the Lords, and therefore encourag'd them to prepare for a Fight. The *Cheeshire* Gentlemen were easily won, and the Duke himself yielded, tho' his Guilt and Fears would not suffer him to consent, and so a Fight was begun the next day. The Earl of *Darby* was very sharp, and lasted long; Sir *Thomas Molineux* was slain, and most of his Army either kill'd or taken. The Duke saw the beginning of the Engagement, but fled long before the Victory shew'd it self, swimming over the River *Thames* to make his escape; but was forc'd to quit his Horse, because he could not make the farther Bank, and get away on foot. His Horse and Baggage, with his Armour, were all taken, and brought to the Earl of *Darby*. In his Trunks was found a Letter sent to him by the King himself, wherein he commands him to hasten to *London* with what speed he could, and promises him to live and die with him. The Duke of *Ireland* was suppos'd to have been drown'd, because his Horse was found in the River; but afterward he was discover'd to have fled into *Holland*, and from thence into *France*. The News of this lucky Victory, tho' over but a small Party, was not better receiv'd by the Lords than it deserv'd; for it proved in a manner the utter Overthrow of their Enemies. For the Duke of *Ireland* never return'd, the Earl of *Suffolk* fled to *Calis* to his Brother, who was Captain of that Fortrefs; the King betook himself to the Tower, and *Tresilian* and the Archbishop of *Tork*, with all the rest of the Party, withdrew from *London*, and concealed themselves. The Enemies of the Confederate Lords all disappear'd, and no Opposition was

The King and Lords meet in Westminster-Hall, and are reconciled.

The King encourages his Favourites privately to arm against the Lords.

The Earl of Darby vanquishes the Duke of Ireland's Army.

1388.



A. D. 1388. was visible: Whereupon the Lords being again united, marched with their Army of forty thousand Men to London, and mustered at *Clackenwell* within the Prospect of the Tower. The Archbishop, and some others of the Peers, who were desirous to end this Quarrel, pray'd the King to condescend to a peaceable Composition of Affairs, but he made slight of the Proposal, and told them, 'That they would soon dissolve of themselves without any Treaty, their Multitude would in a short time consume all their Provision, and then they must break in pieces of course. The Lords had notice of these words, and being incens'd a little at them, swore, That they would not depart from London (which by this time had open'd her Gates to them) till they had spoken with him; and having given him notice of it, set a strong Guard about the Tower, that he might not elude them by a private escape. The King being thus beset, and having no way to avoid a Treaty condescended, and sent the Archbishop to acquaint them with it. The Lords accepted the News joyfully, but fearing some Treachery might be laid for them in the Tower; if they should attend him there, as he had appointed, they begg'd that the King would meet them at *Westminster*, but at length receded from that Desire, because the King dealt so candidly with them, that he sent them the Keys of the Gates, Turrets, and strong Chambers, and gave them leave with two hundred Men to search all Places, and clear up their Suspicions. The Duke of Gloucester and Earls of *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Darby*, and *Nottingham*, were the chief who managed this Treaty with the King, who receiv'd them in a Pavilion of State, and after retir'd with them into his Chamber. Here they charg'd him with many dishonourable and unjust Actions against themselves, and the Nation, viz. 'That he had forg'd Crimes and an unjust Sentence, conspired with his Favourites at *Nottingham*, to take away their Lives; which tho' they had at their meeting at *Westminster* been sparing to upbraid him with, out of respect to his Honour, because they saw an amicable Agreement likely to go forward, yet now they could not but lay before him, because they had since found Letters from him to the Duke of *Ireland*, to raise Forces in *Cheshire* against them, even at the time of their former Treaty; by which Action he added Perfidiousness to Cruelty, and plainly shew'd that his Favour and Grace then pretended, was but a Vail to his ill Designs against them. That he had made an Agreement with the French King (as by some Letters which they had intercepted, and then shewed, they made it appear) to resign *Calis*, and his other Dominions on that side to him, upon condition he might enjoy them, as an Homager to his Crown, and that Letters of safe Conduct were sent to him to compleat this Agreement, which was indeed to betray the *English* Possessions, purchased with so Blood, into their Enemies hands. Many other lesser Grievances they also mention'd, which they were plentifully furnish'd with from the ill Conduct of the Ministers of State, employ'd by him. The King had little to say in his own Defence, because their Accusation was so plainly proved; but falling into an ingenuous Confession of his Errors and Misgovernment, with Tears, agreed to meet them the next day at *Westminster*, to rectifie whatever was amiss by their Advice and Consent. The Lords upon this Promise departed, all but the Earl of *Darby*, whom the

King invited to Supper with him, and detained, A. D. 1388. as an Instance of his Resolution to joyn with them in settling all Disorders of the Nation, which he expressed much Satisfaction in, so long as the Earl was present. But when the Earl was departed, the King fell into Consultation with such as were about him; who tho' not so obnoxious as those that were fled, yet being either their Friends, or acting by their Measures, soon turn'd his Mind from his former purpose; and because they had buzz'd it into his Head, that that Meeting tended much to the Hazard of his Person, and would end with a great Diminution of his Authority, he fully resolv'd against it. The Lords, according to Appointment met the next day at *Westminster*, and expected the King, but in vain, for he would not leave the Tower; which when they understood, they grew impatient at his Inconstancy, and sent him word plainly, 'That if he would not meet them according to his Promise, they would certainly chuse another King, who should have more regard to the faithful Advices and Services of his Lords than he had. This Message being smart and unexpected, wrought the King into Compliance; so that he met them on the Morrow in *Westminster-Hall*. The main thing that the Lords insisted upon, and the King tho' not very freely agreed to, was, That several traitorous and wicked Persons, should for the Honour of the King's Person and the Good of the Nation, be removed from Court; and accordingly *Alexander* Archbishop of *York*, *John* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Fryar Rustock*, the King's Confessor, *John* Bishop of *Chichester* (the two first of which were fled) were strictly forbidden to come into the King's Palace or Presence. The Lords *Zouch*, *Burnell* and *Beaumont* also, *Sir Alberic de Vere*, *Sir Baldwin Bedeford*, *Sir Richard Adderbury*, *Sir John Worth*, *Sir Thomas Clifford*, and *Sir John Lovell*, suffer'd the like Banishment from Court, but with a farther Imposition, That they should give Sureties for their Appearance at the next Parliament, which was to meet shortly. Some Ladies also of no very good Reputation were expelled the Court, and forced to give Sureties for their Appearance the next Parliament, viz. the Ladies *Mobun*, *Molings*, *Poynings*, and *Worth*. Others whose Crimes were greater, or at least more open and prejudicial to the Nation, were imprison'd, viz. *Sir Simon Barly*, *Sir William Ellingham*, *Sir John Salesbury*, *Sir Thomas Trevir*, *Sir James Barnish*, *Sir Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Sir Nicholas Bramber*, Knights; *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincoln*, and *John Morford*, Clerks; *Sir John Beauchamp*, Keeper of the King's Privy-purse, *Nicholas Lake*, Dean of the Chapel, and *John Blake*, Barrister of Law, to be tried the next Parliament.

The time drawing very near, when the Parliament was to meet by the unanimous Agreement of the King and Lords, the King, who knew very well that it would prove fatal to his Friends, sought all means to prorogue it; but not daring to stand upon his Prerogative at this time, lest they should raise as great a Mischief to himself, permitted them to meet on Feb. 3. The Lords came to it with such Attendance, as seem'd necessary for their Safety. The Commons resorted to it with great Diligence, because of the general Expectation there was of a compleat Reformation of all Disorders by this Session; which it so well effected, that it was thought to deserve the Name of *The Wonder-working Parliament*. After the usual Forms of opening the Parliament,

The King and Lords again meet, and the King confesses his faulty Management.

\* The 26th of December, 1388.

\* The Lady Poynings was Sir John Worth's Wife. Sir John Hayward, Richard II.



A. D. 1388. they entred upon Action, and on the first day of their meeting arrested all the Judges that were sitting in Westminster-Hall upon the Bench, except *Trefilian*, who concealed himself in disguise, and Sir *William Shipworth*<sup>a</sup>, and sent them to the Tower, viz. Sir *Robert Belknap*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, Sir *John Cary*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Brooke*, and *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant at Law. Their Crime was, 'That in the last Parliament they had over-ruled the Actions and Determinations of the Lords with their Advice and Directions, and had assured them that all was done according to Law, but afterwards had given the King a contrary Judgment at Nottingham, and had deliver'd it as their Opinion, that the Actions of the said Parliament was illegal and traitorous. The Judges had nothing to plead in excuse of this base Action but their Fears of the Duke of Ireland, who threaten'd their ruin, unless they made such Answers to the Questions as he expected and desired, and therefore left themselves to the Judgment of the Parliament, who considering that the whole matter was managed by *Trefilian*, and that the rest of the Judges were surprized, and forced to give their Sentence, laid the milder Punishment upon them<sup>b</sup>, and only confiscated their Goods, and banished them for their Lives, having resolved to deal the more severely with the Author of that illegal Judgment when they could apprehend him. The next thing that they entred upon was to proceed against *Robert Vere* Duke of Ireland, *Alexander Nevill* Archbishop of York, *Michael de la Pool* Earl of Suffolk, Sir *Robert Trefilian* Lord Chief Justice of England, and *Nicholas Bramber* Lord Mayor of London, who being fled from Justice were summon'd only, and not appearing were sentenced to perpetual Banishment, and their Estates confiscated. Not long after Sir *Robert Trefilian* was discover'd by one of his own Servants, and seized upon in disguise at an Apothecary's in Westminster, where he lay to observe the Transactions of Parliament. He was carry'd first to the Duke of Gloucester, who secured him in the Tower, and in the Afternoon he was brought before the Parliament, by whom he was sentenced to be drawn to Tyburn, and to have his Throat cut<sup>c</sup>, which Judgment was immediately executed upon him. For what Reasons that Punishment, never used before or since, was inflicted upon him, is hard to know, unless the greatness of his Crimes was signalized by so remarkable a Punishment. The Parliament having thus dealt with the greater Offenders, descended to the lesser, and having taken Sir *Nicholas Bramber*, a Person who to serve the Court-designs against the Lords had been several times made Lord Mayor of London, and in that Office by his illegal Cruelties had ruin'd and murder'd many of the Lord's Friends, for which Services he was to be made Duke of Troy, the ancient Name, as some have written, of that City, they condemn'd him for those and others his wicked Actions to be beheaded with that very Ax<sup>e</sup> (as some write) which he had made to inflict the same punishment on others. Sir *John Salisbury*, Sir *James Barnish*, *John Beauchamp*, *John*

*Blake*, and *Thomas Uffe*, were all drawn and hang'd for the same Crimes. Sir *Simon Burley*, Lord Chamberlain, and Constable of Dover-Castle, being accused of conspiring to deliver up that Castle to the French, was also beheaded; tho' the Earl of Darby interceded much to save his Life, because it was not prov'd against him; but the Duke of Gloucester, whose severe disposition made every one a Criminal that he did not love, would hearken neither to Reason nor Importunity, and so this poor Gentleman fell a Sacrifice to the Duke's Anger and Moroseness. With these Men the Parliament hoped that the Disorders of the Nation would be removed, the chief Causes of them taken away, and their Sufferings terrifie all that were like-affected; and therefore, as if all things were to begin a-new, the King and Parliament agreed to ratifie their Resolutions of doing their Duty to each other by Oath. The King promised to stand by the Lords in governing the Realm, and took his Coronation-Oath again, and the Houses swore Homage and Fealty to the King, as if both had vy'd together whether should be the better, the King or his Subjects. This Pacification was so well resented by the Parliament, that they granted the King half a tenth of the Clergy, and half a fifteenth of the Laity, 12 d. in the Pound for all Merchandises, except Wines, upon which they laid 2 s. a Tun, and 5 s. for every Sack of Wool, and then was dissolv'd; but the King was discontented, and angry at what he had done in it. Just at the rising of this Parliament, the Lord *John Holland* was created Earl of Huntington.

The Earl of Arundel being made Admiral again Reg. 12. by the Parliament, put forth to Sea with a great Navy, well stored with Land-Forces and several Noblemen to assist the Duke of Britain, who being under the King of France's displeasure, because he had imprison'd the Lord *Gueselin* Constable of France, fear'd an Invasion from thence. The English Fleet arriv'd at Rochel, and landing some Men, began to spoil the Country about *Marrant*; but a Peace being suddenly concluded between the Duke and the French King, the Earl return'd, and in his way meeting the French Fleet, took eighty of them, and invaded the Isle of *Beas*, and burnt it. He also took the Isle of *Oleron*.

The Truce between the Scots and English being expired about this time, the Scots looking upon the Dissentions of England to be an advantageous Juncture for them to invade it, made great Preparations for that end, and entred the bordering Countries, burning, killing, and plundering all places they came in. *Gilleland* in Cumberland, which belong'd to the Lord *Dacres*, felt their Fury first, whose Inhabitants they shut up in their Houses by two hundred in a Company, and set them on Fire. They then invaded the North with the like Barbarity, and came as far as *Newcastle*, where they met with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Sons, *Henry* Lord *Peirce*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, and *Ralph*, with a small Force to oppose them, as Guardians of those parts, and sworn Enemies of the Scots. The young Noblemen desirous to gain Honour, were eager to engage them; and

<sup>a</sup> Sir *William Skipwith* was not with his Brethren the Judges at Nottingham when they answer'd the King's Queries. He was absent by reason of Sickness.

<sup>b</sup> They were all of them that were in Custody condemn'd by the Lords Temporal, with the assent of the King, to be drawn and hang'd as Traitors, their Heirs disinherited, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels to be forfeited to the King; which Sentence pass upon Sir *Robert Belknap*, Sir *Roger Fulthorp*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Burgh*, Sir *John Cary*, Judges; *John Lockton* the King's Serjeant, and *Thomas Uff* Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who pack'd the Jury that found the Bill against the Lords. The Bishops, just as Sentence had pass, came in and interceded for their Lives, which the King granted them; but their Estates were seiz'd, and their Persons imprison'd. Rot. Parl. 11 Richard 2.

<sup>c</sup> He had been Lord Mayor, but was not so at this time.

<sup>d</sup> His Throat was not cut; the Sentence given by the Lords against him was, That he should be drawn on a Hurdle through the City of London to Tyburn, and there be hang'd by the Neck. *Walsingham* and *Caston*, and after them *Holinghead* affirm he was hang'd. Rot. Parl. 11 Richard 2.

<sup>e</sup> It appears by the same Rolls, Par. 3. N<sup>o</sup> 15. that Sir *Nicholas Bramber* was condemn'd and executed in the same manner as *Trefilian*.



A. D. 1388. Earl *Dowglas*, who commanded that party of the *Scots*, and envy'd *Hotspur's* Fame, was as forward to joyn the Battel. They came to a fight at *Otterborn*, and Earl *Dowglas* encounter'd the Lord *Peirce* singly, seeking by force to extort his Name from him; but being equall'd in Courage, and overmatch'd with Strength, he was slain, and became a Monument of his Enemy's Valour. This Victory was hardly obtain'd before the Earl of *Dunbar* came upon the *Englisb* with a much greater Force, and having slain the greatest part of them, took the Lord *Peirce* and his Brother Prisoners.

Fifteenth  
Parlia-  
ment, its  
Acts and  
Taxes.

The Parliament was again summon'd to meet in *September*, and accordingly assembled at *Cambridge* (as our Historians unanimously agree, but our Statute-Book say at *Canterbury*) on the morrow after the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary*, *Sept. 9*. This Parliament seems to have met to settle several Disorders and Irregularities of the Nation, not sufficiently provided for by Law before; and to that end enacted, 'That no Offices under the King, or Ministers of Justice, as Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, or any other Officers in any of the King's Courts, should be ordain'd or made, for any Gift or Brocade, Favour or Affection, but for their known Abilities and Deserts only; it being but reasonable to suppose, as it is usually found, that they who buy such Places make no Conscience of doing Justice, but by Exactions, Delays, and unreasonable Fees, make the Administration of Judgment a Grievance, instead of a Relief to Subjects. That Servants shall not pass from one Hundred to another without a Testimonial under the King's Seal; and if any Servant be taken up without such Testimonial, he shall be put in the Stocks. This Law was made to keep Servants to their good Behaviour, and secure Masters from retaining idle and false Persons in their Services; and because Servants grew too exacting for their Wages, therefore a Law was made, 'That no Person should give or receive more Wages for the Service of Men or Women, than what was limited by the Statute under several Penalties. It was also enacted, 'That all sturdy Beggars, who were able to serve, should be punished, and the ancient Statute of Labourers should be put in execution; so that the want of Men to work in Husbandry might be no plea to enhance their Wages. A Statute also was framed to forbid Servants to wear a Sword, Buckler, or Dagger; Another to prohibit all Persons using any unlawful Games; Another to punish any scandalous Abuses of the Peers and great Men of the Kingdom; Another to prohibit the making of Dung-hills, and casting of Carrion into Ditches near great Towns to infect the Air, by which Diseases were created among the Inhabitants; Another to make it a Praemunire for any Person to go to *Rome* to procure any Benefice of the Pope; and lastly, A Statute was made to remove the Staple of Wool from *Middleburgh* to *Calis*. The King had a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity granted him by this Parliament. During this Session, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, a Favourite of the King's, riding to *Barnwell* with the King to his Lodgings, was thrown by his Horse, and dy'd of the Bruise receiv'd by the Fall. His Death was not much lamented by the People, because he was accounted an Enemy to the Lords, and the common Good.

Soon after the rising of this Parliament a Treaty

of Peace was set on foot between *England*, *France*, *A. D.* and *Scotland*. The Commissioners for *England* 1389. were *Walter Shirlow* Bishop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord *Beauchamp*, Sir *John Clanbow*, and Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*; for *France*, the Bishop of *Baieux*, the Lord *Valeran* Earl of *St. Paul*, Sir *Guillam Melin*, Sir *Nich. Bracque*, and Sir *John Mercier*; and for the *Scots*, the Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Sir *James* and Sir *David Lyndsey*, and Sir *Walter Sancler*, four for each Nation. They met at *Balingham*, a small Town between *Calis* and *Bul-loigne*, and after many Debates with much difficulty, came at length to agree upon a Truce between the three Nations for three Years, to commence from *Midsummer* next ensuing. While it was in agitation the *Scots* had made several Incurious into *Northumberland*, and carry'd away great Booties, which *Thomas Mowbrey* Earl of *Nottingham* was not able to prevent, tho' he was sent against them with five hundred Archers, because his Force was too weak to withstand their much greater numbers. The *Scots* were so well pleased with their Robberies, that they gave the news of Peace no kind welcome, and were hardly persuaded to accept it by the Lord *Valeran*, and some others of the *French*, who came over to see it establish'd and confirm'd in these Nations; and so at length the Truce began on *August 1*. on the Borders, and on *Aug. 15*. in other parts of both Nations, and all Hostilities ceased on both sides.

In Lent this Year was a memorable Contest between the *Oxford-Scholars*. The *Welsh*, who were always quarrelsome and proud, having firmly united the Scholars of the Southern parts to their side, began to abuse the Scholars of the North, who being very numerous, stood up together in their own defence; and so by the opposition much mischief was done on both sides. At length they came to an agreement, to determine all by a pitch Fight; but the Duke of *Glocester* hearing of it, and being much concern'd not only at the ill Example, but bad Consequences of it, found means to prevent it, and caused several of the *Welsh*, who were the Authors of this unhandsome Broil, to be expell'd the University, and others to be punish'd with the usual Academick Mulcts, and so put the whole Body into good order again.

Peace being thus every ways established at home and abroad, the King and his Friends, on whose Counsels he chiefly confided, thought this the best opportunity to assume to himself the Government of the Nation out of the Lords hands, in which it had been put for some Years. He was now full one and twenty Years of Age, and was undeniably capacitated to be master of his own Dominions; which because the Lords, either not sensible of his being of Age, or not willing to take notice of it, did not resign, he resolv'd to claim; and to that end calling a great Council of his Nobles and great Men to attend him at *Westminster*. As soon as they were all seated, and the King himself at the head of them, he demanded of them, 'What Age they supposed him to be of now? They answer'd, 'That they thought him to be something above one and twenty. The King then reply'd, 'That it was unreasonable that he should be deny'd what his meanest Subjects enjoy'd, who at that Age came into the management and full possession of their Birthrights, and were no longer under Guardians and Tutors; and therefore he challeng'd the Government of his Kingdoms out of their hands. The Lords, tho' fearing the ill Consequence of his Rule,

\* This Truce was but for one Year. *T. Walsingham*.

\* *Henry de Knighton* and *Thomas Walsingham* say, He came to the Council-Chamber, the Privy Council being then sitting; and do not mention the summoning any Assembly of the Nobility who were not Privy Counsellors.



A. D. 1289. yet did not deny what he required, but readily yielded up their Power entirely to him; in which Act the King was not so well contented, but that he declared publickly, 'That he renounced their Rule, and from thenceforth did assume to himself as full a Power of governing, disposing Affairs, and administering Justice in his Realm, as any of his Predecessors, the Kings of England, did and might lawfully use and exercise.

Reg. 12. And that he might give an Instance of his Power and try their Submission, he like a new King made an Alteration among the great Officers of State; for he took the great Seal from *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, and gave it to *William of Wickham*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, who very unwillingly accepted of it; *John Fordham* also Bishop of *Exeter*, then Treasurer, he remov'd from that Office and put in another, which also he did to *Edmund Stafford*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord Admiral, he also deprived of his Command and gave it to the Earl of *Huntington*; the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and Duke of *Glocester*, he put out of his Privy Council, and made five new Judges in the room of those that were hang'd and imprison'd. Many other Alterations he made in the Court, which was look'd upon as a new Model of a worse Management than had been before settled, and for some time so well carried on by the Lords.

The State being thus at Peace for the present, Matters of Religion began to be look'd into, which in the late Troubles had been neglected. The Followers of *Wickliff* were not insensible how happy a Juncture it was for them to promote their Doctrines, while their Enemies Heads were otherwise employ'd, and accordingly had so bestir'd themselves, that they were become a form'd Church, and in many Parts of the Nation had regular Congregations, with Pastors well qualified and chosen to administer Sacraments, and preach to the People. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, *John Waltham*, had gotten a very particular Account of all their Party, and their present Condition, by one that had been of their Society; and tho' he acquainted his Brethren with the great Increase of them, yet neither himself, nor any of the Bishops rais'd any Persecution against them. The Bishop of *Norwich*, *Henry Spencer*, threaten'd them loudly, That if any were found in his Diocese, he would make them, as he term'd it, *Hop beadlefs, or fry a Faggot*; and 'tis very probable, that he being a rough and Warlike Prelate, would have made good his Words, but they had Wit enough to keep out of his way. One *John Swinderby*, a Priest, was punish'd as an Heretick in the Diocese of *Hereford*; but because we read of no other that suffer'd, it may be suppos'd, that some Imprudence in himself brought him into Troubles. The chief Popish Doctrine that they oppos'd was, their Pilgrimages to Images, especially the *Rood* and *Lady of Walsingham*; which being so profitable a Custom to the Priests, would have brought a Storm upon them, as soon as an Opposition to any other Doctrine; but it was carried so privately, that tho' many were averse to it, yet few would expose themselves for it.

The Duke of *Glocester* being thought under some Displeasure with the King, because he was not of his Council, it gave Encouragement to some Court Parasites to seek his Ruine, and forge a Crime against him to endanger his Life, viz. That

he was about to raise an Army, and depose the King. The Duke was thereupon called into Examination privately, and charged with the Accusation; but he cleared himself so well, that it was judg'd a Forgery both by the King himself and his Council. The Duke having escap'd the Danger, begg'd of the King, that the Authors of such false Crimes should be punish'd; but the King, either desirous to incense the Duke, or out of a Love to Flattery, enjoyn'd his Uncle neither to expostulate the Matter, nor question his Accusers.

In November, this Year, the Duke of *Lancaster* returned out of *Spain* into *England*. He had for almost three Years undergone a various Fortune, and tho' he had pass'd through many Troubles, at last made an honourable Conclusion, and came home with Joy and Triumph: He had met with as good Success at his first Entrance into *Spain*, as he could have desir'd. Many *Spaniards* came over to assist him in recovering his Wife's Right against the Usurper, and his Arms were every where victorious. The *Spanish* Army under *Don Alvarez de Perez* was totally routed, and the *Spaniards* terrified with the Loss, kept themselves close in their walled Towns, which were also many of them taken by the *English* and *Portuguese*. The *French* indeed promised them Assistance to drive out the *English*, after the intended Expedition into *England* was over; but a more kind Fate so befriended them, that the *English* were conquer'd without Weapons: For the Heat and Unkindness of the Climate so afflicted with mortal Diseases his whole Army, that he lost many of his best Men, as the Lord *Fitzwater*, and others, and the rest were made unfit for any Warlike Action. The *Spaniards* also, who had sided with the Duke, being angry with the *English* for making such havock of their Country without Cause, deserted him and went home; by which means the Duke and his Friends were left so naked and open to the Enemy, that in great Sorrow and Anguish of Mind he lamented his Misfortune, and begg'd of God, who judges of every Man's Right, to interpose on his behalf, and make an honourable Conclusion of that Expedition for him; which Prayer the Event so well answer'd, that God may well be judg'd to have heard him in his Trouble. He indeed endeavour'd to retrieve his Loss, by sending into *England* for a Recruit of his Forces; but the Troubles there would not allow the King to spare him any, which farther encreased his Grief. The Duke then having obtain'd leave of the King of *Spain*, that his sick Soldiers should remain in his Country till they were recover'd, departed in Sorrow to *Baion*, a City in *Gascoigne*, and there remained in much Melancholy for his ill Luck. Here Providence made way for that happy Conclusion, which the Duke had desired: For the Duke of *Berry*, the *French* King's Uncle, making a Proposition of a Marriage with *Katharine* the Duke's Daughter, and Heiress to the Crown of *Spain* after her Mother's Death, so roused the Thoughts of the King of *Castile* and *Leon*, lest that Match should by the Union of two such potent Interests in *France* and *England*, bring greater danger to his Throne than her Mother's had; that he by the Advice of his Council, became an earnest Suiter to the Duke of *Lancaster* for a Match between his Daughter and his eldest Son *Henry*. Some Propositions tending to a Conclusion with the Duke of *Berry* had been made,

\* *John Fordham* was Bishop of *Durham*, Favourite to King *Richard* and Lord Treasurer, was remov'd in a turn of State three Years before; into his Place the King put the Bishop of *Hereford*, a Friend to the Lords, and now he turn'd him out of his Office, to give it to one of his own.

† Tho' he had been entrusted by the Parliament.



A. D. 1389. but the King of Spain's Offers being more agreeable to the Wilhes, and making more for the Honour of both the Lady and her Parents were greedily embraced, and the Marriage soon concluded upon these following Conditions advantageous to all sides, 1. That *Henry* Prince of Spain should marry the Lady *Katharine* eldest Daughter of *John* Duke of Lancaster, and *Constantia* his Wife, and that they should be call'd after Marriage Prince and Princess of *Austria*, so long as the present King lived. 2. That the Kingdom of Spain, after the present King's Death, should descend to the said Prince and Princess, and the Heirs of their Bodies; and for want of such Heirs to *Edmund* Duke of York, who had marry'd King *Peter*'s other Daughter, and his Heirs. 3. That the King of Spain should pay the Duke of Lancaster 200000*l.* towards the Charges of the Expedition, and 10000*l.* a Year during his and his Dutcheff's Life at *Baion*. The Conclusion anger'd the French King, and produc'd some Threats of a War for the Wrong done the Duke of Berry. But the King of Spain valu'd not his Menaces so long as he was sure of the Assistance of the English, and the Duke of Lancaster return'd with Joy into England. Just at his landing the King had summon'd a great Council of his Peers to meet at *Reading*, whereupon the Duke immediately hasten'd thither; not only to meet the King and pay his Duty to him, but to reconcile the Difference which he had heard began to arise between the King and his Nobles. This Act of Piety he happily effected, and made them all Friends. The King kept his Christmas at *Woodstock*, and the Duke of Lancaster at *Hartford* Castle, and the Nobles in their Countries.

1390.  
The young  
Earl of  
Pembroke  
killed at  
Justs.

While the Christmas Carnivals continu'd at Court, *John Hastings* Earl of Pembroke, an hopeful young Nobleman, learning to just (which was an Exercise much us'd in those times) with one Sir *John St. John*, receiv'd an unlucky Blow on the bottom of his Belly, and died of the Bruise. He was much lamented, because he was a generous and affable Person; but it seems it was a Fate entail'd upon his Family, to meet with an untimely Death: For it was observ'd, that from the time of *Aumer de Valence*, Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the Peers that condemn'd *Thomas* Earl of Lancaster at *Pomfret*, about eighty Years before, none ever lived to see his Son, tho' the Descent in the whole Blood lasted all the while; which was thought a just Punishment of their Ancestors Sin against that great Peer, whom the Pope canonized for his Vertues as a State Martyr.

Sixteenth  
Parliament,  
its  
Acts and  
Taxes.

A little after the Feast of *S. Hilary* a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, and divers things were enacted for the common Good, concerning the Officers of the Court, as Constable, Steward, Marshal, Clerk of the Market, Admirals, Serjeants at Arms, and Justices of Peace, concerning Weights and Measures, and several other Matters; but the most remarkable Acts that were made this Parliament were, 1. That against the Procurement of Pardons for those Peccantial Crimes of all Societies, Murders, Treasons, and Rapes. The Commons having observed that the King's Pardons were an Encouragement of such Facts, petition'd, That the King would oblige himself not to grant any Pardons for those Crimes. This the King refused to do, because he would not deprive his Crown of a Branch of his Prerogative, which his Ancestors ever enjoy'd,

but yet he pass'd an Act in effect the same; for he enacted, That in all Pardons which he granted the Crime should be specified, and the Person at whose Suit it was granted endors'd; and that all Persons who procur'd a Pardon for any guilty of the said Crimes, should be fined according to their Quality, an Archbishop or Duke a 1000*l.* a Bishop or Earl a thousand Marks, an Abbot, Prior, Baron or Baronet, five hundred Mark, and inferior Ranks two hundred Marks, and a Year's Imprisonment; by which means, tho' the King had still his Power to pardon, yet Suiters were so discourag'd, that the Multitude of Pardons much abated: For Kings seldom grant but with importunate asking. 2. That it should be Treason to purchase or bring any Provisions from the Pope for any Ecclesiastical Benefice in England; which tho' it had been before enacted by King *Edward III.* was not observed, and so it was enforced again to be put in Execution better. These Acts being pass'd, to the great Satisfaction of the Commons, they granted the King several Subsidies, viz. 40*s.* a Sack for Wool, whereof 10*s.* to be paid to the King for his own Expences at Pleasure, and 30*s.* to be put into the Treasury for the Defence of the Nation; and a Tax of 6*d.* by the Pound, 4*d.* to the Treasury and 2*d.* to the King, and then they were dismissed home. At the rising of this Parliament, the King made *John* of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, Duke of Aquitaine, and had him enstalled by the Cap and Bonnet, and *Edward* the eldest Son of the Duke of York Earl of Rutland.

In the beginning of the Spring several unlucky Accidents befel the Nation together: Such a tempestuous Wind arose in March, that blew down many House, and did much other harm in several Parts. The Plague raged much, especially in the North, where many thousands died of it; but it was particularly observed to have the most malignant Effects upon young Men, who very rarely escaped, and were most easily infected with it. At the same time there was a great Scarcity of Corn, so that a Bushel of Wheat was sold for 13*d.* which was thought a great Price in those days. Thus by a Concurrence of Evils, did Divine Providence punish the Irregularities of the People of this Nation.

These Calamities at home made the English more ready to pity and relieve the Afflictions of others abroad; and for that end, two Parties were sent into foreign Countries. The one to *Genoa*, under the Command of *John Beaufort*, Natural Son of the Duke of Lancaster, Sir *John Russell*, Sir *John Butler*, and others; and the other to *Prussia*, under the Command of *Henry* of Lancaster Earl of Darby. The Occasion was this; the *Sarazens* of *Barbary* being very troublesome to the Citizens of *Genoa*, and by their Numbers threatening the Ruine of their Territories, had no way to secure themselves, but by begging the Assistance of the French and English; who looking upon it as the common Interest of Christendom to keep out those Barbarians from Europe, gladly embrac'd the Request of the *Genoefes*, and sent a choice Army of valiant Men thither. The English pass'd over into France and joined with the Forces, intended for the same Expedition by the French King, with whom they marched to *Genoa*, and there took Ship to assault the Infidels in *Africk*. The *Sarazens* were prepar'd to oppose their landing, and stood on the Shore ready to

\* *Asturia*.

† To the Son of the Duke of York, by the Dutcheff of Lancaster's Sister, younger Daughter of *Peter* the Cruel.

‡ Baronets were not known in England till the Reign of *James I.* It shou'd be Bannerets.



A. D. 1390. engage them at their first entrance. The *English* and *French* Archers being commanded to attack them, soon made room with their Arrows for their safe footing on the shore, and having slain many of them, put the rest to flight. The Christians went forward to *Tunis* directly and besieged it, which not being able to withstand their Arms, was soon taken, with the slaughter of the King's Brother, divers great Men, and above four thousand others of the Barbarians. The King himself with a sufficient strength fled into the Castle, and held it out against the Christians six weeks; at the end of which for want of Provision he was obliged to desire Peace, and offer'd them a great Sum of Money to depart his Country. The Christians being much disabled by Sicknefs in their Camp, did not unwillingly hearken to the Proposals; yet pressing for other Conditions, obtain'd farther that they should carry away with them their Prey, and have such Christian Prisoners as they had taken deliver'd to them, and that the Barbarians should from thenceforth oblige themselves to cease from pillaging the Coasts of *Italy* and *France*, and then return'd home, laden with Riches and Honour. This was the only Voyage wherein the *English* and *French* prov'd successful in their Union, who formerly were used by mutual Dissentions to defeat the design of their Arms. Nor was the Earl of *Darby* less fortunate in his Achievements. The *Lituanians* had by their Incursions much afflicted *Prussia*, and reduced the Inhabitants to great Miseries. But the coming of the *English* under so brave and daring a Captain soon brought them relief; for they not only drove out the *Lituanians*, but invaded their Country, and took one of their Cities, the Earl himself being one of the first that scaled the Walls, and set up the *English* Banners, to the great Honour of himself and his Nation. And thus having restored the People of that Country to their Peace and Safety, he return'd home with an addition of Fame and Honour. While these things were done abroad, the King diverted himself with Feats of Arms at a solemn Jufts, at which twenty four *Englishmen* challeng'd all Comers, and were encounter'd by as many Foreigners with much Art and Valour. The Earls of *S. Paul* and *Ostronant* came over to be Spectators of this honourable Tryal of Courage and Skill, which was deservedly admired. The King gave the Strangers Gold-Chains as Badges of his Favour, and feasted them royally at *Kensington* several days, till they departed with content. A Parliament met about *S. Martin's-day*, but gave no Tax, nor did any thing extraordinary.

1391. The King of *France* considering the detriment that redounded to his Country by continual Dissentions with *England*, sent over an Embassage<sup>a</sup> about *Christmas* to make Proposals of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations. King *Richard* having taken advice with his Council about it, was much encouraged to compliance, and dismissed them with Promises of a speedy Treaty about it. Soon after their departure, the King by the like advice put out a Proclamation, pursuant to the Statute of Provisors made the last Parliament, and had it publish'd in *London*, commanding all beneficed Clergymen, who were *Englishmen* by Birth, and then resided in the Court of *Rome*, to return home within a Year, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Benefices; and if they were not beneficed, under certain other Punishments therein mentioned. This Proclamation

startled the Pope, and made him think that now the *English* began to be in earnest, and the Laws made against his profit would lie no longer dormant, as they had formerly done. Whereupon the Pope in anger sends his Nuncio over to the King, requiring him to abolish and repeal the said Statutes and Proclamation, so far as they tended to the derogation of the Church's Liberties; otherwise declaring, that he thought himself in Conscience obliged to proceed against all such Persons as had been instrumental in making those Laws according to the severity of the Canons. Moreover he insinuated to the King, that the late Propositions of Peace made by the *French* King were only intended to farther a design which he had contrived with the Antipope to make himself Emperor, and his Brothers the Dukes of *Turin* and *Anjou*, the one King of *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*, and the other King of *Sicily*; which Plot, if he could lull *England* asleep with hopes of a Peace till he he could effect, he should then be in a capacity of making himself absolute Master of all; which it concern'd *England* most to prevent, and therefore besought him to assist his Master against the *French* King, if he invaded *Italy* as he threaten'd to do. The King seem'd to give a favourable Ear to the Nuncio's words, and having communicated them to his Council, appointed him to stay till the Parliament met, which should be about *Michaelmas*, and then he should receive a full answer to all his Demands.

The Duke of *Glocester* went this Spring into *Prussia*, to the no small trouble of the People. He was always accounted the People's Darling, but it could not be imagined how much he had of the People's Affections before this Voyage; for his departure was as heavily taken as if the Sun had fallen from the Firmament, or the Happiness of the Nation were quite vanish'd with him. His Voyage was very rough and dangerous, as if Providence had been as much against it as the People; for he was carry'd by a violent Tempest upon the Coasts of *Norway* and *Denmark*, in his return, and at last with much difficulty arrived at *Tinmouth*, where he tarry'd a short time to refresh himself, and then return'd to his Mansion-house at *Piesbey*, receiving infinite Expressions of Joy for his safe arrival all along his Journey thither<sup>d</sup>.

This Summer many great Calamities afflicted the Nation, which seem'd to be presaged by some strange Clouds which cover'd the Sun for six weeks together, and much darken'd the Light of it. They first appear'd red and bloody, and remain'd all day upon the face of it; but at length they turn'd black, and remov'd at noon. Immediately upon the ceasing of this Prodigy follow'd both Pestilence and Famine. The Plague brake out in several parts of the Nation, but rag'd most in *Norfolk*, and about *Tork*. In that City there are said to have dy'd ten thousand, and in *Norfolk* a greater number. The Famine afflicted *London*, and the adjoining Countries chiefly, which were not so deeply infected with the Plague, but labour'd under so great a scarcity of Corn, that the Poor of the City were fed at the City-charge, two thousand Marks being taken out of the Orphan's Stock to buy Corn, and the twenty four Aldermen being forced to joyn twenty Pound a-piece for the same purpose, that the Wants of the Poor might not create them Troubles and Disturbances. They sold the Corn to such as had Money at a moderate price, and to such as lacked upon trust to be paid the next Year; and so not only preserved the

<sup>a</sup> This is *Polydore Virgil's* account, but he is not to be believ'd; and besides it appears by *Proissard's* Relation, that the Town was not taken.

<sup>b</sup> The great Chamberlain of *France*.

<sup>c</sup> *Boniface* the Ninth.

<sup>d</sup> The account of the Duke of *Glocester's* Voyage to *Prussia* is taken from *Holinshead*, but we do not find it in any authentick Author of those times.



A. D. 1391. Peace of the City, but obtained a good Opinion of all Men for their Charity and Care of the common Good. The Harvest brought an end of these Evils by its plenty; yet the unwholesome Food, which many had liv'd upon in the time of the Famine, cast them into Fluxes and other Distempers, whereof they dy'd in great multitudes. About this time *Henry Hotspur* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been some time Governour of *Callis*, was call'd home and made Warden of the *Marches of Scotland*, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham* was made Lieutenant in his place.

Eighteenth  
Parlia-  
ment, its  
Acts and  
Taxes.

The Parliament, according to the King's promise to the Pope's Nuncio, met on the day after the Feast of all *All-Souls* at *Westminster*. Several things were enacted in this Session to regulate Abuses about the Measures of Corn, the Jurisdiction of the Admiral, Encroachments of the Lords of Mannours upon Freeholders, and other matters of like nature. But the Law which was thought of greatest benefit at that time, and since hath done great service to the Church, was the Act then made about *Appropriations*. It seems that before this Parliament it was lawful to appropriate the whole Fruits and Profits of any Benefice to a Religious House, upon condition that the Abbot or Prior took care to have the Cure tolerably supply'd by his Monks or Fryars of the House. This bred many Inconveniences, viz. in that Hospitality was neglected, the Churches and Rectories delapidated, and Ministers were often wanting: Whereupon the Commons complain'd, and procur'd this Act, 'That in every License to be made hereafter in Chancery for the appropriation of any Church the Bishop of the Diocese should have power to reserve a convenient Sum of Money out of the Fruits and Profits of it to sustain the poor Parishioners of the said Church, and to endow a perpetual Vicar sufficiently to supply the Cure of Souls constantly. This Act was the original of most of our Vicarages, which tho' they are a contemptible maintenance for the Clergy, especially since the Obventions of the Altar are removed, yet have proved a very great support to the Church, the poorest Livings often producing the most painful and laborious Ministers. So that the Nation hath a great Reason to applaud this Act, because our Governours ever since have been so negligent in providing a better; for had we not had this, 'tis to be feared the Church would have had no provision at all in abundance of places where Vicarages now are.

The Pope's  
Nuncio an-  
swer'd by  
Parliament

The Pope's Complaint against the Statute of Provisors was prefer'd to the Lords and Commons, and the King and Duke of *Lancaster* laboured all they could to have it repealed; but by all their Interest and Intercession could not obtain it, the Provisions of the Pope being accounted an intolerable grievance to the Nation, yet by much Importunity it was allow'd, that the King by his Proclamation should have power to dispence with the Execution of the Statute till the next Parliament; by which Concession, tho' the Pope gained not so much as he desired, yet he had his ends, it being not very material whether the Lion be dead or no, if his Claws be cut off, and his Teeth knock'd out; for 'tis all one for a Law not to be at all, and not be executed. This Parliament granted the King a tenth from the Clergy, and a fifteenth from the Laity to support the Charges of the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was in the Lent following to go over to *Amiens* to treat of a final Peace with the King of *France* in person; and 'twas

thought necessary that he should be attended with a princely Equipage for the Honour of the Nation, and in respect to the King. And because an Invasion was fear'd from *Scotland*, therefore another tenth and fifteenth was granted, upon condition that it should not be gather'd, unless the *Scots* were so troublesome that an Expedition against them were judged necessary. And then the Parliament was dissolv'd, and sent home.

The King and Queen, with a great Concourse of the Bishops, Nobles and Ladies, kept their *Christmas* at *Langley* with mighty Magnificence and Splendour. On *Christmas*-day a large Dolphin of ten Foot long, and of a great bigness, was taken about *London*-Bridge; his coming so far up to land-ward was look'd upon as a Prefage of that tempestuous and stormy Weather which follow'd in a few days. Soon after *Christmas* the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Bishop of *Durham*, and several others of the Nobility, having with them a train of a thousand Horsemen, set forward towards *France*, to the place of Treaty at *Amiens*. The King of *France* having heard a great Character of him for his Wisdom and Prudence (and indeed he was one of the wisest and greatest Peers of those days) made as magnificent Preparations for his Reception, as if he had been the greatest Emperor in the World, and met him himself at *Amiens*, with his Brother the Duke of *Touraine*, and his Uncles the Dukes of *Berry*, *Bourbon*, and *Burgoyne*, and many other Peers of *France*. The Charges of the *English* Ambassadors and their Retinue was born by the *French* King from their coming from *Callis* till they return'd thither again. At the Treaty divers Propositions for Peace were made on each side, but both Parties were so cautious to settle an advantageous Peace to themselves, especially since it was to continue so long by agreement, that nothing was concluded farther, than that the Truce which was then on foot, and to end at *Midsummer*, should continue another Year, and in the mean time more effectual Counsels should be taken at the meeting of the next Parliament for the conclusion of the intended Peace; and so the Duke of *Lancaster* and his Retinue return'd home again. In the absence of the Duke, the King having expended his Treasure for this Embassy, was in want of Money, and sent to the Citizens of *London* to borrow of them One (or, as others say, Ten) thousand Pounds. The *Londoners*, unmindful of their Duty to their Prince, flatly deny'd to answer his Request themselves; and when they understood that an *Italian* Lombard, or Banker, had undertaken to furnish the King with the desired Sum, they beat and abused him so grossly that he was in danger of Death. The King was so displeas'd with this insolent and rude answer, that he propounded it to his Council, and desired their Advice how he should deal with them, and was encouraged to repress their disloyal and impudent Behaviour with Severity and Arms. But the King himself considering that the Denial it self was lawful (for 'twas not reasonable for him to force their Estates from them) tho' the manner of doing it was very unbecoming Subjects, wisely wav'd his Resentments till a fitter opportunity should offer it self to retaliate their Unkindness more deservedly upon them, which his watchful Eye soon found out.

Soon after the Duke of *Lancaster*'s arrival in *England*, the King call'd a great Council at *Stamford*, like a Parliament, for the King summon'd

\* *Froissard*, who was about that time in *England*, writes, That the Duke of *York* was joyn'd in this Commission with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and not the Bishop of *Durham*, as *Walsingham* relates; the former account is most probable, considering the high Quality of those they were to treat with.



A. D. 1392. some of the chief Men for Wisdom and Experience in most of the Towns of England, to consult about the Peace to be concluded with France, or resolve upon a War as soon as the current Truce was expired. The Duke of Lancaster put the King upon this Determination, because the King of France had engag'd him to hasten the Peace, that he might restore Leo King of Armenia, and subdue the other Barbarians, who were troublesome to Christendom. This Council had long and hot Debates among themselves about the Expediency and Conditions of the Peace propounded, but came to no Resolution; and so much the rather, because at that time the Duke of Gelderland, the King's Cousin, a valiant and stout Prince, came over; and advised the King to make no Agreement of Peace with the King of France, but upon such Conditions as were both advantageous and honourable to himself and Realm; promising him an Assistance of a considerable Body of Men, if he had occasion to make War either against the French or Scots. This Offer made the King, and whole Assembly, more indifferent to the Peace, and more resolute to obtain good Conditions if it went on.

Reg. 16. While these things were transacting for the publick Good, an unhappy Accident fell out at London; which from an inconsiderable beginning proceeded so far, as to make the Citizens as much stand in need of the King's Favour, as he did a little before of their Money. The Occasion was this: A Baker's Man carrying a Basket of Bread thro' Fleet-street to his Master's Customers, as he pass'd by the Bishop of Salisbury's Palace, had a Loaf taken out of his Basket by one Walter Roman the Bishop's Servant\*. The Baker concern'd at the Loss, endeavour'd to take it from the Man by force, but was worsted by the Servant, and wounded in the Scuffle. The People of the Street knowing that the Baker had received the Wrong, as well as the Abuse, gather'd together to apprehend the Bishop's Servant, and have him punished for the Breach of the Peace; but his Fellow Servants seeing him in danger, got him into the Palace, and secur'd him against them. The People without, being enrag'd more by this Rescue, first peaceably, by the Constable, demand'd the Servant that had thus wronged the Baker's Man; but they denying to resign him, the unruly Rabble, who loved not the Bishop, nor much feared him, tho' at that time Lord Treasurer, began to be very outrageous, endeavouring to force open the Gates, and because they had Resistance that they could not, threaten'd to fire them. The Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, had Information of this Tumult, and with all Care and Speed sought to repress it; but the Commons were grown so numerous, and so justly provok'd, that neither Force nor Persuasions would prevail a long time: But at last, by much Intreaty, they appeased them, and sent them quietly home. The Bishop himself was then with the King at Windsor, and soon receiv'd an Account of his Servants about this Tumult; which that it might not seem foul on their side, represented the Citizens as spitefully as they could. The Bishop, who hated them in general, because they were commonly reputed Favourers of Wickliffe, and so Enemies to the Church, entertain'd the Relation with much Passion; and having acquainted Thomas Arundel Archbishop of York, and then Lord Chancellor, with it, immediately preferred a grievous Com-

plaint of the City to the King, as if the Tumult had been encourag'd by the Heads of it, and was a malicious Outrage not only against the Church but State, he being both Treasurer and Bishop. The King, who kept his former Displeasure in his Breast, needed no Insigations upon so good an Occasion; but being farther incens'd by the Aggravations they made use of, was most furiously enrag'd and threaten'd to raze the City: But his Heat being allay'd by the Mediation of some of the Nobility, he sent for the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other chief Citizens to Court, and objected many Crimes and Disorders against them. They made a modest and plain Defence, but nothing would be accepted as sufficient; wherefore the Mayor was imprison'd at Windsor, and the rest of them sent to other Gaols, and all the Liberties and Privileges of the City seized into his own hands. The Authority of the Mayor was wholly removed, and the King put in a Governour under the Name of the Warden of the City. This Office was first conferred on Sir Edward Darlington, or as others say, Balerigge, on June 21. but he being thought to be too great a Friend to the Citizens, was in less than a Fortnight removed, and Sir Baldwin Radington plac'd in his room. He was a very prudent Man, and carry'd himself with such Austerity and Care, that he pleas'd both the King and City, and gave them some hopes, that by their contented Obedience to him and Submission to the King, they might in a little time obtain his Favour again. The Citizens, in this Condition, were very much discontented, and made humble Suit by the Queen, the Duke of Gloucester, the Bishop of London, and other noble Personages, to the King to be restored again to their ancient Liberties and Immunities. Who so far prevail'd at length with him by the Remembrance of their former good Services and rich Presents, that he sent for their Charter, and other Grants of Liberties to their City, which he caus'd to be diligently perus'd; and allowing some, and cancelling others, restor'd the City again to their ancient State and Favour, excepting their Government by a Mayor, which they could not obtain, till at several times they presented the King with two thousand Marks of Gold, and ten thousand Pound in Silver: So that in the end, the Denial of lending ten thousand Pound<sup>a</sup> cost them above as much more, and that Favour which they might have gotten by mere Compliance, they were forced to buy at a dear rate, and glad they could so attain it. This Reconciliation being finish'd, the Mayor, and Sheriffs, were chosen again after their usual manner, and the Terms which had been removed from Westminster to York, were again restored. The Bishop of London, who had had a principal Interest in making this Peace, was much honoured by the Citizens all his Life for it; and after his Death the Mayor, Aldermen, and many chief Citizens, according to their Companies, went nine times a Year in a solemn Procession to Westminster, where he lay bury'd, to pray for his Soul and the Souls of all Christians, as a grateful return of his Kindness to them.

The Irish about this time revolted from their Subjection, and the Duke of Gloucester being first made Duke of Ireland, was furnish'd with Money to raise an Army for an Expedition thither; which he did with all imaginable Care, and had gotten a very great Force ready to pass thither. His great Name had almost subdu'd all the Re-

\* In Caxton's Chronicle 'tis one of the Bishop of London's Servants. Sir John Hayward, in his Life of Henry IV. agrees with Holinshead, That 'twas the Bishop of Salisbury's.

John Waltham.

Which was then at Nottingham.

<sup>a</sup> Walsingham says it was but one.



A. D. 1392. <sup>1392.</sup> bels, before his Passage over thither, for the chief Leaders of the Revolters had determin'd to submit themselves to him as soon as he arriv'd. But the Enemies of the Duke envying him the Honour of being so great a Benefactor to the common Good, prevail'd with the King so that he was countermanded, to the great Grief of the Commons, and Damage of both Kingdoms<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1393.</sup> A little after *Christmas* the Parliament met at *Winchester*, and divers good Acts for the publick Benefit were made; as concerning Merchant-Strangers, Weights, and Measures; Freedom of Freeholders from Suit and Service in the Lords Courts, and the Acts to punish such as obtained Pardons for Murther, Treasons, and Rapes, repealed. But the Act of greatest Fame, was the Statute called the Statute of *Præmunire*, made this Session, by and in which it was enacted, 'That whereas the Bishop of *Rome*, under a Pretence of an absolute Supremacy over the Church, took upon him to dispose by his Mandates of most of the Bishopricks, Abbacies, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices of Worth in *England*; and if the Bishops did, upon the Legal Presentments of the Patrons of such Benefices, institute any Clerks to them, they were thereupon excommunicated by the Pope, to the great Damage and unjust Wrong of the King's good Subjects. And whereas the Bishop of *Rome* took upon him to translate and remove the said Bishops either out of the Realm, or from one See to another within the Realm, without the Knowledge of the King, or Consent of the Bishops themselves. If any Person shall purchase, or cause to be purchased in the Court of *Rome*, any such Translations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Instruments, to the Detriment of the King and his Realm, both they, and such as bring, receive, notifie, or put them in Execution, shall be put out of the King's Protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, forfeited to the King, and their Bodies attach'd, if they can be found, Process being made out against them by the Writ called *Præmunire facias*, as is ordain'd in other former Statutes of Provisors. This Statute was badly resented at *Rome* by the Pope, who was very peevish for the Statute of Mortmain, and other less severe Acts against his Incroachment made a little before; but this put him into such a Fury, that he immediately sent a Letter to the Duke of *Bedford*, wherein he calls the Act it self *Execrabile Statutum*, a cursed Statute, and the passing of it, *Fædum & turpe facinus*, a wicked and base Act. In this Parliament the Laity gave the King no Tax, but the Clergy yielded him half a Tenth to furnish out the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester* for their Negotiation into *France*, to compleat the Peace between the two Kingdoms, by which they shewed their Duty to their Prince and Zeal for Peace.

The Duke of Ireland died at Lovain. In the time of this Session Robert de Vere Earl of *Oxford*, and Duke of *Ireland*, died at *Lovain* in *Brabant* in great Anguish of Mind and Poverty, and the King conferred his Honour of Earl of *Oxford* upon his Uncle, the Lord *Aubery de Vere*. By the Death also of *John Eures*, Con-

stable of *Dover* Castle, and Lord Steward of the King's House, several Promotions were made at Court: For the Lord *Thomas Peirce*, who was Vice-Chamberlain, was raised to be the Lord High Steward; the Lord *Thomas Beaumont* was made Constable of *Dover* Castle and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and the Lord *William Scroop* was made Vice-Chamberlain, and soon after bought the Regality of the Isle of *Man* (for that Isle was reputed a Kingdom, and the Lords of it are crown'd with a Crown of Gold) of the Lord *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, but he only held it for his own Life.

In the Spring of this Year the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, the Earl of *Darby*, and several other Peers<sup>d</sup>, passed over to *Callis* in order to finish the Treaty then in hand. They had a full Commission to conclude a Peace both by Sea and Land between the Kingdoms of *England* and *France* and their Allies. The Commissioners for the King of *France* were the Dukes of *Burgogne* and *Berry*: The Place of Treaty was *Balingham*<sup>e</sup>, where were stately Tents erected for their meeting. Here they met several days together, and after their Commissions were looked into, Proposals were laid down and argu'd on both sides. The *Frenchmen* required to have *Callis* razed, but the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester* answer'd, That they had no Power to treat in that Matter, and that they knew that their Master would hold it in Demesne and Inheritance; and if they intended to conclude the Peace, they must not mention it any farther, which smart Reply put an end to that Demand. Then the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester* insisted, That the Countries on that side, which had of late been either in the Possession of King *Edward III.* or King *Richard* their Master, should be restored, and the *Florens* which were left unpaid by reason of the War, should now be paid; which the *English* Lawyers proved to be agreeable to Reason and Equity. But the *Frenchmen* argu'd much against it, and would by no means yield to neither: So that their Debates were adjourned for nine days, that the Kings on both sides might be acquainted with what they had done. The Duke of *Glocester*, who was for no Peace with *France*, but upon very good Terms; for which Reason the People desired that he might be a Commissioner, was very resolute to have no Peace, unless the former Conditions were granted. But the *French* King, and Nobles, as well as King *Richard* and the Duke of *Lancaster*, were very desirous to bring it to an end, and so a Truce at their next meeting was made for four Years; and had not the King of *France* fallen suddenly into his old Disease of the *four Years* Frenzy, it is thought a longer and firmer Peace had been concluded, tho' without the Consent of the Duke of *Glocester*, who in his heart was wholly for War with *France*; which having brought so much advantage to the Nation formerly, was most desir'd by the People, whom the Duke sought to please above all things.

After the Conclusion of this Truce the King made Sir *Thomas Peirce*, the younger, Lord War-den of *Bordeaux* and *Aquitain*, and sent him thither: The Nation also suffer'd much by Tempests and excessive Rains. There were such vio-

<sup>a</sup> *Holinhead*, from whom our Author has taken this Event, says the Duke of *Glocester* was created Duke of *Ireland*; but that is very much to be doubted, the rather, for that the Earl of *Oxford*, on whom King *Richard* had bestow'd that Title, was not then dead; and tho' he was attainted, yet King *Richard* lov'd him still too well to give his Honour to his Enemy: Besides, that Title was so odious, that the Duke of *Glocester* would hardly have accepted of it; and no good Author, except *Holinhead*, has taken notice of it.

<sup>b</sup> There was no Duke of *Bedford* at that time, the first that bore that Title was *John Brocher* to *Henry V.* and after his Death Regent of *France*.

<sup>c</sup> Neither the House of *Mountacute*, nor that of *Stanly*, were permitted to wear a Crown of Gold; the *Regalia* being only a Leaden Crown, and the Robes that belong to them as Peers of *England*.

<sup>d</sup> The Archbishop of *York* and Bishop of *London*.

<sup>e</sup> *Leulingham* between *Callis* and *Bologne*.



A. D. 1393. lent Thunders and Lightnings in many parts, especially about *Cambridgeshire*, that many Houses and Stacks of Corn (for the Harvest was but just past) were beat down, and burnt by them. In other parts such abundance of Rain fell, especially about *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and *New-Market*, that the Floods carry'd away many Bridges and Houses. The Pestilence raged in *Essex*, and swept away great Multitudes. Other things happen'd also concurrent with these accidents. The Lord *Rofs* returning out of the *Holy-land* dy'd at *Paphos*. The Town of *Chierburg*, which was engaged to King *Richard* for the payment of two thousand Marks<sup>a</sup> by the King of *Navarr*, was restored to the said King upon the payment of the said Sum. Three *Scotch* Gentlemen also challenged three *Englisch* to fight at Jufts, viz. the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Nottingham*; Sir *William Darrell* the King of *Scots* Banner-bearer, Sir *Peirce Courtney* the King of *England's* Standard-bearer; and one *Cockburn* Esq; Sir *Nicholas Hawkirke*. In this Tryal of Manhood the *Englisch* were Victors, for the Earl of *Mar* and *Cockburn* were unhorsed by their Opponents, the former being so bruised and wounded by the fall, that he dy'd in his return home; *Darrell* ran five Courses, and was so equally match'd, that they neither were Victors.

1394. Twentieth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes. A Parliament met at *Westminster* a little after the Feast of *St. Hilary*, and after some things of common concern were enacted, the King growing weary of the Charge which he was at to maintain his Dominions in *Ireland* against the rebellious Natives, desired a Tax to enable him to make an Expedition into that Nation to reduce it by force; for as it now stood, 'twas an insupportable Burthen to *England*, the King being yearly at thirty thousand Pound charge to preserve the Dominion of that Island, which had brought formerly thirty thousand Pound a Year into his Treasury. The Houses yielded to his desires, and the Clergy granted him a tenth if he went into *Ireland*, but half a tenth only if he went not. In this Parliament the Duke of *Lancaster* accused the Earl of *Arundel* of encouraging and assisting the Commons of *Chester* against him, lying in his Castle of *Holt* by *Chester* with a Body of Men, while the People under one *Nicholas Clifton* assaulted the Duke's House. But the Earl of *Arundel* flatly deny'd that he had the least Intention that way, and gave such probable Reasons in his own defence, that he was clear'd of any such design, and by the mediation of certain great Persons was perfectly reconcil'd to the Duke.

The King immediately after the Dissolution of this Parliament made a speedy preparation for his Expedition into *Ireland*; but when he was almost ready his beloved Queen *Ann* dy'd at *Sbene* near *Richmond* in *Surry*, which put a stop to his proceedings awhile; for as he was always fond of her while she liv'd, so he was passionately griev'd for her when she dy'd; of which he gave this memorable proof, 'That he curs'd the place of her Death, and so hated it ever after; that he would never come there, but commanded the Buildings to be demolished. And indeed she is said to be a Princess of so great Worth both for Virtue and Piety, that the greatest Love was but her due. In the blind Age she liv'd in, she enjoy'd Light, and could not endure the implicit Devotion of the *Romish* Church. She had the Gospels in *Englisch*, and several of the best Expositors upon them. She favour'd *Wickliffe's* Doctrines,

and had several of his Books, which after her A. D. Death being carry'd by her Maids into *Bohemia*, 1394. were a means of promoting the Reformation there. She was bury'd at *Westminster*, and a Sermon preach'd at her Interment by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *York*, in which he commends her for her great pains in the study of Scripture, and reading Godly Books, in which, said he, she was more diligent than the Prelates themselves, tho' their Office and Business required it. Her Funerals being celebrated, the King, tho' full of Sorrow, went on in his design, which had been put off for some Months; and having by Proclamation commanded all *Irishmen* to depart the Kingdom before the Nativity of our Lady, *Sept. 8.* about *Michaelmas* he set forward for *Ireland*, attended by the Duke of *Glocester*, Earls of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, *Thomas* Lord *Peirey*, and divers others, his Army consisting of four thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot. The Duke of *Lancaster* was not with him, because the King had a little before given the Dukedom of *Aquitain* to him and his Heirs, and sent him with five hundred Men at Arms and a thousand Archers to take possession of it. The King landed at *Waterford* in the beginning of *October*, and encamped his Army<sup>b</sup> very warily, expecting a vigorous assault from the Enemy at first; but they perceiving themselves too weak to oppose so strong an Army in a pitch Battel, did nothing against him but by surprize, falling suddenly upon some part of their Camp, or upon straggling Forragers, and lurking in their boggy Woods and Mountains when they advanced against them; by which, tho' they sav'd their Persons, yet they left their Estates and Towns expos'd to the Mercy of the *Englisch*, who so well used the advantage, that the *Irish* were forced to come in and submit themselves to the King to save their Estates. The chief of them were four Kings, viz. *O-neal* the Great, King of *Meath*, *Brine* King of *Thomond*, *Arthur Macmur* King of *Lempster*, and *Conbur* King of *Cheveno* and *Darp*, whom he courteously entertain'd and kept with him, lest they should relapse into their former disobedience, if they return'd to their People again. He kept his Christmas at *Dublin*, and at the end of that Feast held a Parliament there, calling all his Subjects to it, as well those who had lately submitted, as those who had continu'd in their Loyalty, that by his impartial favour he might equally oblige them to Fidelity for the future.

About the Feast of *Epiphany*, the Duke of *York* 1395. the King's Uncle, who was Lord-Warden of *England*, called a Parliament by the King's Order to provide him farther Supplies to carry on his Expedition, and the Duke of *Glocester* was sent over to represent to the Parliament the state of the King's Affairs, and desire another Tax. There needed little Rhetorick to persuade, when the Reason and Condition of things required it, and therefore they readily granted a tenth of the Clergy and a fifteenth of the Laity for the King's supply; yet humbly petitioning, that the Settlement of things in *Ireland* might be effected as soon as possible. Other matters were put off till the King's return, and so the Parliament was dismissed without making any Acts of publick concern. Yet while it sat, the Followers of *Wickliffe*, then call'd *Lollards*, being grown numerous among the common People, and having gotten some Friends in the Houses, by which they were encouraged to attempt a Reformation of the Dis-

<sup>a</sup> Froissard tells us it was sixty thousand Nobles.

<sup>b</sup> Consisting of thirty thousand Men.



A. D. 1395. orders of the Churchmen both in Doctrine and Manners, preferred several Conclusions to the Parliament in opposition to the present Orders and Tenets in the Church, not without some assurances of success. They were twelve in number, and delivered in Words to this effect:

1. That Pride, through the greatness of the Temporalities, daily increased in the Church, and Faith, Hope and Charity decayed.
2. That the present Priesthood was not the Priesthood of Christ's Institution.
3. That the Celibacy of the Priests was the cause of Sodomy, Whoredom, and other foul Sins.
4. That Transubstantiation engaged Christians in a brutish Idolatry.
5. That Exorcisms and Consecrations were not of divine Appointment, but magical Incantations.
6. That it was very unseemly for Prelates to be Justices of Peace, and Curates civil Officers.
7. That Prayers for the Dead were a bad motive of Almsh-giving.
8. That Pilgrimages to Crucifixes, to our Lady's Image, &c. were Idolatrous.
9. That Auricular Confession makes Priests arrogant and proud, and is an encouragement of Sin.
10. That Manlaughter and War for Temporal Gains, or Religion sake, is unlawful.
11. That Womens Vows of Chastity produced much Sin.
12. That multitudes of Arts and Trades which were not necessary, were a means of begetting much Pride and Vanity among Christians.

These Positions, which at the same time were fixed upon S. Paul's Church-doors, found a very favourable Reception in the Houses, and had so great a Party for them, that the Prelates were afraid all their gainful Doctrines and Practices, which were levell'd at in them, would not be long tolerated if the King did but consent to the Majority of the Members, as it was likely he would unless he could be otherwise engaged. This being the only way left, as they imagin'd, to support their tottering Church, *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *York*, and *Robert Braybrooke* Bishop of *London*, sent as was supposed by *William Courtney* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Clergy, made a Voyage into *Ireland* to the King, to complain of the Insolence and Prevalency of the *Hereticks*, as they call'd them, and to beseech him to engage his Power in the defence of the Church and Religion, which without his assistance was in great danger of being ruin'd. The King, who was always zealous for the Religion he had been train'd up in, gave much attention to the Bishop's Importunities, and promising them his Protection, compos'd his Affairs in *Ireland* as fast as he could, and return'd about *Easter* into *England*.

The King's  
Actions a-  
gainst the  
Lollards.

Soon after his arrival he began to look into the Grounds of the Bishop's Complaint against the *Lollards*, and finding that some of his own Servants and Officers, viz. *Sir Richard Story*, *Sir Lewis Clifford*, *Sir Thomas Latimer*, and *Sir John Montacute*, had been most forward to encourage and uphold them, he called them before him, and made them severally swear, that they would not from thence forward hold or maintain any such erroneous Opinions; adding himself, that if they were found again to do it, they should certainly die for it. Having thus laid a restraint and check upon the chief Abettors of the *Hereticks*, he proceeded to suppress them, by giving the Bishops a Charge to execute their Offices diligently in their Diocesses, according to the Canon, to cor-

rect all Offenders, search out and examine all *English* Books, root out all erroneous Teachers and Doctrines with all their endeavours, and to bring all the People into the Unity of the Catholic Faith. And that the Laity as well as Clergy might advance this holy Design, as he accounted it, he sent out a Commission into all and every Shire of the Kingdom, appointing certain Persons zealous for the Church, to be Searchers out of the *Lollards*, their Favourers and Books, charging them to use their utmost diligence and care to find them; and when they have apprehended any, to commit them to the next Gaol till he should give farther Orders concerning them. The King was the more zealous in this matter, because Pope *Boniface* had by his Letters besought him to assist the Bishops in suppressing this Sect, and recommended it to him as a most meritorious Action; yet his Subjects did not shew as much Zeal in persecuting them, as the King did to excite them to it. The Archbishop indeed was active, and began immediately a metropolitan Visitation, in which he made a strict search for the *Lollards* and their Books, solemnly excommunicated all such Persons as maintained, or caused to be maintained, any of the Errors or Opinions of Mr. *John Wickliffe* at the Cathedral in *Lincoln* and *Leicester-Abby*, and made several to recant, and do penance for holding the said Opinions at *Oxford* and other places. But we do not find that there were any Prosecutions of them by the Laity, nor several of the Bishops; so that tho' the King had depriv'd them of his Protection, God may seem to have made their Enemies at peace with them.

This Spring the *French* King being in some doubts which of the Antipopes was to be acknowledged for the Head of the Church, called a General Council of all his most able Divines at *Paris*, and required their Decision of the dispute that was among the Christian Princes about it. The Divines, after much and serious Debate, determin'd, That Pope *Clement* was lawfully chosen, and ought to be accepted as the Head of the Church; and confirmed this their Judgment by the University of *Paris* Seal. The King of *France* having so good an Authority for adhering to *Clement*, sent a Copy of their Decision to King *Richard*, hoping to bring him over to acknowledge him; but King *Richard* would not subscribe to their Resolution till he had the Judgment of his own Divines upon it, of whom he summon'd immediately a Convocation of the ablest and most learned at *Oxford*. These, after mature Consideration of the Arguments of the contrary Party, made a contrary Determination for *Urban* and his Successors, and warranted their Judgment with the University-Seal; by which means the Breach in the Church was made more incurable than it was before, and the Schism much more justifiable.

This Summer the *Danish* Rovers much infested the *British* Seas, and did great mischief on the Coasts, plundering the Ships, and robbing the Sea-Towns. On the Coasts of *Norfolk* they set upon certain Ships belonging to the Merchants of *Norwich*, and took them, their Cargo being valu'd at twenty thousand Pound. This Wrong so incensed the Inhabitants of those parts, that they mann'd out some Ships to fight them; but after a sharp Engagement were defeated, and many of them taken Prisoners, whom they re-

\* *Sir Richard Story* and *Sir Thomas Latimer* were Members of Parliament, and deliver'd the *Lollard's* Address to the House of Commons.



A. D. 1395. deemed at a dear rate; and so they returned home enriched by Ransoms, and laden with the plunder'd Goods of the *English*. *William Courtney* also Archbishop of *Canterbury*, purchased a Bull of the Pope to levy 4 d. per Pound upon all the Spiritual Promotions and Benefices within his Province; which tho' it was generally disliked and disgusted by the Clergy, yet was paid by most of them thro' Fear, the Prebendaries of *Lincoln* being only excepted, who looking upon it as an unreasonable Exaction, utterly deny'd to pay it, and appealed to the Pope; but the Archbishop's Death prevented the farther Progress of the Controversie, which would have proved much more chargeable to them had it continu'd. His Death was esteem'd no small Security for the Followers of *Wickliffe*, to whom he was a bitter Enemy. *John Waltham* also Bishop of *Salisbury* and Lord Treasurer died, and was by the King's Order buried in *Westminster* among the Kings, and *Roger Walden* Secretary of State, and Treasurer of *Callis*, was put in his place. In the latter end of this Year, the King out of the Love he still retained to the Duke of *Ireland* after his decease, had his Corps fetch'd from *Brabant* where it lay ignobly interred, and brought into *England* for a more honourable Burial. It was first embalmed, and richly adorned with Robes, a Chain of Gold about his Neck, and rich Rings on his Fingers; and being put in a Cypress Coffin, the King himself came to view his Body, and to shew his Affection to him, looked on his bare Face and touched him. His Body, after some time, was interred at *Coln-Priory* in *Essex*; the King himself, with the Countess of *Oxford* his Mother, several Bishops and Abbots attending his Corps thither. Very few, or none of the Nobility, would shew any Respect to his Reliques, for the Hatred they bore to him when he was alive; the Memory of the Person being detestible, whom they found so great an Enemy to the common Good, so long as he was in Power and Favour.

The Duke of *Lancaster* being arriv'd in *Aquitain* summon'd the Lords and chief Inhabitants of the great Towns, and declar'd to them the Gift of the King of *England* to him, that their Country was given to him and his Heirs for an Inheritance, and desir'd their peaceable Submission to him as their Supreme Lord. But they returned him answer, That their Country was inseparably united to the Crown of *England*, and would never submit to him otherwise than as the King of *England*'s Lieutenant. The Duke insisted upon his Gift, but would use no force to compel them to Subjection, unless it were the more lasting ones of Kindness and Moderation; but they constantly stood upon it, that they had ever been govern'd by Kings, and could not be alienated from the Crown of *England* without a Violation of the King's Coronation Oath, and therefore would never submit to those Terms. At length an Embassy was sent to the King about the Controversie, and tho' the Duke of *Glocester* (more to keep his Brother out of the Nation, than out of Love to Justice or to his Brother's Interests) pressed the inviolable Na-

ture of the King's Grant to his Brother; yet the Arguments of the People of *Aquitain* were so prevalent with the King, that it was decreed, That the Country and Dutchy of *Aquitain* should always remain in the Demesne of the Crown of *England*, lest at length it should fall into the hand of some Stranger; but the Duke remain'd there governing as the King's Deputy, which Station he manag'd so well, that he gain'd the Love and willing Submission of all the People, being wise, liberal and moderate, so that lest the Grant which the King had so lately recall'd should be obtain'd against his Will, he sent for him home, and eas'd himself of that Jealousie; for tho' the Duke had been at great Expence to purchase their Favour, yet he chose rather to lose his Money than Loyalty, and so returned to the King at *Langley*, where he kept his Christmas. He stay'd a little at Court, and then retreated to his own House at *Lincoln*, where he marry'd the Lady *Katharine Swinford*, who had been his Concubine in his Wife's days, and born him two Sons *Thomas* and *Henry*, and one Daughter, whom he named *Beaufort*. This Match was much disliked by the Court Ladies, and the Dutches of *Glocester*, Countesses of *Warwick*, *Arundel* and *Darby*, particularly disdain'd her; but her prudent Behaviour conquer'd their Passions, and she became very grateful to them in a short time.

While these things were transacting abroad, the King's Mind inclin'd to a second Marriage; and because he very much desir'd a firm Peace with *France*, he determin'd to chuse a Wife in that Court, which was the likeliest way to effect his design; and to that end sent an Embassy by the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Marshall*, and the Lords *Beaumont*, *Spencer* and *Clifford*, to treat of a Marriage between himself and the Lady *Isabel* the French King's Daughter, who was then but eight Years old. The Proposition was very joyfully accepted, and tho' the Lady had been a little before promis'd to the Duke of *Britain*'s Son in Marriage, yet because this was likely to prove a more advantageous and honourable Match, and would in all Probability settle that Peace, which was so earnestly desired by the *French* as well as *English*, an Expedient was resolv'd upon to dissolve the former Contract, and she was assured to the King of *England*. The Embassadors having been sumptuously entertain'd, and their Charges born by the French King, so long as they were in his Country, returned home with this favourable Answer and Promise, to the great Joy of their Master.

Pope *Boniface* the IX. who was some time since got into the Papal Chair at *Rome*, after Pope *Urban*'s decease, by which means the Schism was still upheld, having received Information of the Bishops of *England*, that the Followers of *Wickliffe*, notwithstanding all former Endeavours to suppress them, grew more numerous, and were spread almost into all parts of the Nation; the Bishops wanting Power to inflict what their Zeal was ready to do, wrote a second pathetic and earnest Letter to King *Richard* to assist the Bishops in the Cause of God,

<sup>a</sup> *Froissart*, Vol. IV. Chap. 61. writes he was in the Court of *England* when these Deputies arriv'd from *Aquitain*, and that the reason of their desiring not to be alienated from the Crown was, because they depended chiefly upon it for Assistance and Protection.

<sup>b</sup> *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, the Duke of *Lancaster*'s Son, was for granting the Petition of the Deputies of *Aquitain*, and annulling the Donation of that Dutchy to his Father.

<sup>c</sup> The Embassadors had no other Answer from the French King at this time, than that he thank'd his Brother of *England* for his good Will, but that the Lady was too young, and besides was affianc'd to the Duke of *Bretagne*, which former Agreement must be dissolv'd before another could be treated of. They carry'd this Answer to their Master, and being sent back with new Proposals, concluded the Treaty of Marriage and Truce.



A. D. 1396. as he call'd it, against the Heretical Teachers of his Realm; and to take care, that the late Statutes of Provifors, called the *Premunire* and *Quare impedit* Acts, should be taken away and abolish'd. But we do not find, that this Letter produced any of the desired Effects, the King being otherwise taken up with Matters of State, especially about his Marriage. The Pope at the same time sent over a Recovatory Bull to recall and confine all such Monks again to their several Orders, as had formerly purchased the Privileges of being his Chaplains, either of himself, or of his Nuncios, by which they were exempted from the Rules of their Profession. This was very ungrateful News to the Purchasers, but very acceptable to the Fryars, who were confin'd to their Cloysters: For they were forced with Shame and Loss to return to their Monasteries.

King Richard's Marriage, and the Peace between England and France settled.

The King having been encourag'd in his Proposals of a Marriage in the French Court, was not sluggish in the pursuit of it, but in the beginning of the Spring sent the former Embassadors necessary for the Completion of it; of which one was, That a Truce for thirty Years should be firmly enter'd into by both Nations. These Articles were easily assented to by both sides, and the Lady being marry'd to the Earl Marshal<sup>a</sup> in the Name of Richard King of England by Letters of Proxy, was from thenceforth called the *Queen of England*. Things being thus concluded in a manner, the King himself (now having enter'd the 20th Year of his Reign) took his Journey to *Callis* to perfect all things that had been assented to on both sides: He had with him his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, with a great number of Peers and Gentlemen. The Place appointed for the Treaty was between *Guifnes*, a Town on the Borders of the *English* Pale, and *Arde* which was on the Confines of the *French* Territories, rich Pavilions being there erected for the two Kings: The King of *France* came down with the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Berry*, *Britain*, and *Burbon*. About the end of *October*, the two Kings having first solemnly swore to observe the Laws of Amity at this Interview, came to a Conference about the Peace; and having at several Meetings concluded and agreed on a Peace for thirty Years<sup>b</sup>, upon certain Conditions, they solemnly swore upon the Evangelists to observe and keep it faithfully. Then the King of *France*, with his own hands, deliver'd his Daughter to King *Richard*, who thankfully received her, protesting that he took her as the Token of a perpetual Peace between the two Nations; and then delivering her to the Dutchesses of *Lancaster*<sup>c</sup> and *Glocester*, with other great Ladies, had her convey'd honourably to *Callis*. The two Kings remained certain days in their Pavilions feasting each other, and then with solemn leave taken departed home. King *Richard* returned to *Callis*, where he staid a few days, till he was marry'd by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in *S. Nicholas's* Church, and then sailed with his Queen to *Dover*, and so went forward to *London*. The Mayor and Aldermen

of that City having notice of the King's Arrival with his new Queen, met them at *Black-beath* in their Robes, with a select number of Citizens in rich embroidered Liveries, and conducted him to *Kensington*, where he lodg'd that Night, and continu'd some time. About *Christmas* the Queen pass'd by Water to the *Tower*, and on the sixth of *January* was crown'd at *Westminster* with all the State and Magnificence that could be devised suitable for so great an Occasion. The Marriage and Coronation being thus compleated, there appeared a general Satisfaction in all Persons, unless in the Duke of *Glocester*, who shewed much Discontent in his Words and Actions, both at the King's Marriage and Settlement of Peace, which displeased the King; and so much the more, because he advised the *Londoners* not to pay the Tax granted for a War with *France*, because there was Peace; which they had follow'd, had not the Duke of *Lancaster* assur'd them that the Peace was settled at great Expence<sup>d</sup>.

Soon after *Christmas*, on the Feast of *S. Vincent*, a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and enacted several things necessary for the common Good, viz. That forasmuch as many Mischiefs were done by Persons who rode armed, it was forbidden all Persons as well Lords as Commons, to go or ride by Night or Day armed, except the King's Officers in doing their Duty. And that Justice might be administer'd without Favour and Affection, it was enacted, That no Lord, or other Person, should sit upon the Bench with the Judges of Assize under great Penalties, lest their Preference should influence or byass them in their Office. And because the Commons had been much oppress'd by certain Persons, who pretended themselves to be the King's Messengers, and took their Horses out of their Carts to ride about their own Business, therefore it was enacted, That none should take any such Horse without the Consent of the Owner: And lastly, That it should be lawful for the Judges *Belknap*, *Holt*, and *Burgh*, to return from their Exile into *England*, notwithstanding the Statute made in the eleventh Year of this King; which being contrary to his Oath, made to the Lords in that Parliament, begat some Discontents among his Subjects. In this Parliament the Duke of *Lancaster* obtain'd a private Act, to legitimate the Children which he had begotten on the Lady *Katharine Swinford* before his Marriage with her, and his eldest Son by her, *Thomas Beaufort*, was made Duke of *Somerset*<sup>e</sup>. In the Parliament Rolls of this Session there is also recorded a Declaration of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, for themselves and the Clergy of their Provinces; That forasmuch as at their Enstallment they were sworn to be obedient and faithful to the Pope and See of *Rome*, if any thing were attempted in Parliament in prejudice or restraint of the same, they would not assent to it, but withstand it with all their force: And this Protestation they desired might be enrolled, which was done accordingly. Some things that concern'd the Church were enacted by this Parliament, viz. At the Petition of the Begging Fryars it was ordain'd, That none of

A. D. 1396.

1397.

Second Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

For. or Rot. Parl. in Tor. Lond. Tit. 22, 23.

<sup>a</sup> *Thomas de Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*.  
<sup>b</sup> The Truce formerly mention'd to be for thirty Years was but for twenty eight, and that Truce was only continu'd now two Years longer, and it was no Peace but a Cessation of Arms. *Froissard*.  
<sup>c</sup> *Katherine Swinford*.  
<sup>d</sup> No less than three hundred thousand Pounds much more than her Portion. *Sir John Hayward*, *Hen. IV.*  
<sup>e</sup> He was only created Earl of *Somerset*, and *Cambden* in his *Brit. Tit. Somersetshire*, says his Name was *John de Beaufort*; *Thomas de Beaufort*, as the same Author writes, *sub Tit. Dorsetshire*, was younger Brother to *John de Beaufort*, and was first created Earl of *Dorset*, and afterwards Duke of *Exeter*.

their



A. D. 1397. their Order should pass over the Sea, to Rome or elsewhere, without a special License from their Sovereign; nor take upon them the Degree or Title of Master in Divinity without being first posed and examined in a Provincial Chapter, upon pain of being put out of the King's Protection. As also that the King's Officers for making Arrests or Attachments in Church-yards should be excommunicated. For these Acts the Clergy gave the King a tenth alone, and so the Parliament was sent home.

Breft restored to the D. of Britain, for which the D. of Gloucester reproach'd the King.

The Duke of Britain, a little after the Dissolution of the Parliament, whether upon any private Agreement made at the Treaty at *Ards*, or merely according to the first Condition, sent over to King Richard a certain Sum of Money, for the payment of which he had engaged the Haven of *Breft*, and delivered it up to him, to discharge that Debt, and recover the Town to himself again; King Richard accordingly received the Money, and resigned it to him. The Duke of Gloucester knowing the place to be an Haven of Importance to the *English*, was very angry at this unusual piece of Justice among Princes; and being at Court one day, where he saw many of the Soldiers that were lately come from *Breft*, and had no way to live, crowding into the Hall, told the King, 'That those poor Men had been ill paid, and now having no Employment, knew not how to live. The King reply'd, 'That it was not his fault, but he would take care they should be paid. The Duke answer'd, 'That it had been better they had continued where they were; he should first have taken a Town by his own Valour and Conduct, before he had resigned what his Ancestors had left to him. This Reflection fell sharply upon the King, who changing Countenance immediately, said, *What is it you say, Uncle?* The Duke then repeated the same words again; whereupon the King in a great Passion, reply'd, 'Think you that I am a Fool, or Merchant, to sell my Land? No; By *S. John Baptist*, no: But our Cousin the Duke of Britain having paid the Sums for which the Town and Haven of *Breft* were engaged to me, Reason and good Conscience required that I should restore it. This Answer, tho' reasonable, did not take away the Resentment of the Affront which the Duke's Words made upon the King's Spirit, but he hated him ever after for the Brand of Cowardise he had laid upon him.

Earl of S. Paul comes into England, and advised the King against the Duke of Gloucester.

Before the King's Passions were cool'd throughly, *Guido Earl of S. Paul*, who was sent by *Charles the French King* to visit and compliment King Richard and his Queen, arriv'd at the Court, and after a short time was admitted into great Familiarity with the King, partly through his own Officioufness, and partly by the Troubles of the King's Mind, which made him not very choice to whom he unburthen'd his Discontents. With this Earl the King being one day discoursing, complain'd to him of the mutinous and factious Behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester his Uncle towards him, viz. 'That he openly disliked his Marriage, and used his utmost Endeavours to break the Peace so happily concluded between *France* and *England*, by stirring up a Rebellion among his Subjects. The Earl knowing that generally nothing is so pleasant to rooted Passions as Revenge, which would be sweeten'd in this Case by necessary Policy,

gave the King this Advice, 'That he had no way to secure himself, and the Peace of his Kingdom, but by taking away his Life; for when a Subject is grown so Great and Popular, it is impossible for a King to be safe so long as he is alive. The King easily assented to this Counsel, and that he might not want Pleas enough to justify what he had in a manner fully resolv'd to execute, he observ'd every word and action of the Duke more narrowly than formerly; and taking every thing in the worst sense, as Jealousie and desire of Revenge suggested, thought him such a diseas'd Member as could not be cur'd but by cutting off. To make way for this he complain'd very grievously of him to his Brethren, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, with others of the Nobility; but as in all of them he found a good Opinion of the Duke, so his Brethren told him, 'That tho' their Brother Gloucester was somewhat rash in his Words, yet they knew him to be of truly loyal Principles, really studious of his Majesty's and Realm's Happiness, and that he would not act any thing prejudicial to either. These words so much allay'd the King's Anger, that had not ill Instruments apply'd themselves to blow the Coals afresh, all Animosities had been quite bury'd. But a little after, being inform'd by the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Huntington*, that the Duke of Gloucester was much dissatisfied that his own Counsels were not follow'd, and had utter'd many seditious Speeches, as, That the King was misled by evil Counsellors, which he daily had about him; That he was not fit to govern, and therefore ought to be remov'd from his Throne; That he would undertake a Reformation of things; and to that end had conspir'd with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Darby*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of *S. Albans*, and Prior of *Westminster*, (which two last had encourag'd him in the Attempt, by pretending that it was reveal'd to them by a Vision, that King Richard should destroy the Kingdom by his misgovernment) to take him and his whole Council, and punish them according to their demerits. Whether this were really so or not, our Historians are in doubt; yet 'tis certain, this Accusation sharpen'd the King's Anger so much against the Duke, that he entred immediately into a Contrivance with the said Earls of *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, and others, to apprehend the Duke and his Confederates suddenly, and put them to Death. The Duke of Gloucester was then at his House at *Pleshey* in *Essex*, and suspected nothing of what was resolv'd against him, and therefore was easily apprehended in this manner. The King himself with the above-said Earls having laid an Ambush of arm'd Men in *Epping-Forest*, went with a small Retinue to *Pleshey* to the Duke of Gloucester, whom finding in his Bed early in the Morning they raised, and pretending earnest Business of State, drew him with them to *London*. The Duke in haste posted along with the King, and took only a Servant or two with him. When they came at the place of the Ambush, the King riding before, the Earl Marshal arrested him, and the Soldiers immediately seizing him, carry'd him blindfold to a Barge, put him on Shipboard, and convey'd him to *Calis*. He was either too Popular, or else too Innocent to be brought to a publick Tryal in *England*, and therefore he was

Reg. 21.

The Duke of Gloucester apprehended and murder'd.

\* This Story is in *Grafton*, but is not very probable; for *Froissard* affirms, the Duke of Gloucester was one of the Commissioners who concluded the last Treaty; by the Articles of which he had consented, that the Castle and the Town of *Chierburgh* in *Normandy* should be restor'd to the King of *Navarr* and the Duke of *Bretagne* their Owners.



A. D. 1397. remov'd to *Calis*; and after a formal or pretended Tryal before Judge *Rikell*, an *Irishman*, who sent the King word, that upon his Examination he confessed all that was alledg'd against him, he was order'd to be executed by *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marshal, who is said to have been so unwilling to put him to Death, tho' he was assistant in apprehending him, that he would not do it till the King threaten'd him with Death if he did not execute his Orders. Whereupon he caus'd him to be smothered or strangled privately, as if he were aham'd to be seen an Instrument of such a base Act. The seizure of the Duke of *Glocester* was carry'd so secretly, that there was no noise of it; and the King shew'd such an even Countenance towards the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, that he invited them to Dinner with him as his greatest Favourites; but while they were in their Mirth, he caus'd them to be arrested, and carry'd immediately to the *Tower* to be kept close Prisoners; the Lord *Cobham* also and Sir *John Cheyney* were at the same time apprehended, and sent to the Isle of *Wight*. These Actions much amazed the People; and lest they should rise for the Lords rescue, a Proclamation was put out to assure the Nation, that they were seized for new Crimes which they had been found guilty of, and which should be prov'd against them at the sitting of the next Parliament, in which the Commons hoped they would have such fair dealings, that every Man rested contented, and did not doubt but if they were innocent they would be clear'd, and if guilty of any Crimes deserving Death, 'twas fit they should have their deserts.

In the Interval, before the Parliament met, the King and his Friends were very busie to lay a sure train for the ruin of their Enemies, whom they had now got in their power; and to this end, first, certain of the Nobility, whom the King could best trust, were suborn'd to impeach them of High-Treason, viz. *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Earl Marshal, *Thomas* Holland Earl of *Kent*, *John* Holland Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas* Earl of *Somerset*, *John* Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lords *Spenser*, and *Scroop* Vice-Chamberlain, whose Honour and Greatness was thought enough alone almost to justify a false Accusation. Next, All Endeavours were used to procure such a Parliament as might be ready to concur with the King's designs; and lest the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York* should attempt any thing for the defence of their Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, whom they knew to be a Prisoner at *Calis*, or the Friends of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* should undertake their Rescue, the King provided a strong Guard of *Cheshire*-Men, and four thousand Archers, besides the Forces which he had order'd the Lords of his Party to bring with them, to attend and guard the Parliament, which might at the same time be an awe upon any refractory Members. These things being thus prepared, the Parliament was summon'd to meet at *Westminster* about the middle of *September*, which it did accordingly. The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester* doubting of their own safety, because their Brother was imprison'd, brought along with them a strong Body of Men to defend themselves, and were received into *London*, tho' the King before had forbidden the Citizens to entertain them; but certain of the Nobility, who were sent to them from the King, giving them Assurances that there was no ill intended against them, and that nothing should be done against the Lords but with their Advice and Concurrence, so pre-

vail'd with them that they dismissed their Forces home. The Lords of the King's party, viz. the Earls of *Darby*, *Marshall*, *Rutland*, and *Northumberland*, the Lords *Spenser*, *Henry* and *Thomas Peircys*, and *Scroop*, brought great Troops of arm'd Attendants, which they kept and lodg'd in the Towns about *London* all the Session. It was open'd by *Edward* *Stafford* Bishop of *Exeter*, then Lord Chancellor, who in a grave Speech deliver'd, 'That the King was of absolute and uncontrollable Authority, inferiour to none but God; and that all Persons that shall dare to lessen or limit his Power, upon any pretences whatsoever, are worthy of Death, as wicked Traitors. These Words within the House, being seconded with the Guards without, were thought a manifest Indication, that not Law but arbitrary Power was to order matters that Session. In the lower House, Sir *John Busby*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*, the King's Creatures, had a strong party, so that they could carry all things as they pleased. Sir *John Busby* was chosen the Speaker of the Commons, and a Vote pass'd presently, 'That any one that should be convicted of opposing the King's Power and Regality should suffer as a Traitor. These Foundations of Action being laid, the King by his Attorney preferr'd his Complaint of Rebellion and Treason against *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several others, submitting the Judgment of them to the Parliament. Sir *John Busby* having aggravated the Crimes and Ingratitude of the said Peers, first required, That since the former Grace and Favour had wrought so little upon them, their Pardons might be revoked; which was accordingly done: And then he demanded Judgment upon them for their late Crimes, and particularly for Treason, in compelling the King to grant them a Commission to govern the Realm; and upon the Archbishop for procuring the said Commissions, and granting their Pardons. The Archbishop rose up to make his Defence, but the King enjoyn'd him Silence till the next day, and then upon his Appearance in the House he commanded him by the Bishop of *Carlisle* to go home; and so he came to the House no more. After his departure, the King having order'd the Bishops to choose themselves a Procurator, because it was not lawful for them to be present in cases of Blood, (whereupon they chose Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and departed the House) he granted a Commission to several Peers, of which the Duke of *Lancaster* was High-Steward, to examine and try them for all Crimes and Treasons laid against them. The King had a little before prepared a large Building, like an Hall, open on all sides but the Roof, for their Tryal, with Seats for himself, the Parliament, the Appellants and Defendants. When the Day of their Arraignment was come, and the Earls were brought out to their Examination, the Appellant Lords accused them as Traitors, for 1. Forcing the King to grant them a Commission for the Government of his Realm. 2. For usurping the Regal Authority in holding a Parliament in prejudice of the King's Royal Dignity, under pretence of that traiterous Commission. 3. For traiterously murdering Sir *Simon Burley* and Sir *James Barnes*, two of the King's faithful Leige-Subjects, without the King's consent: And, 4. For raising a traiterous Insurrection at *Haringey*-Park, and entering arm'd with the Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Warwick* into the King's presence; and then

The Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel* imprison'd in the *Tower*.

Twenty-third Parliament, 1397.



A. D. 1397. *Earl of Arundel try'd and condemn'd.* then severally flung down their Gloves, offering to justify their Accusation by Fight. The Earl of *Arundel*, *Richard Fitz-Allen*, first answered, and boldly deny'd their Charge, saying, 'That he was not a Traitor in Thought, Word or Deed; and that what he had acted, either by Virtue of the aforesaid Commission, or while he was in Arms with the Duke of *Glocester* and the Earl of *Warwick*, was not done with any ill Intention against the King's Person, but for the good of the King and his Realm, which he did not doubt but he could make good against any or all the Appellants by fight, if it would please the King to permit him so to vindicate his Innocency against their false Accusations. But because his Enemies had him now in their power, and his most innocent Actions would (as he very well knew) be construed in the worst sense; and what they had alledged as Treasons, they would make such, he added, as his firmest Plea, which he would abide by; that those very Acts, if Treasonable, were pardon'd to him by the King's Grace, and that not only more publicly with the Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Warwick*, but he had a special and a particular Pardon for himself. The Duke of *Lancaster* and Sir *John Busby* immediately reply'd, 'That both those Pardons were revoked by the King, his Lords, and his faithful People assembled in Parliament, and therefore could not avail him in this Case. The Earl reply'd, 'That the Revocation of his Pardon was not done by the People, for they lamented him, but by him and his Company, who love no faithful dealings. Then the Duke of *Lancaster* asked him if he had any thing farther to alledge for himself? But he said, 'The King's Pardon was freely granted him, and the benefit of it he hoped would not be deny'd him, for he insisted upon it. But that being over-ruled, they proceeded to give Sentence upon him in this form: *I John, Steward of England, judge thee, Richard, to be a Traitor; and I condemn thee to be drawn and hang'd, beheaded and quarter'd; and thy Land, entail'd and not entail'd, from thee and from thine Heirs of thy Body descending to be confiscated.* This usual Sentence in Treason was, according to the Custom, by the King's Grace released to him in respect to his Blood, and he was commanded to be beheaded according to his Condemnation; which was executed upon him the same Afternoon upon *Tower-hill*, and his Body was interr'd in the *Austin-Fryars-Church in Broad-street, London*. This noble Earl behav'd himself with much Courage and Calmness in his Sufferings. In his passage to his Execution he gave all the Money he had to the Poor, that he might carry their Prayers with him to his Grave. Several Lords attended him to his Execution, and among them three that were nearly related to him, the Earl of *Nottingham* that marry'd his Daughter, the Earl of *Kent* his Sisters Son, and the Earl of *Huntington*. These Men's forwardness he could

not but take notice of, and therefore told them, A. D. 1397. 'It had been more decent for them to have been absent; but since they pleas'd themselves in his Misfortunes, he could foretell them, that their Miseries in a short time would be as remarkable as his then were. Then turning to the Executioner, he felt the Sword, and desired him to do his Office as carefully and speedily as he could; and kneeling down, his Head was separated from his Body at one Blow. His Lands, which were confiscated to the King, were annexed to the Earldom of *Chester*, which thereupon was advanced to a Duchy. His Death was much lamented by the Commons, among whom he was in very great esteem for Valour, and his Love of the common Good. Divers Repors were carry'd about, that Miracles were done by his Reliques, and that his Head was again miraculously cemented to his Body; which meeting with a good Opinion of him in Men's Minds, caus'd him to be honoured as a Martyr.

The Earl of *Warwick*, *Thomas Beauchamp*, was next brought to his Tryal, and accus'd of the same Heads of Treason. He answer'd for himself, 'That he never knew that it was Treason to ride so arm'd, as he confess'd he had done in *Haringey-Park*; but since the Judges had declared it to be so, he begg'd the King's Pardon; and with many effeminate Tears besought the Nobles to intercede for him to his Majesty. The King ask'd him, 'Whether he acknowledged himself guilty of the Treason charged on him? The Earl answered, 'That he could not deny it, and wish'd he had never seen the Duke of *Glocester* and Earl of *Arundel*, by whom he was led into it. Then the King having conferr'd a little while with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and received the Requests of several Peers to save his Life, told the Earl, 'That the ingenious Confession of his Fault had more pleas'd him than all the profit of their Lands could, and therefore he would pardon his Life. But his Estate was seiz'd upon for the King's use, and the Earl was banish'd into the Isle of *Man*, with an Allowance of four thousand Nobles a Year for his own and Lady's Maintenance; but it was so badly paid, that they are said to have liv'd there in great Poverty, which was so much the heavier to them, because of their old Age. The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *John Cheyney* were indicted, and condemned for the same Treasons; but by the Intercession of some of the Peers, their Lives were spared, and they were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had been summon'd to answer for the said Treasons, but was excus'd by the King, and pardon'd, with the Archbishop of *York*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and some others, was at the earnest Importunity of Sir *John Busby*, and the Commons of his party, banished, and his Temporalities seiz'd into the King's hands, having six Weeks limited for his departure. While these Tryals of the Peers were carrying on, a Certi-

Beheaded on Tower-hill.

\* The King was present at his Execution. *Froissard*.  
 \* This Earldom was never advanc'd into a Duchy. See *Cambd. sub. Tit. Cheshire*.  
 \* The People, who always pretend to be the best Judges of their Interest, and can distinguish their Friends from their Enemies, were ever ready to venerate the Memory of Patriots; and as they formerly reckon'd the Earl of *Lancaster* a Saint, so now they esteem'd the Earl of *Arundel* as a Martyr. Pilgrimages were daily made to the place of his Burial in *Austin-Fryars, London*. A Rumour was spread about in those superstitious Times, that his Head was miraculously fix'd to his Body. The King knowing such Reports were design'd to reflect on his Justice, caus'd the Corps to be taken up and view'd ten Days after its Interment. He commanded the Ground where it lay to be pav'd in, and no mention to be made of the place; forbidding any Discourses in his favour. However 'twas constantly averr'd for a Truth, that the King's Mind was disturb'd with the Horror of this Murder, and that he was haunted with an Apparition of his Ghost. 'Tis certainly true, that the proceedings of this pack'd Parliament hasten'd the end of this King's arbitrary Power in his Dethronement and Death.



A. D. 1397. ficate came from the Earl of Nottingham then Captain of *Callis*, that the Duke of Gloucester was dead, and Judge *Rikell* read a Confession of several Treasons owned and acknowledged by the Duke of Gloucester under his own hand; whereupon at the Petition of the Appellants, the same Sentence was pronounc'd against him, tho' dead, which was pass'd upon the Earl of Arundel, but his Body was allow'd to be deliver'd to his Friends, by whose care it was convey'd to *Pleshey*, and honourably interr'd in the Tomb which he had there prepar'd for himself in his Life-time in the Church.

After these Judgments passed on the Peers, the Parliament sat some time, till near *Christmas*, and pass'd several Acts relating to the present State of Affairs, viz. That all Benefices or Gifts granted or alienated by those that were already condemn'd, or should be hereafter condemn'd by this Parliament, granted since the tenth Year of this King, should be revoked and made void. That all such as gave either Counsel, Aid, or Favour, to the Children of such as were or should hereafter be condemn'd in this Parliament, should be punish'd as Traitors. That all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal should swear inviolably to observe whatsoever in this Parliament was enacted, and that the Censures of the Church should be pronounced by the Prelates, against all those that should oppose or violate them. That all such Persons as ow'd any Moneys to *Rocheſter Bridge*, should be restrain'd for the Payment of it for the use of the said Bridge. In the time of this Session, the King being desirous to see the Forces of the City of London, caus'd them to muster before him upon *Blackbeath*. He also order'd, that the Arms of King *Edward the Confessor* should be added to his own, and bare them together *parte per pale*. And then the Parliament was prorogued till after *Christmas*, and appointed to meet at *Sbrensbury* on the *Quindene* of *S. Hilary*, Jan. 28.

1398. The King having thus removed his Enemies, either by Death or Banishment, kept a triumphant and magnificent *Christmas* at *Lichfield*, and at the time prefixed went to *Sbrensbury* to meet his Parliament. At his first Arrival he held a great Feast for all his Nobility and Commons, at which he created <sup>b</sup> five Dukes, a Dutchess, a Marquess, and four Earls, viz. *Henry Bul-lingbrooke* Earl of *Derby* he made Duke of *Hereford*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Aumerle*, and of *Corke* in *Ireland*; *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent* Duke of *Survey*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington* Duke of *Exeter*; *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham* and Marthal Duke of *Norfolk*; the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Norfolk*, Dutchess of *Norfolk*; *John* Earl of *Somerset* Marquiss *Dorset*; *Thomas* Lord *Spenser* Earl of *Gloceſter*; *Ralph* Lord *Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland*; *William* Lord *Scroop* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Sir *Thomas Peirey* Vice-Chamberlain Earl of *Worceſter*; to and among whom he dispos'd of the greatest part of the Estates of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, thinking thereby to oblige them more firmly to be his Friends. At this time he made the Earldom of Chester a Principality, and assum'd to himself

A. D. 1398. the Name and Title of the Prince of Chester to grace that Honour the more. And as the King sought all means to strengthen himself, and greaten his Power, so also did the Parliament; for they enacted, That the Commission granted by the King to certain Noblemen to inquire into and reform Abuses in the Realm, Anno 10. of his Reign, should be repealed as extorted from the King by Threats, and that no such Commission should be granted for the future; and that the Heirs of such Persons as had been sentenc'd by the said Commission should be restored to their Inheritances, Lands and Possessions, but should not exact the Revenues of the Possessors from that time. 1. That it should be high Treason for any Person whatsoever to compass or imagine the King's Death; 2. To contrive his Deposition; 3. To ride armed, or make War against the King in his Realm; Or 4. to disclaim the Homage due to him; and that the Heirs of all Persons who were convicted of any of the said four Articles of Treason, should be for ever deprived of the Lands and Possessions of their Ancestors, and should not be allowed to have an Action of Claim for them. The King also obtained, that the whole Power of both Houses should for a time be put into the hands of certain Persons nominated by himself, viz. *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* Duke of *Survey*, *John* Duke of *Exeter*, *John* Marquiss *Dorset*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *March*, *Gloceſter*, and *Wiltshire*, Sir *John Huby*, and some others. These Men were enabled by Virtue of the said Grant to hear and determine all Matters and Petitions not ended in the last Session; and by Virtue of that Concession, proceeded to conclude and determine almost what they pleased. In the end of the Session the King had a Tenth and half of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth and half of the Laity granted him, besides the Customs of Wool at 50s. a Sack of every *Engliſhman*, and 3l. of every Stranger, and so the Parliament broke up; and a general Pardon immediately follow'd their Dismission, of all Persons but fifty, not named, which was done to keep the Nobility in Awe, the King being at Liberty to except almost whom he pleased by that means.

The King having thus establish'd his Power, and put himself beyond all Opposition and Contradiction, thought himself secure and an absolute Prince; but it being laid upon such a Foundation as begat many Discontents among the People, all the Fabrick proved weak, and was soon followed with lamentable Ruine. The Parliament was indeed dissolved, but there was strange murmuring about several things that attended it and were done by it, as 1. That it was a Parliament not freely chosen, but pack'd by the King's Interests, consisting of Men imposed on the Shires and Towns by the King's Authority. 2. That it was wholly managed by Court Favourites, and had bent all its Endeavours to destroy the Liberties and Privileges of the People. 3. That tho' the Duke of Gloucester was so illegally murder'd, they were so far from punishing the wicked Actors, that they

<sup>a</sup> By this *Rocheſter Bridge*, I suppose the Author means a Petition of the Commons to the King, that he would be pleas'd to order three or four thousand Marks to be distributed among those Persons that had been plunder'd at *Radeſ* Bridge, when the Duke of *Ireland* was defeated by the Earl of *Derby*; for there is no mention of any Tax for *Rocheſter Bridge* in this Session.

<sup>b</sup> These Lords were created on *Saturday*, being *Michaelmas-Day*, Anno 1397. Rot. Parl. 21. Rich. II.

<sup>c</sup> Sir *John Hayward* in his Hist. of Hen. IV. says the Earl of *Somerset* was created Marquiss of *Somerset*, which is most likely, because *Thomas de Beaufort* his younger Brother was afterwards in the thirteenth Year of Hen. IV. Anno 1412. made Earl of *Dorset*. This Nobleman was the first that ever bore the Title of Marquiss in England.



A. D. 1398. approved their Deeds. 4. That the Lords, who had deserved well of the Nations, and were pardon'd all irregular Actions, were made guilty by an unpresidented Power of revoking their Pardons. 5. That by disannulling the Grants of the condemn'd Persons, made so many Years before, they had deprived many honest and good Men, both Menial Servants of the said Lords and others, of their lawful Inheritances and Estates. 6. That they had not only laid heavy Taxes upon the Nation themselves, but had exalted the King's Authority to such a pitch, and allow'd him such a Power of acting, that he need not observe any Laws but his Will. These things concurring with other Matters of Complaint in the King's Actions, partly grounded on the Grants of Parliament it self, as his imposing the Oaths so severely on all Persons to observe inviolably the Ordinances of it, and farming the Taxes to *Bushy, Baggot, and Green*, who exacted them with the utmost Rigour and Severity; and partly on his own Management, as that he was prodigal in his Expences, lewd in his Behaviour, and partial in his Favours: That he discountenanc'd his ancient Nobility, and prefer'd such Persons to his nearest Attendance as were neither eminent for Birth nor Virtue, on whom he bestow'd the Revenues of the Crown, and impoverish'd the Nation by it: That he preferred such of the Clergy to Bishopricks and other Dignities of the Church, as either favour'd or joyn'd with him in his lewd Courses. These things alienated the Hearts of the People so much from him, that they lay expos'd to a Revolt upon the least Temptation; of which an Occasion shortly after happen'd after this manner, tho' it were some time before it was brought about.

Reg. 22. The Duke's of *Hereford* and *Norfolk* riding between *Brainford* and *London*, and discoursing friendly among themselves about Affairs of State, the Duke of *Hereford* having observed how fast the People's Affections toward the King declined, freely deliver'd his Thoughts to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and told him, 'That the present Management and Ministers were very distasteful to the Nation in general; That the King was made odious by his mean and bad Counsellors, who not only rais'd the Envy of the Nobles by enjoying the Favours which was their due, but gain'd him the Hatred of the People by their Conduct, which manifestly tended to their own, not the publick Interest; and therefore he advis'd the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was a Privy Counsellor, and had an easie Access to the King's Ear to advertise the King of it, that he might by a prudent Alteration of things prevent the ill Consequences which would certainly follow; adding, That it was not out of any ill Will he bore to the King, or an Humour of finding

' fault that he said this, but out of a pure desire of the Happiness of the King and his Government. The Duke of *Norfolk* seem'd to assent to the Duke of *Hereford*'s words, as very necessary and good Counsel, and promised to represent them so fairly to the King, that they might have the Effect he wish'd, and so they parted. The Duke of *Norfolk* was not unmindful of his Promise, but 'being sensible how ungrateful a Message it was to the King, or perhaps designing to ingratiate himself by the Report, he gave a very invidious Relation of the Duke of *Hereford*'s Words to him, adding such aggravating Expressions of his own inventing, as made them look like a Calumny both of his Majesty and Government. The King, who was ever very impatient of Reproof, was extremely enrag'd at the Duke of *Hereford*, and sends for him to appear before the Council to answer the Accusation brought against him by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Duke of *Hereford* appeared, and having heard what the Duke of *Norfolk* had alledg'd against him, thank'd the King for his Favour in giving him Liberty to answer for himself, and then ingenuously confess'd what he had said, and with what Intention; but accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of perverting and misrepresenting his Discourse, either out of Malice or Flattery, which he offer'd to justify against the Duke of *Norfolk* by Combat, if the King would permit him. The Duke of *Norfolk* unwilling to undergo the Disgrace either of recanting his words, or refusing a Defence of them, stoutly avouched the Truth of his Relation, and flinging down his Glove, accepted the Combate. The King was unwilling to grant their desire, and endeavour'd to pacify the Contention between them by interposing with his Authority; but when nothing would prevail with them, the King in his Passion swore by *S. John Baptist*, That he would never more concern himself to make them Friends, and granted them a Combate to be fought on *Sept. 17. at Coventry*. At the time appointed, the King order'd a strong Stage to be erected for the Combatants; but having receiv'd Information, that the People were much discontented that the Duke of *Hereford*, a Valiant and Heroick Nobleman, should be suffer'd to justify his Innocency by the Hazard of a Combate, who might be so serviceable to the Nation, he permitted them to meet and bid Defiance of each of other; but before they fought, by the Advice of his Council, put an end to the Quarrel by a Sentence of Banishment to the Duke of *Hereford* for ten Years, as not wholly guiltless of the Calumny, and to the Duke of *Norfolk* for his Life, as having sown Discord by his false Information between the King and his Peers, which was executed within a few days. The Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Germany*, and from thence to *Venice*, where he

A. D. 1398.

The Duke of Norfolk accuses the Duke of Hereford.

Both Dukes banished.

\* Sir John Hayward gives him his Character in little. In former Times he had taken part with the Lords, but afterwards was desirous to be accounted rather among the great Men than the good.

<sup>b</sup> Polydore Virgil, the most unfaithful Historian that ever wrote of our English History, has drawn the Modern Authors into an Errour, by affirming, That the Duke of *Norfolk* accus'd the Duke of *Hereford*; whereas it appears on the contrary, on Record, *Placit. Coron. in Parl. 21. Richard II.* That in the 30th of January, Henry of Lancaster came before the King with a Schedule in his hand and said thus, That having attended him before at Haywood, he there accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of slanderous Words, reflecting on his Majesty, and now by his Command he repeated the same; which Schedule is to be seen at large in the said Records.

<sup>c</sup> 'Twas order'd by the King and the Dukes of Lancaster, York, Albemarle, Surrey and Exeter, the Marquess of Dorset, the Earls of March, Salisbury, Northumberland and Gloucester, the Earls of Worcester and Wiltshire, Sir John Bushy, Sir Henry Green, Sir John Russell, Sir Robert Tey, Sir Richard Chelmswyche, and Sir John Golosier, Commissioners, appointed by the Parliament to decide the Dispute, that the Determination of this Difference shou'd be according to the Law of Chivalry. See the foremention'd Pleas of the Crown in Parliament, which Record fully confutes the Romantick Account of the Glove. The Order of the King and the Commissioners was made at *Oswaldstree* in *Oswestre* in *Shropshire*, on the 19th of March, and on Monday the 29th of April the two Dukes appear'd before the King at *Windor*, where Battel or Duel was appointed between them, for want of other Proofs to determine the Difference.

<sup>d</sup> In August. Sir John Hayward.

through



A. D. 1398. through melancholy and trouble dy'd. The Duke of *Hereford* at his departure had four Years of his Banishment releas'd, when he took his leave of the King at *Eltham*; but being still forced to leave the Kingdom for six Years, he went into *France*, and was honourably received in that Court by *Charles* the Sixth then King there<sup>a</sup>.

The King  
fin'd seven-  
teen Coun-  
ties.

The Departure of the Duke of *Hereford*, being the only surviving Person of the popular Lords who was likely to head a Faction against the Court, gave Encouragement to more arbitrary proceedings of the King and his Ministers than they had dared to attempt before. For soon after he was gone, the King impos'd a great Fine upon all the chief Inhabitants of seventeen Counties in the East parts of the Nation, because they had sided with the Duke of *Glocester* and Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* against him; and having by his Agents induced the Noblemen and chief Gentry, as well Temporal as Spiritual, to acknowledge themselves Rebels and Traytors, upon assurances of Pardon, he compelled them to secure their Pardon and his Favour for the future by subscribing blank Charters, by which they oblig'd themselves to pay such Sums of Money to him as he should think fit to require, which prov'd very heavy to many; for some were forced to pay a thousand Pounds, and others a thousand Marks, with like insupportable Sums; commanding them also to take the Oath to maintain inviolably the Statutes of the last Parliament. This Oath, and these Charters were very offensive to the Citizens of *London*, and therefore they advis'd their Sheriffs, by whom they were order'd to be impos'd upon them, to withstand them. The King was highly displeas'd with their refractory Opposition, and threaten'd a more than usual Severity against them. But the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roger Walden*, who was remov'd from being the King's Chaplain to that See about this time, and their old Friend *Robert Braybrooke* Bishop of *London* so effectually interceded for them to the King, that he promis'd to forgive them, but did not do it, till by his blank Bonds and Charters which he sent to all the richest Citizens, he had squeez'd great Sums out of them, as he had done from the Clergy and Gentry of the seventeen Counties, and other places before.

And extorts  
great Sums  
from the  
Londoners.

1399. On New-Years-Day the River near *Bedford*, which runs between *Swelstone* and *Harewood*, divided it self, and became dry for almost three Miles; and about the same time the Bay-trees, without any unusual or extraordinary Cold, dry'd up and wither'd; which tho' not so much taken notice of at present, yet were thought afterward to portend the Changes of State which happen'd the ensuing Year. About *Candlemas* dy'd that great and illustrious Prince, *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son of *Edward* the Third, at the Bishop of *Ely's* House in *Holborn*, and was honourably interr'd in *S. Paul's Church* on the the North-side of the High-Altar, by his first Wife *Blanch*, the Daughter of *Henry* the First, Duke of *Lancaster*. By his Death the Dukedom of *Lancaster* with all his other Honours and Lands descend'd to his

John of  
Gaunt  
Duke of  
Lancaster  
dy'd.

eldest Son *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, who was then in *France*; and so not being present to take possession of his Inheritance, it was easily made a Prey to the Avarice of the Court *Harpies*. The King indeed had shew'd some Favour to the Duke of *Hereford* when he left his Country, and besides the Release of some of the Years of Banishment inflict'd by the first Sentence, he granted to him by his Letters-Patents a power to sue out by his Attorney a *Livery* to any Lands or Possessions, holding of the King *in Capite*, which should or might befall him in his absence, and a respite of his Homage, till he should return, for a reasonable Fine. But the rich Booty which was expos'd to their Pleasure and Will by his absence, so allur'd their desires, that contrary to all Justice and Faith they persuad'd the King to revoke his Grant, and seize upon the Duke of *Lancaster's* whole Estate for the time of his Son's Banishment, which he made perpetual by their Advice; and thereupon dispos'd of his personal Estate to and among his Favourites. This arbitrary and unkingly Action brought an Odium upon the King, not only from the Commons, who being factiously enamour'd with him, took every thing ill that was look'd upon as tending to his prejudice; but the Nobility themselves, who began to doubt of their security under so easie a King, and such covetous Counsellors. *Edmund* Duke of *Tork*, the only Uncle of the King that surviv'd, who seem'd not much concern'd at the Death of his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, shew'd a great disgust at these Proceedings, and with his Son the Duke of *Aumerle* retir'd from Court to his Country-house at *Langley*, and others of the Nobility withdrew their Company from the King, because they found it ungrateful. But tho' the Duke of *Hereford's* Inheritance brought greater severity upon him in *England*, yet it was a cause of his greater Preferment and Favour in *France*; for being there reputed to be one of the Richest by his Father's Death, as well as Braveest Princes in the World for his Natural Courage, he was courted for a Match to the only Daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, the *French* King's Uncle, which was certainly a very great Honour to a banish'd Man. But King *Richard* having intelligence of the Design, and foreseeing how much such an increase of the Duke of *Hereford's* Interest might prove prejudicial to him, dispatch'd over the Earl of *Salisbury* immediately to hinder it by false Suggestions and a flattering Persuasion, that it would be a great Dishonour to a Lady of the Royal Blood of *France* to be marry'd to an *English* Rebel and notorious Traitor; and so prevented the *French* King's Kindness to him. So great an Enemy was King *Richard* to the prosperous Fortunes of the Duke of *Hereford* both at home and abroad.

A. D.  
1399.

King's In-  
justice to  
the Duke of  
Hereford  
after his  
Father's  
Death.

About the time of the Duke of *Lancaster's* Death happen'd several things of Importance; the Earl of *Arundel's* eldest Son, *Thomas Fitz-Allen*, who had been kept a close Prisoner in the Earl of *Exeter's* House ever since his Father's Death, made his escape from his Confinement, and by the help of one *William Scott* a Mercer, got over the Sea to his Uncle, the late Archbishop of *Arundel*, then sojourning at *Cullen*;

<sup>a</sup> The Pleas before cited report, That all this was done by the full Advice, Authority and Assent of Parliament, (that is, the Committee) and not by his absolute Power, tho' he pretended to it, and was as fond of it as any of his Successors. Sir *John Hayward* observes, That the Sentence was given against the Duke of *Norfolk* the same Day of the Year wherein the Duke of *Glocester* by his wicked means was strangled at *Callis*.

<sup>b</sup> Where his Tomb remain'd till the late general Conflagration, Anno 1556.

<sup>c</sup> He granted the same to the Duke of *Norfolk*.



A. D. 1399. the Bishop of Chalcedon also came into England out of Greece with Apostolical Letters from the Pope, exhorting all well-disposed Persons to assist the Emperor of Constantinople with a liberal Contribution of Money, that he might be able to defend *Christendom* against the Inroads of the *Tartars*, and encouraging them to so important a Work by a plenary Pardon of their Sins; but another Accident hinder'd his success, and that was the Revolt of the *Irish*. For Roger Mortimer the Earl of *March* and *Ulster* (who was lately declared Heir Apparent to the Crown, and made Lieutenant of that Nation) being besieged at *Kenlis* by a very strong Body of the wild *Irish*, was there slain in a Sally with many of his Men, and the *English* Towns left as a Prey to the Natives, who under *Obrian*, *Mackmore*, and others, committed great Barbarity and Spoil upon the King's Subjects there. The news of this Rebellion much disturb'd the King and his Council, and put them into many Perplexities what to do; they had no Preparations for a War, and 'twould be a shame to the Nation to leave that Kingdom, which had cost so much to conquer, and had been held so long by the *English*, in the hands of the Enemy: Whereupon it was at last resolv'd, That the King should raise an Army, and go over himself in Person to subdue them to their Obedience. Money was wanting, which is the Sinew of War; and therefore the Ministers were forced to use many Exactions to raise a Sum to provide for the Expedition, partly borrowing upon the King's Letters-Patents of the Bishops and others, and partly extorting it from those that were unwilling to lend him; and tho' the Necessities of the Nation, and Interests of it might have been some excuse for his Actions, yet his extravagant Expences in Peace, when wise Princes are to provide a Treasure against War, were so good an Argument against his present Wants, that tho' he did indeed raise a considerable Army, yet it was with the extream discontent of the whole Nation. In the Spring the King was ready to embark for *Ireland* with his Army, but lest he should leave his Queen in discontent for his departure, he celebrated solemn Jufts to divert her several days; and about *Whitsuntide* set forward toward *Bristol*, and in two hundred Ships passed from *Milford-Haven* in *Wales* with his Army into *Ireland*, and landed safely at *Waterford* on the last day of *May*, having with him the Duke of *Exeter*, the Duke of *Glocester's* and *Hereford's* Sons, several Bishops, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and many other Noblemen; and leaving his Uncle the Duke of *Tork* his Deputy in *England*, whom he had order'd to send *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle* with some Reinforcements to his Army, that he might not be too weak for the Enterprize, if the Troops he carry'd were not sufficient.

The Earl of Northumberland accused of Treason, and his Estate confiscated. While the King remain'd at *Bristol* he had some Information given him, that *Henry Peircy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and some other Noblemen, were contriving an Insurrection in his absence: Whereupon the King by his Pursuivant sent to the said Earl and his Associates to attend him in this Expedition with all the Force they could gather together. The Earl of *Northumberland* return'd answer, 'That it was not safe to draw away the strength of the North to go against the *Irish*, whom a less Force than what he had with him was enough to subdue, because by that means he should expose those Countries to the Injuries of the *Scotish* Borderers, who waited all opportunities, as the King well

knew, to make their Advantages of *England*, and were no longer Friends than they wanted a fair occasion to shew their Enmity with gain to themselves; That since there was no Guard of those appointed in his absence, he hoped his Majesty would be better advis'd than to require his Attendance, which would be a greater disadvantage to him at home than his Service could profit him abroad. This modest Answer was look'd upon by the King as a crafty Evasion of his Command, and confirm'd him in his opinion that he was guilty of the Accusation brought against him: Wherefore to deter him from any farther Attempts he seized upon his Estate, and proclaim'd him and his Associates Traitors, and so departed into *Ireland*.

The King being arriv'd in *Ireland*, stay'd some days at *Waterford* to refresh his Army, and then march'd forward to *Kilkenny*, where he resolv'd to stay some time for the arrival of the Duke of *Aumerle*, whom he daily expected. The King's Army struck such a Terror into the *Irish* Rebels that they dare not appear against him, but after their usual manner kept close in the Woods, and by Parties made their Assaults upon the *English*, as they happen'd to meet with advantages. But the *English* being acquainted with their Artifices, went so well prepared for their Encounters, that they slew many of them. For *Jenico Dartois*, a valiant Captain under the King, in one Skirmish at *Ford* in *Kenlis*, slew two hundred of them with the Soldiers under his Command; and the Citizens of *Dublin* invaded the Country of *Obrian*, and slew above thirty, with very little loss. When the King had stay'd about a Fortnight at *Kilkenny*, and saw the Duke of *Aumerle* not come, he set forward and invaded the Country of the Arch-rebel *Mackmore*, who keeping in the Woods with about three thousand Men, little valued the King's Army. The King had two thousand five hundred Pioneers with him to grub up the Woods, and open Passages for his Army, who were set to work, but could not by Art and Diligence come at him; so that the *English* rather suffer'd than gain'd by this Attempt, because many of them were slain by *Mackmore's* Men when they were foraging. The Uncle of *Mackmore*, and several of the *Irish* of better Note, came to the King with Wythes about their Necks, submitted themselves to his Mercy, and were pardon'd. This the King thought would be a good Example for *Mackmore* himself to imitate, and therefore invited him to come and accept of the same Mercy. But *Mackmore* understanding that the *English* could not long subsist in those places for want of Provision, which could not be had by Force or Money, refused to submit, but offered to lay down his Arms upon assurance of Indemnity for his past Offences, and to have his Liberty for the future. This Answer much enraged the King, so that he swore he would not leave *Ireland* till he had *Mackmore* dead or alive; and being forced to retreat to *Dublin* to refresh and victual his Army, took such courses as he thought most effectual to obtain his ends: For first he published a Proclamation, wherein he promised a great Reward to any Person that should bring *Mackmore* to him alive or dead; and after he had rested and refreshed his Army fifteen days, he divided it into three parts, and sent them out to besiege the Enemy on all sides, and reduce them if possible. Just as the King had thus sent out his Army, the Duke of *Aumerle* arriv'd with a great Inforcement in an hundred Ships; and tho' his delay was blameworthy,



A. D. 1399. worthy, yet the King received him with much Joy, and by the Conjunction of his Forces brought so many of the *Irish* into subjection, that had he not been call'd home, he had reduced *Ireland* into as entire Obedience as ever. But his Fate was now to rule no longer, and the Period of his Dignity came thus.

*The Conspira-  
cy to  
depose King  
Richard,  
with the  
Reasons and  
Causes of it.*

The Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Nation having for several Years past been intolerably oppressed and slighted by the King and his Favourites, and now at the King's departure into *Ireland* vexed with unjust Exactions, began to long for Relief; and having an opportunity by the King's absence to put their Designs in Execution, contriv'd to settle the Crown on another Head, which might govern them with greater Prudence as well as Mercy. The Earl of *Northumberland* and his Friends, who had suffer'd lately so deeply for suspicion, were among the forwardest in this Action, hoping to regain their Losses by a real, which they had undergone for a supposed Insurrection. The Person whom they thought fittest to wield a Scepter, tho' he had none, was *Henry of Bullingbrooke* Duke of *Lancaster* and *Hereford*. He had all the Qualifications fit to make an excellent King, as well as a Lineal Title to it. For he was the Son of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son of *Edward III.* and after the Death of *Roger Mortimer* lately kill'd in *Ireland*, next allied to the Crown. He was a Prince of great Wisdom, Courage and Experience, a Lover of the Commons, and a Friend to the Nobles, and having smarted so severely by the Injustice and Cruelty of a bad King, was most likely to make a good one, by not laying those unjust Impositions upon others Shoulders, which he found so heavy on his own. He was indeed in *France*, but would gladly have return'd home, if he safely might have done it before; how much more now, being invited by the People, and allured by a Crown: Wherefore they took up a general Resolution to send for him with all the privacy and speed possible, assuring him of their hearty assistance in settling upon him what they so much desired he would accept. These their Requests and Desires they drew up into a Letter, and sent it over by faithful Messengers to Archbishop *Arundel*, who was then in *Britain*, whom by Letters they also importun'd to be their Advocate with the Duke to comply with them. The Archbishop, being a Fellow-sufferer, gladly accepted the Office, and went with the Messengers to the Duke of *Hereford* at *Paris*, where having obtained a Secrecy fit for a matter of such Importance, they delivered their Letters from the Nobles and Commons of *England*, and the Archbishop seconded them with the best Persuasions which Reason could invent, or Rhetorick urge. He represented to him the Misery of the present state of the *English* Nation, 'That they were utterly ruined and destroyed by the ill management of the publick Affairs; in which tho' the King himself were not actually concerned, yet so long as he employed and upheld such unfit Ministers, he

could not be thought fit to govern; That it is far more intolerable to be Slaves to mean Persons than to the King himself, and therefore so long as the King could not be won from maintaining their Pride and Tyranny over his Subjects, it was hardly any Crime to depose that Person, who left his Power in such base Hands; That the present Condition of the Nation was so low and distracted, that nothing but a present Remedy can save it from utter Ruine; for the ancient Honour of the Nation for Chivalry was degenerated into Effeminacy, and the Men who were famous for their Courage and Conduct, either put to death or banished, the Nobility is contemned and slighted, the Gentry abused, and the Commons miserably polled and taxed, and that not to support the Government, but the Pride and Avarice of their Fellow-Subjects; That the Relief of these Grievances could not be expected from any Hands but his reasonably, not only because he was so eminent for all warlike Atchievements, but because he had so near a Relation to the Crown; and therefore the Nation had devolv'd their Hopes of Ease entirely upon him, which he in Honour and Duty ought to endeavour, especially since they had resolv'd to stand by him in the Attempt, and it could hardly prove unfortunate to him, where so much Love, Power, and Interest were united. The Duke, who had all the Reason in the World to hearken to these Proposals, because 'twas the only way left him to revenge the barbarous Death of his Uncle, recover his own Honour and his Estate, free himself of an uneasy Banishment, and restore his Family and Children to their Natural Rights, yet was not so much enamour'd with so fair an Offer of a Crown, but he was very cautious of the Acceptance, and told them, 'That tho' he was sensible of the bad state of things in *England*, which stood in great need of a present redress, and was much obliged to his Countrymen for their good Opinion of him, yet he was not unsensible of the great danger in attempting the deposing of a King, and the fickleness of People's Affections; which tho' they might lead Men into hazardous Attempts, yet seldom held up to carry them through, and therefore could hardly think it prudent to trust to them. He declared himself free from all ambitious and aspiring Thoughts, being now of more staid Years and Consideration; and if he should engage in so difficult an Action, 'twould be more for the Love of his Country than his own Honour; That tho' 'twas some motive to rescue himself and Family from ruine, yet it was much greater to retrieve an whole Nation; and therefore since the Nobles and Gentry had gone too far to retreat with safety, he would rather run the hazard of his own Life than desert them; and so dismissed the Messengers with promises of Acceptance if the Nobles and People of *England* would hold to their Petition. This Answer, which was carry'd back with as great secrecy

A. D. 1399.

*The Duke of  
Lancaster  
and Here-  
ford sollici-  
ted to take  
the Crown.*

\* He cou'd not be ally'd to the Crown the nearer for *Mortimer's* Death, that Lord having left a Son, *Edmund Mortimer*, who possess'd his Right.

\* He objected to the Archbishop the Unlawfulness of the Design, to whom the Bishop thus reply'd: Examples of casting a King out of his State are not rare (as you affirm) nor long since put in practice, nor far hence to be fetch'd. The Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* are oftentimes banish'd by their Subjects, oftentimes imprison'd and put to their Fine. The Princes of *Germany*, about an hundred Years past, depos'd *Adolphus* the Emperor, and are now in hand to depose their Emperor *Wenceslaus*. The Earl of *Flanders* was a while since driven out of his Dominions by his own People, for usurping greater Power than appertain'd to his Estate. The ancient *Britains* chas'd away their own King *Caractacus*, for the Lewdness of his Life, and Cruelty of his Rule. In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, *Bernredus* King of *Mercia*, for his Pride and Stoutness towards his People was by them depos'd. Likewise *Aleredus* and *Ethelbertus*, Kings of *Northumberland*, were for their Disorders expell'd by their Subjects. Since the Victory of the Normans the Lords endeavour'd to expel King *Henry the Third*, but they were not able; yet were they able to depose King *Edward the Second*, &c. Sir *John Hayward*, *Henry IV.* p. 67.



A. D. 1399. as Haste, set the Nobles of England on work to raise what Men they could ready to receive him; and the Duke himself carrying the Matter very closely, obtain'd Leave of the French King to go and visit the Duke of Britain his Kinsman,

*The Duke of Lancaster's Passage and landing in England.* that he might pass the more unsuspected into England. Archbishop Arundel, and his Nephew Thomas Earl of Arundel, lately escap'd out of Prison in England, the Lord Cobham, and some other Gentlemen of note attended him. The Duke of Britain accommodated them with some Ships and Men for his design; but the Duke had so great Confidence in the English Nobles, that he would carry no Force along with him, but a small Guard of thirty Lances. From Port Blanc in Britain they set sail for England, and being arriv'd hover'd a while upon the Coasts to observe in what Forwardness the Nobles were for his Reception, and where he might most safely land. The Earl of Northumberland and his Friends, whose fresh Injuries had made them most zealous Enemies to King Richard, had so well disposed the People of the North to the Duke of Lancaster, that he easily found their Kindness to him; and thereupon landed at Ravon Spurr in Holderness in Yorkshire. The News of his Arrival was no sooner spread abroad, but the common People flocked in to his Assistance, and the Earl of Northumberland and his Son Henry Hotspur, the Earl of Westmorland, the Lords Nevill, Rosse, Willoughby, Darcy, Beaumont, and many other Persons of Honour, with a considerable Body of Men, came to him; infomuch, that in a very few days his Army was grown to near sixty thousand well accoutred and able Men.

*The Duke of York gathers an Army against the Duke of Lancaster.* The Duke of York, who was the Governour of the Nation in the King's absence, had Intelligence of these things, and like a Person faithful to his Trust, took the most effectual means to meet the impending Danger; and calling the King's Council together, propounded it to them, to consult by what ways they might secure the Nation in its Obedience to their King, and prevent the Designs of the Invader. The chief Men of the Council were Edmund Stafford Bishop of Exeter, Lord Chancellor; William Scroop Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Treasurer; John Busby, William Baggot, Henry Green, and John Russel, Knights. These Men, upon deliberate Thoughts, resolv'd, That it was best to leave London, which had been lately disoblig'd, and had always been inclined to the Lords Party, and raise an Army about S. Albans for the Defence of the King and Nation, with which they might oppose the Duke of Lancaster either at his landing, or before he had gotten a Body of Men together to his Assistance. This Advice was immediately put in Execution, and an Army of Men, whose Loyalty put them upon that Service, gotten together; but when they understood that they were to fight against the Duke of Lancaster, they unanimously declared that they would not oppose him, because his Quarrel was so just, and they believed he sought not the Crown, but the Restitution of his Right, which it would be the highest Injustice to keep him from. This Answer quite discourag'd the King's Friends, for they easily saw their Army, tho' in number sufficient to have done much, yet was not to be trusted to; and therefore dismissing it, betook themselves to other ways for their Security. The Duke of York and Bishop of Exeter kept a good Body of Men with them,

but the Lord Scroop, Busby, and Green, fled to A. D. Bristol, and fortified themselves in the Castle; 1399. Baggot went to Chester, and so escap'd into Ireland.

*The Duke of Lancaster marches to London.* The Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, who had found Fortune even to out go his own Wishes, was invited to proceed in his Attempt by it; and therefore having taken an Oath to the Lords, That he would neither procure nor permit any bodily Harm to be done to King Richard; That he would require only the Lands which were descended to him by Inheritance from his Father, and in Right of his Wife; That he would obtain, that the Commons should be eased of their Taxes and Subsidies, cause the King to send home his Guard of Cheshire Men, and bring him to a better Order of Government; he made all the haste he could to London, the Metropolis of the Nation, of which if he could get the Possession, he should easily master the rest. In his Passage his Army daily increased, partly through the general Inclination that the People had to him, and partly through the Encouragement that Archbishop Arundel gave them by his Pardons from the Pope, promising Remission of all their Sins to such as would assist the Duke against his Enemies. The Duke of York had gotten an Army to oppose the Duke of Lancaster in his March thither, but they would not fight against him; and so he was forced to pass by him to meet the King at his landing in Wales. At London the Duke of Lancaster was received with all Demonstrations of Joy, suitable to the Expectations they had of him: The costliest Entertainments by Feasting, Pageants, and Processions, were thought too little Expressions of their Happiness by his Presence; and as if their Allegiance were transferred to him only, they bestow'd all their good Wishes and Promises on him, leaving nothing for King Richard but Railings and Curings. The Duke by his abode here, having secur'd the City on his side, had little to do but to pursue the Enemies of the common Good; and therefore bent his Course to Bristol, where the three chief Instruments of the Nation's Misery had fortified themselves, sending Parties on all sides to seize and plunder the Persons and Estates of all such as did not join with him and his Confederates. The Duke and his Army besieged the Castle of Bristol, and after four days Siege took it by force, with the Lord Scroop, Busby, and Green that held it. The Hatred of the People to them would bear no delay of their Punishment, wherefore being arraign'd before the Constable and Marshal, they were found guilty of Treason in misleading the King, and were immediately beheaded. The Duke of York after this Execution, became the Duke's Friend and chief Counsellor. The Parties arrested the Bishop of Norwich, Sir William Elmham, and Sir Walter Burley, Lawrence Drew, and John Golofer, Esquires; and so what through Fear, and what through Affection, the whole Nation seem'd in a manner subdu'd to the Duke. From Bristol he went to Chester, which receiv'd him with Processions, and yielded their Charter up to him: From hence he sent his Son into Ireland, with the Duke of Gloucester's Son, but in their Passage the latter was drown'd.

While these great Changes were working in England, the King was in Ireland, and had no Intelligence of it; for the Irish Seas were so

<sup>a</sup> Fifteen Lances. Ibid.

<sup>b</sup> About the beginning of July.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Henry Piercy.

<sup>d</sup> Bishop of Chichester. Sir J. H. The Bishop of Exeter was in Ireland with the King. Walf. <sup>e</sup> He gave over the Cause. Ibid.

<sup>f</sup> He dy'd of the Plague at Chester. See Thin's Collection of Constables, and Gower's Verses in Holmshedd, p. 267.



A. D. 1399. tempestuous for near six Weeks, that no Vessels could pass them: So that, as if Providence had

*The News of the Duke of Lancaster's Invasion of England carry'd to the King in Ireland.*

favour'd the Duke of *Lancaster's* Attempt, he met with little Opposition before he was settled in *England*. The News of it at last arriv'd, and put the King into strange Agonies and Perplexities: Something was necessary to be done, but what would avail him was past humane Invention to contrive. The best Advice that could be given him was what himself propounded, viz. That he should hasten with his Army into *England*, and give the Duke of *Lancaster* Battel, before his Friends were united with him; and in the mean time he would imprison the Duke of *Lancaster's* Son *Henry*, and the Duke of *Glocester's* Son *Humphrey* in the Castle of *Trim*. But the Duke of *Aumerle* (whether out of Design, or Ignorance is uncertain, tho' his Revolt afterward makes the former most credible) earnestly persuaded the King not to go himself into *England*, till the whole Fleet was ready, which it might be in few days, and to send some of his Friends before to gather him an Army, that he might not be in danger at his landing. This Counsel the King accepted, and accordingly *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* was sent before to prepare an Army of *Wessex* and *Cheshire* Men against his Arrival, which he promis'd should be within six days. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and by his Zeal for the King's Service, and sending Letters to the Gentlemen of those Countries, which he had heard or knew to remain Loyal, raised an Army of forty thousand Men, ready to march with the King against his Enemies, if he had met them according to his Promise. But when the Earl of *Salisbury*, who led them to attend the King at the time appointed, seemed to deceive them; and some had raised a Report, That the King was dead in *Ireland*, the whole Army was so possess'd with the Fears or Belief of it, that they would not by any Arguments the Earl could use be persuaded to begin any Action, till they saw the King, but were contented to stay fourteen days longer for his Arrival; in which time, if it did not happen, they would depart home, as indeed they did, because the King did not leave *Ireland* till eighteen days after the Earl left him, and was three days in his Passage. The King with the Dukes of *Aumerle* and *Exeter*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, with divers other Nobles, landed at *Milford Haven* in *Wales*, and leaving the Forces which he had brought out of *Ireland* with the Duke of *Aumerle* at *Milford*, went in a disguise to *Conway* to see what Army the Earl of *Salisbury* had got ready to receive him; but he found, that his delays had robb'd him of his Friends to his great Grief, which he with the Earl of *Salisbury* much lamented. While the King was gone to *Conway*, the Duke of *Aumerle* shew'd the Falseness of his Heart by his Actions; for giving it out, that the King had quite left his Army and was fled, he dismissed every Man to provide for his own Safety, and fled himself with five hundred to the Duke of *Lancaster*. *Thomas Peirey* Earl of *Worcester* also, who was Steward of the King's House, brake his Staff in the midst of the King's Servants, and so dissolv'd the King's Family, and fled with him. But the *Cheshire* Men were not corrupted by these ill Examples of others, they went to *Conway* to the King; where meeting with others of their Countrymen, they made a considerable Army, and were resolv'd to maintain the King's Right against the Duke and his Adherents unto Death. But King *Richard* having heard, That all the Castles from the Borders of *Scotland* un-

*King Richard lands at Milford Haven.*

to *Bristol* were deliver'd up to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that all Lords, Gentry, and Commons of the North and South Parts of the Nation had joyned themselves with him, and that his trusty Friends and Counsellors had lost their Heads at *Bristol*, he despair'd of all Success; and calling his Army together, licens'd them to depart to their homes, chusing rather to submit himself to the Mercy of the Duke, than hazard the Lives of his Loyal Subjects in vain: And so he with the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroop*, and about ten more of his fast Friends, betook themselves to the Castle of *Conway* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, resolving to keep themselves there till he could gain better Terms and more Security.

The Castle of *Conway* was not only very strong in it self, but situated so upon the Sea-shore, that the besieged might easily escape into *Ireland*, if streighten'd by a Siege. These Advantages the King had so well secur'd, that he fear'd not all the Force of his Enemy the Duke of *Lancaster*, who was hastening with all his Army towards him, being the only Castle of moment which held out against him. The Duke was not insensible of the Impossibility of getting the King into his Power by Force, so long as he held this Castle; and therefore called a great Council of the Peers which adhered to him, to have their Advice how they should get the King into their Power. Force of Arms was generally agreed upon to be of little use in so mountainous a Country, and against so strong a Fortress; wherefore it was advised by Archbishop *Arundel*, that the King who was always simple and credulous, should be dealt withal by Policy; and since he had lately sent the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey* to know of the Duke of *Lancaster* what he intended, and desir'd that certain Messengers should be dispatch'd to the King from the Duke with this Answer to his Demand, 'That he fought nothing but a peaceable Settlement of things for the Good of the Nation, and that if he would be pleas'd to call a Parliament, where- in those who had barbarously murdered, or advised the Death of the Duke of *Glocester*, should be punish'd, and other Irregularities of Government reformed, he and the Duke would be good Friends; only the Duke should have his Pardon of all Offences granted upon his begging of it upon his Knees, and enjoy the Office of high Judge, as his Ancestors had it for an hundred Years, to himself and Posterity. The whole Council approv'd of this Advice as most politick and sure, and accordingly the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* with four hundred Lances, and a thousand Archers, to deliver the said Message to the King. In his way the Earl had the two Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland* deliver'd up to him: When he came at a narrow Passage near the Town, he divided all his Men into two Ambushes, and plac'd them under a Rock, charging them to keep it; and so he with five Men only in his Company went to the Town, where as soon as he arriv'd, he sent an Herald to the King to declare, That he was sent by the Duke about an Agreement between them, and desir'd to have safe Conduct granted him. The King not suspecting any Deceit, immediately gave him License, and the Earl passing over the Water, enter'd into the Castle, where he found the King and the Earl of *Salisbury*, to whom he deliver'd his Message with much Seriousness, and after confirm'd it with a solemn Oath taken upon the Sacrament, that the Duke should perform what he

A. D. 1399.

*The King dismisses his Army, and betakes himself to the Conway Castle.*

*A politick Contrivance to get the King into the Duke of Lancaster's hands.*



A. D. 1399. he had promised in his Name, and if the King pleased to go to the Duke and confirm these Proposals, he should depart whither he pleased afterwards. The King not believing that Treachery could lurk under such holy and sacred Oaths, no ways compell'd, agreed to meet the Duke and settle this Agreement, intending to pass afterwards into *Wales*, and provide an Army to secure himself against all future hazards. The Earl having obtained his desires, hasten'd the King away with him to the Duke; and having got him on Horseback, with the Earl of *Salisbury*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and Sir *William Feribee*, who attended him, rode along with him to conduct him. The King desired the Earl of *Northumberland* to ride before to *Rutland* to provide them a Dinner, which he seem'd diligent to obey, and rode apace from them; but went no farther than his Ambushes, to whom giving notice of the King's approach, and commending their Order, he staid till the King came up, who seeing such a company of Men with the Earl, found that he was treacherously ensnar'd and betray'd; but he had no way to escape their hands, being on all sides inclosed with Rocks. The Earl seeing the King surpriz'd, went to him, and kneeling down to him, told him, That they were a Guard which he had appointed to attend his Person; but the King retorted, That they were needless, and contrary to his promise, who had assured him that he would not have above six Persons with him; and in an Anger said, he would return to *Conway*; but the Earl was then more plain with him, and said, That since he had him in his power, he would now carry him to the Duke of *Lancaster*, as he had engaged to do ten days since. The King, tho' unwilling, was forced to go forward, and dining at *Rutland*, was conducted to *Flint-Castle* that Night to lodge. The next Morning the Duke of *Lancaster*, who had notice of the King's arrival at *Flint-Castle*, drew up his whole Army, consisting of an hundred thousand Men, round about the Castle; and having first sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas Peirey*, and the Earl of *Rutland*, to the King in the Morning, to prepare and discourse him, the Duke himself waited on him in the Afternoon. The King received the Duke with much calmness and obligingness; and when the Duke told him first, that he came to obtain the Restitution of his Honours and Lands through his favourable permission; the King reply'd, That he was ready to accomplish his Will; and when he farther added, That since the People complain'd of his rigorous Government for these two and twenty Years, he was now resolv'd to help him to govern better. The King answer'd, Fair Cousin of *Lancaster*, since 'tis your Will to do so, it pleaseth me well. The Duke also spake to the Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Stephen Scroope*, and Sir *William Feribee*, but took no notice of the Earl of *Salisbury*, who thence gather'd the Duke's deadly hatred to him. After this discourse was over, the Duke order'd the King's Horses to be brought out, and being mounted with his Friends, conducted him that Night to *Chester*, where he was kept in the Castle under the Care of the Duke of

*Glocester's* and Earl of *Arundel's* Sons, who hating him for putting their Fathers to Death, would be more watchful to keep him for the Day of their hoped Revenge. From *Chester* he was remov'd by *Nantwich* to *New-Castle* in *Staffordshire*, where the old Earl of *Warwick*, recalled from his Banishment in the Isle of *Man*, met him to upbraid his Severity to him. From hence he was brought by *Stafford* to *Litchfield*, and being lodg'd in the Castle had like to have escaped out at a Window, but was discover'd and put under greater Security. From hence he was carry'd in a few days through *Coventry*, *Daventry*, *Northampton*, *Dunstable*, and *S. Albans*, to *London*. When the Duke was come within six Miles of *London*, the Mayor and Companies in their Liveries, with Trumpets sounding, met him, and paid him much more Reverence than the King himself. When the Duke came within less than two Miles of the City, he made a pause, and enquired of the Citizens what he should do with the King? Who answer'd, That he should be kept at *Westminster*; but he stay'd only one Night there, and was convey'd the next Day to the Tower, to be kept a close Prisoner till the meeting of the next Parliament. Several Citizens had contriv'd to kill him as he pass'd through the City; but the Mayor and Aldermen having timely notice of their Design, did by their Vigilance and Care prevent it, and reserv'd him to a more miserable Fate.

The Duke of *Lancaster* remain'd some Days in the City, at the Bishop of *London's* Palace and *St. John's* Hospital without *Smithfield*, and then retired for some time into *Hertfordshire*; and having at his first coming to *London* issued out Writs in the King's Name to summon a Parliament to meet on the last day of *September*, was extremely busie in Consultations with his Friends how to order matters in this critical Session. It seems that it was fully resolv'd among them, that King *Richard* should no longer govern the Nation, but the most plausible methods of depriving him was thought worthy of Consultation. Many things were propounded, but the Duke of *Tork's* Advice was follow'd, who thought it best, that King *Richard* should both voluntarily resign his Throne, and be solemnly deposed by the Parliament too; because, as he said, tho' the Judgment of Parliament may make him thought worthy to be deposed, yet his Deprivation will never be just unless he joyn'd in a Resignation. This Advice was much approv'd, and accordingly put in execution; for the Day before the Parliament met, which was on the Feast of *St. Michael*, there assembled in the Tower *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard Scroope* Archbishop of *Tork*, *John* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ralph* Earl of *Westmorland*; the Lords *Burnell*, *Barkley*, *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergevenny*, the Abbot of *Westminster* and Prior of *Canterbury*; *William Thirnings* and *John Markham*, Chief Justices; *Thomas Stoke* and *Thomas Burbach*, Doctors of Law; Sir *Thomas Harpingham* and Sir *Thomas Gray*, *William Ferly* and *Dennis Lopham*, Publick Notaries. When they were set in their places,

A. D. 1399.

The King taken by the Earl of Northumberland's Treachery, and carry'd to the Duke of Lancaster.

Consultations to depose King Richard.

\* The King desir'd to talk with the Duke, Sir J. H. The same Author affirms, That when the Archbishop and the Lord *Northumberland* came to him at *Conway*, he relinquish'd his Sovereignty at the first meeting. *Life of Hen. IV. p. 83.*

\* The Duke of *Glocester* had but one Son, *Humphrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who was not then arriv'd in *England*, where, as we have said before, he dy'd soon after of the Plague.

\* The Author of a Manuscript History in the Library at *Lambeth*, who was present at the first Interview between the Duke of *Lancaster* and King *Richard* at *Flint-Castle*, and accompany'd the former in his March to *London*, writes, That when he came near the City the Recorder and many Persons of Quality waited on the Duke to desire him to Cut off King *Richard's* Head, and the Heads of those that were with him. The Duke answer'd, 'Twould be an eternal Reproach to him if he granted their Request, but they should be left to the Judgment of the Parliament.

\* He issu'd out these Writs at *Chester*. *Rot. Claus. 23 Rich. 2.*

\* This Person was one of King *Richard's* chief Favourites.

\* Of whom the Duke of *Tork* his Uncle was principal.

the



A. D. 1399. the King was brought forth in his Regal Habili-ments, and being placed in a Chair of State, he read the form of his Resignation to this effect:

King Richard's Resignation.

*In the Name of God, Amen, I Richard by the Grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, do hereby acquit and discharge all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Lords, and all other my Subjects, both Spiritual and Secular, of what degree soever, from their Oath of Fealty and Homage, and all others Bonds of Allegiance to me due both from them and their Heirs, and do hereby release them from the said Oaths and Allegiance, so far as they concern my Person for ever. I also resign all my Kingly Majesty and Dignity, with all the Rights and Privileges thereunto belonging, and do renounce all the Title and Claim, which I ever had or have to them. I also renounce the Government of the said Kingdom, and the Name and Regal Highness thereunto belonging freely and wholly, swearing upon the Evangelists that I will never oppose this my voluntary Resignation, nor suffer it to be opposed, as judging my self not unworthily deprived of my Regal Dignity for my deserts. This Resignation King Richard read with much cheerfulness and calmness, as if he had gladly parted with the Burthen, not Honours of a Crown, and then signed and subscribed it in their presence, desiring that his Cousin the Duke of Lancaster, on whose Finger he put his Signet, might be his Successor, and appointing the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Hereford to be his Procurators, to declare and shew this his voluntary Resignation to all the States of Parliament, and his desire that his Cousin the Duke of Lancaster should succeed him in his Throne. And this done, they took their leave of him.*

R. Richard deposed.

The Munday following the Parliament met, and after the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Hereford had declared in the King's Name, that he voluntarily had resigned his Regal Dignity and Power, which they all both Lords and Commons agreed to and accepted, they proceeded to his Deposition; and in order to it digested all the Misdemeanours of his whole Reign, as far as they could call them to mind, into 33 Articles of Accusation, alledging against him, 'That he had wasted the Publick Treasure, and given away the Possessions of the Crown to Persons of no merit; That he had impeached certain Lords of Treason for treating of Matters concerning the State of the Nation, tho' appointed to it by Parliament; That he had forced the Judges to give their Opinions contrary to Law for the destruction of the Lords; That he had punished the Lords, and fined their Attendants for Crimes pardon'd by his Proclamation and Charter; That he had detain'd Records of necessary concern for the good of the Nation; That he had unjustly banish'd the Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, and forbid all his Friends to sue for his return; That he had procured Bulls from the Pope to force his Subjects to observe Laws made for his own ends; That he forbid the Duke of Hereford's Proxies to prosecute or defend his Cause, notwithstanding his Grant to him under Seal; That he put out divers High-Sheriffs duly elected, and put in his Favourites, and kept them in that Office longer than usual; That he borrow'd great Sums of his Subjects, and would not pay them; That he taxed his Subjects at his pleasure, and would not

pay them for Provisions had of them; That he said, *All Law was in his own Breast and Head, and the Lives of his Subjects were in his Hands;* That he put out Knights and Burgeses duly elected for the Parliament, and put in Men for his own turn; That he had extorted several Sums of the Clergy at his going into Ireland, contrary to Law; That he devised certain new Oaths, and forced his Subjects to take them; That he banished the Archbishop of Canterbury without just Cause, and gave his Goods to his Successor, on condition he should observe the Statutes made at *Sbrensbury* and *Coventry*; with other Misdemeanours of less Importance. These Articles being composed in form and engrossed, were brought into the Houses, and being read, it was demanded of the Lords and Commons, what their Judgment was concerning them? They reply'd, That they were notorious Crimes, and that King Richard being manifestly found guilty of the same, was worthy to be deposed from his Royal Authority and Dignity; and thereupon Commissioners were appointed by both Houses to pronounce a Sentence of Deposition against him in the manner and form following:

*In the Name of God, Amen. We, John Bishop of Asaph, John Abbot of Glasfenbury, Thomas Earl of Gloucester, Thomas Lord Barkley, Sir Thomas Erpingham, and Sir Thomas Gray, and William Thirning Justice, Commissioners specially chosen by the three States of this present Parliament, representing the whole Body of the Realm for all matters by the said States to us committed, considering the manifold Perjuries and Cruelties, notorious Crimes and Offences, by Richard late King of this Realm committed and done, contrary to the Laws and good Government of the Kingdom, during the time of his Reign, as was made manifest to the whole Body of Parliament by several Articles exhibited against him, and by his own Confession of his own Insufficiency, and Misdemeanours of Government: We the Premises well considering, do by the Power and Authority to us committed, in the Names of all the said States, pronounce, decree and declare the said Richard unworthy of the Rule and Government of the said Realm, and for the said Causes do deprive him of all Kingly Dignity and Worship, expressly forbidding all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, and Knights, and all other Persons within this Kingdom, of what Quality or Degree soever, from this Day forward to be obedient or attendant on the aforesaid Richard as King and Lord of these Realms. This Sentence of Deposition being pronounced, the said Commissioners in the Name of the Parliament resigned unto King Richard all their Homage and Fealty, which in time past they had made or did owe unto him; and so King Richard was look'd upon as wholly depriv'd of his Regal Power and Kingdoms.*

The Report of these Commissioners being given in to the Parliament, it was presently voted that the Throne was<sup>a</sup> vacant by the voluntary Cession and just Deposition of King Richard, and therefore they ought to proceed immediately to the Election of a new Prince into the Throne, lest by a long Vacancy the Affairs of the Nation should receive any prejudice. Before any Person was or could be mentioned, Henry Duke of Lancaster rose up from his Seat, and having crossed himself on the Forehead and Breast, as the manner was, put in his Claim for the Kingdom in these words:

<sup>a</sup> The Throne was not formally voted vacant; but as soon as the Deposition and Renunciation of King Richard were read, the Duke of Lancaster rose up and claim'd the Crown by descent; after which the Lords and Commons severally and generally consented to choose him for their King.



A. D. 1399. In the Name of God, Amen. I, Henry Duke of Lancaster, do claim as my Right the Crown and Realm of England, with all the Dominions and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, being Lineally descended from Edmund surnamed Crouch-back, eldest Son of our good Lord Henry the Third; and through the Right which God of his Grace hath sent me by his Assistance, and help of my ready Kindred and noble Friends, who have adventur'd with me to recover the same, being at the point of Destruction for want of good Government and an orderly Distribution of Justice. And then he retur'd to his Place, and sat down again.

How far this Claim prevail'd in the Election, 'tis no ways evident. The Archbishop, who made the Proposals, did not think fit to insist much upon this Title, but put it to the Houses choice whom they would have for their King: For he in order mentioned several that had a near Alliance to the Crown, and asked the Houses, First, *Whether they would have the Duke of York for their King?* And they said, No. Then, *Whether they desired his eldest Son Edward Duke of Aumerl?* And they reply'd, No. Then he propounded the Duke of York's youngest Son, and several others, but all were refused. Then the Archbishop pausing awhile, asked them, *Whether they would have the Duke of Lancaster for their King?* They said, *We will have him, and none else;* and so answer'd three times. The Choice being thus fixed on the Duke of Lancaster, the Archbishops going to him, kneeled down before him, and declaring to him that the People had unanimously chose him for their King, desired his Acceptance of the Care and Government of the Realm. The Duke being also on his Knees when they spake to him, rose up and reply'd, *That since the Kingdom was devolved upon him by a special Dispensation of Divine Providence, he durst not refuse it.* Then the Archbishop having read to him the Duties of a King, signed him with the Sign of the Cross, and the King kissed the Archbishop; and the Constable taking the Ring with which the Kings were wedded to the Realm, shew'd it to the whole Assembly, and then put it on the King's Finger, and the King kissed the Constable. Then the Archbishops led the King to the Royal Seat, who made his Prayers immediately before it, and then turning himself to the Assembly, gave

Thanks to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, A. D. and all the States of the Realm; assuring them, 1399. That he would not by way of Conquest disinherit, or deprive any Man of his Rights and Franchises which he now enjoyeth, or hath had by the Custom and good Law of the Realm. Then a general Silence being kept a little time, the whole House gave Thanks to God for his Gift of so good a King to the Nation; the Archbishop rose up, and in a Sermon-like Speech upon 1 King. 9. 17. from whence he singled out these words for a Theme, *A Manshall rule over my People,* declared the Happiness of this Nation in the Person they had chosen; That he was not as the former King, a Child in Understanding, tho' not in Years, under whose Government they suffer'd so many Miseries, but a Man of perfect Reason and vast Experience and Judgment, under whose auspicious Government we have Assurance of a full and free Profession of Religion, a due Administration of Justice, a lasting Peace and Plenty, concluding with a short Prayer, 'That he might long prosperously reign over the Kingdom, to the Glory of God and the Prosperity of the Nation. To which the whole Assembly, with joyful Acclamation said, *Amen, and Amen.*

King Richard was thus deposed from his Royal Dignity, and Henry Duke of Lancaster settled on the Throne, when he had reigned two and twenty Years, three Months and eight days. The Manner and Form of it was signified to him by Justice William Thirning the next day, who at the same time surrender'd back all Homage and Fealty due unto him; but King Richard seem'd very little concern'd, hoping, that the new King would shew him the greater Kindness for his willing Resignation of all to him. King Henry, as soon as the Parliament rose, went to Whitehall, and made a great Feast for all the Members; at which he demean'd him with the usual Obligingness and Kindness, without the Majestic Reservedness or Distance of a King, to the good liking of all his Subjects present. In the Afternoon he was proclaimed King by the Name of Henry the Fourth King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; and Proclamations were published to continue all Officers and Justices in their Places, to preserve the Order and Government of the Kingdom.

## REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES in the Reign of Richard II.

IN the 5th Year of his Reign, when his first Wife Queen Anne came from Bohemia, she had no sooner set foot on Shore, but such a Tempest immediately arose as had not been seen in many Years. Several Ships were dash'd in pieces in the Harbour, and the Ship in which the Queen came over was shatter'd and broken; which was the more observable, because his second Wife brought a Storm with her to the English Coasts, in which the King's Baggage was lost, and many Ships of his Fleet cast away. Sir John Hayward.

At Newcastle upon Tyne, as two Ship-Carpenters were squaring a piece of Timber, wherever they hew'd Blood issu'd forth in Abundance. Ibid.

In the 6th Year of his Reign, on the 21st of May, several Churches were thrown down by an Earthquake; and on the 24th of May there was an Earthquake, or as Holinshead calls it, a *Waterquake*; whose Motion was so violent, that it made the Ships in the Harbours beat one against the other, and very much endamag'd them.

About the same time the Use of Guns came in, and Sir Hugh Calverly, Governour of Calais, was the first that employ'd them in the English Service.

In his 10th Year Wine was so cheap, that the best was sold for 20 s. the Tun, and that which was not so good at 13 s. 4 d.

The same Year Sir John Montacute, a great Follower of Wickliff's, order'd all the Images to be taken out of his Church at Shenly in Buckinghamshire. Holinshead.

In his 12th Year, while the King was at his Manour of Sheen in the Month of July, there appear'd on a sudden such innumerable Swarms of Gnats, that they darken'd the Air. They skir-



smith'd and fought in Parties, the slain fell down to the Ground by Heaps at a time; and being swept together with Brooms, were found to be many Bushels full. About a third part of the whole came off Conquerors, and flew away.

In the following Year a Hurricane threw down many Houses, destroy'd Cattel, and rooted up Trees. This preceded a great Mortality, especially among the Youth, and that a Famine; for says my Author, Wheat was sold for 13 d. a Bushel. *Hol.* Tho' Money was scarce at that time, yet one wou'd think such a Price for Corn had never been the Sign of a Dearth in *England*.

On the 9th of *July*, in his 15th Year, the Sun appear'd to be obscur'd by certain thick and dreary Clouds between that and the Earth: Its Beams seem'd of the Colour of Blood, and gave little or no Light from Noon till it set. These Clouds rose daily for almost six Weeks together. The North and East Parts of *England* were at the same time sore afflicted with a Pestilence: In a few Weeks there dy'd eleven thousand Men, Women, and Children, in the City of *Tork*. *Hol.*

The next Year Wool was so cheap, 'twas sold in some places at 22 d. the Stone. The same Year a Dolphin was taken near *London* Bridge ten Foot long: His coming up the River so far was an ill Omen of the Storins that happen'd soon after.

In his 18th Year an Apparition of Fire was seen in divers Places in *England* in several Forms, sometimes like a turning Wheel burning, sometimes like a Barrel with Flames of Fire flashing out at the Head, and sometimes like a long burning Lance: When it appear'd to any Persons, it wou'd go as they went, and stop when they stopp'd. A Head was made at this time, the *Cruel Parliament* then sitting, which spoke of it self and said, *The Head shall be cut off, the Head shall be lift up aloft, the Feet shall be lift up aloft above the Head*; which was done, as *Holinshed* supposes, by Necromancy, and as we wou'd think now by a Trick. In *April* a fiery Dragon was seen in several Counties, and some time before there happen'd a Conjunction of the two greatest Planets *Saturn* and *Jupiter*.

In the Reign of this King the most Famous Soldiers were *Henry Earl of Darby*, who succeeded him in the Throne, *Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester*, *Richard Earl of Arundel*; Popular Lords, *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, and *Roger Mortimer Earl of March*. For Learning the most Eminent were,

*Henry of Bury* an *Austin Fryar*.

*Simon Alcock*.

*Etbred Bolton* a *Wellsman*, and a Monk of *Durham*.

*William Jordan* a Black Fryar.

*John Hilton* a Fryar Minor.

*John Clipton* a Carmelite Fryar in *Nottingham*.

*Ralph Marham*.

*John Markly* a Gray Fryar.

*Thomas Broom* a Carmelite Fryar of *London*.

*John Bridlington* a *Torkshire* Man.

*John Thompson* a Carmelite Fryar of *Norfolk*.

*Thomas Winterton* of *Lincolnsire*, an *Augustine* Fryar at *Stamford*.

*John Botlesham* a Black Fryar of *Cambridge*.

*William Babbie* a Carmelite Fryar, Bishop of *Worcester*, and Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*.

*William Folleville* a Fryar Minor of *Lincolnsire*.

*Dr. John Bourgh* Chancellour of *Cambridge*.

*William Slade* a Monk of *Buckfast Abby* in *Devonshire*.

*Thomas Alsburn* an *Austin* Fryar.

*John Aston* a *Wicklivist*, condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment.

*Mr. Casterton* a Monk of *Norwich*, an excellent Divine.

*Nicholas Radcliffe* a Monk of *St. Albans*.

*John Ashwarby* a *Wicklivist*.

*Richard of Maidstone* a Carmelite Fryar of *Ailesford*.

*John Wardbie* an *Augustine* Fryar, a great Divine.

*Robert Waldbie* Archbishop of *Dublin*.

*Dr. William Berton* Chancellour of *Oxford*, an Enemy to the *Wicklivists*.

*Philip Repington* a *Wicklivist*.

*Thomas Lombe* a Carmelite Fryar of *Lyn*.

*Dr. Nicholas Hereford* one of *Wickliff's* Followers.

*Henry Herkly* Chancellour of *Oxford*, an Enemy to *Wickliff* and a great Sophist.

*Robert Ivory* a Carmelite Fryar of *London*, the 20th Provincial of his Order here in *England*.

*Dr. Lankine* a *Londoner*, an *Augustine* Fryar, an Enemy to *Wickliff*.

*William Gillingham* a Monk of *St. Saviours* in *Canterbury*.

*Peter Pateshall* a zealous *Wicklivist*, forc'd at last to flee to *Bohemia*.

*William Woodford* a *Franciscan* Fryar, a chosen Champion of the Papacy against *Wickliff*.

*John Bromyard* a Lawyer and Divine, one of the same Principle.

*Marcel Ingelne* an excellent Divine and Philosopher, one of the first Professors in the University of *Heidelbergh*.

*Richard Northall* Son to the Lord Mayor of *London* of that Name.

*Thomas Edwardson* Prior of *St. Austin's* Fryars at *Clare* in *Suffolk*.

*John Somers* a *Franciscan* Fryar of *Bridgewater* an Enemy to the *Wicklivists*.

*John Swetham* Bishop of *Bangor*, a violent Adversary to the Followers of *Wickliff*.

*William Egunond* a Fryar Hermit of the Sect of *St. Austin's* in *Stamford*.

*Robert Witbee* a *Wicklivist*.

Cardinal *Adam Eston* advanc'd to that Dignity by Pope *Gregory XI.* he was Bishop of *London*.

*John Tisfington* a *Franciscan* Fryar, and *William Rimston* a Monk of *Salleie*, both Champions of the Papacy.

*Dr. John Beaufu* a Carmelite Fryar of *Northampton*, Prior of that Monastery.

*Roger Twiford* an *Augustine* Fryar.

*William Shireburn*,

*Richard Wichingham*, and

*Ralph Spalding*, these were all Priests and Fryars, Men noted in those days for their good Learning and good Preaching.

*Henry Daniel* a Physician.

*Simon Bredon* the same, and an Astronomer.

*Adam Meremub* a Canon of *St. Paul's* Church, *London*.

*William Packington* Secretary and Treasurer of the Household to the *Black Prince*.

*Henry de Knighton*. The three last were Historians.

*John Trevisa* a *Cornishman*, translated the Bible.

*John Molun* an *Englisbman* born, but bred up in the University of *Paris*, he wrote the Romance of the *Rose* in *French*, and 'twas translated by *Gefferey Chaucer*.



# THE LIFE and REIGN OF HENRY IV.

A. D.  
1399.  
Reg. 1.  
K. Henry  
his Pe-  
degree,  
Birth, and  
Succession.

**H**ENRY, surnamed, of *Bullingbrooke*, a Town of *Lincolnshire*, the Place of his Birth, having obtain'd the Crown of *England* by the Resignation of King *Richard*, and Election of the Three States of the Realm, then assembled in Parliament, assumed the Government, Sept. 30. 1399. He was the Eldest Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Fourth Son of King *Edward* the Third, and after his Father's Death was himself Duke of *Lancaster*, as he was before in Right of his Wife, Duke of *Hereford*. The Regal Power did not belong to him in a Lineal Succession after King *Richard*, because there were yet surviving some of the Posterity of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, (the Elder Brother of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*,) by a Female Branch, his Daughter *Philippa*, who being married to *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, left a Son *Roger Mortimer*, who had been declared next Heir of the Crown by Parliament in *K. Richard's* Time, and dying left *Edmund Mortimer* the Heir of his Honour and Estate, with several other Children. But as the great Opinion of *Henry's* Merit, in rescuing the Nation from the Tyranny of Favourites, and the Oppression of bad Governours, made no Reward to be thought great enough for him, but that of the Crown; so *Henry* being confident of the People's Favour, and considering the Obscurity of *Mortimer's* Family, ventured upon it, and, as if the *Salick* Law had been in Force in *England*, claim'd the Royal Authority, as the next Heir to it. *Edmund Mortimer* was not insensible of his Right, and tho' he saw it in vain, while the Nation was in so great a Ferment, and the Minds of the People were so passionately fix'd upon the Duke of *Lancaster*, to oppose the Current of Favour, and Power with his Claim, and therefore betook himself to Privacy at his Manor of *Wigmore*, in *Herefordshire*; yet it was very grating to him to hear *Henry* call himself Heir of the Crown of *England*, and therefore said to his Friends, that he was *Heres malus*, such an Heir as the Pirate is to the Merchant's Goods, which he by Force takes from him.

K. Henry's  
Corona-  
tion.

*Henry* being thus got into the Possession of the Crown, used all the Arts of a politick Prince, to settle himself firmly in it, and entail it as strongly as was possible upon his Posterity. The First of these he had no other Way left to do, but by his Coronation; which for that End he appointed to be celebrated on *St. Edward's* Day, *October* 13. as soon as Preparations could be made for so great a Ceremony. The latter he

resolved to do by Parliament, which he upon mature Deliberation dissolved, (because it was called by King *Richard's* Writ, and therefore its Acts might become disputable, if it had been continued,) and sent out his own Writs to have another chosen, which he appointed to meet the next Day after his Coronation, *October* 14. in order to his Crowning, which drew on apace. He not only supply'd all Offices of the Court, which were vacant either by the Deaths of such as had suffer'd, or were fled for their Misdemeanors under King *Richard*, with such Persons as were most faithful and deserving, (*viz.* *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, he made High-Constable; *Ralph*, Earl of *Westmoreland*, Earl-Marshal; *Sir John Norbury*, Lord-Treasurer; *Sir John Sherley*, Chancellor; and *Sir Richard Clifford*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal; and confirm'd the other Officers of State, who were to assist at that Ceremony,) but constituted a Special Court to receive the Claims of such as by certain Tenures or Custom were to officiate at it; of which his Second Son *Thomas* was appointed Steward, (a) and for that Purpose kept his Court in *Westminster-Hall* several Days together, till all Things were settled, and order'd for the Solemnity. The King on *St. Edward's* Eve lodged in the Tower of *London*, and there made his Three Sons, with several of the Sons of the Nobility, and many others to the Number of Forty Six, Knights of the *Barb*. On *St. Edward's* Day in the Morning he rode through the City to *Westminster*, being attended by the Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Citizens of *London*, clothed in rich Liveries, and follow'd with a costly Equipage, where he was consecrated, anointed, and crown'd by *Tho. Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He was anointed with an Oil, which was then thought to have a peculiar Sanctity, and Excellency in it, being given to his Grand-father by the Mother-Side, to *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaster*, by a religious Hermit, with this Prophecy; That the Kings that should be anointed with it, should be endued with a Zeal to patronize and defend the Church. King *Richard* having found it among his Father's Jewels and Treasures, with a Label, signifying the Use of it, had a Design to have been crown'd again, that he might be anointed with it; but Archbishop *Arundel* asserting it unlawful for him to be anointed twice, put him from that Resolution; and so *Henry* having got it of King *Richard*, at *Flint-Castle*, by the Archbishop's Means, was the first that was anointed with it. At his Coronation, King *Henry* ha-

A. D.  
1399.  
Reg. 1.

Knights  
of the  
Barb made  
at the  
Corona-  
tion.

(a) *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Worcester*, officiated for him, the Prince being not above Ten Years of Age.



A. D. 1399. Reg. 1. ving observ'd that his Hereditary Claim was not justifiable, (b) and that it began to be ridiculed by his Enemies, caused himself to be proclaim'd King of *England*, first by Conquest, and then by the special Designation of King *Richard*, who at his Resignation of his Crown had given it to him, then Duke of *Lancaster*, as his adopted Son. And thus did *Henry* seem to himself, to have clear'd up his Title, and secured himself a firm Possession of the Crown, which some at that time judged to be given him by God's special Favour and Providence, so much the more, because his Coronation happen'd exactly upon that Day Twelve-month, on which he had been banish'd by King *Richard*, as if this great Change of the Kings had been the Reward of the Injustice of the One, and the Innocency of the Other, and God had bestowed Crowns not for Civil Titles, but Deserts.

(c) The Parliament, according to Appointment, assembled the next Day after the Coronation; and having chosen a new Speaker, *William Durwood*, Esq; in the Place of Sir *John Cheyney*, who desired to be excused for his Infirmary and Sickness, they were order'd by the King, in the first place, to inspect into the Abuses of Government, in the Reign of King *Richard*, and to regulate all Things that had been found prejudicial to the publick Interests; to examine the Case of the condemn'd Lords; and, more especially, to bring the Murtherers of the Duke of *Gloucester* to condign Punishment. The Parliament were very zealous to obey so just a Command; and in pursuit of it, having recited, and condemn'd the Transactions of the Parliament, in the 21 *Rich. II.* in banishing the Duke of *Hereford* without any reasonable Cause; in condemning the Arch-bishop, without hearing his Defence; in barbarously justifying the Duke of *Gloucester's* Murther; in denying the Earl of *Arundel* the Benefit of his Pardons, and putting the whole Power of the Parliament into the Hands of certain select Persons, to the great Injury of the Nation, they repeal'd, and utterly made void all, and singular the Statutes and Ordinances of the said Parliament, and abrogated the Authority and Power given to any Person or Persons by any Act or Law of the same, and revived the Statutes of the Parliament held in 11 *Rich. 2.* by which the Supreme Power of the Nation was put into the Hands of the Duke of *Gloucester*, Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and some others, till the King should be of full Age to assume the Government himself. By these Acts the Attaint of Blood was removed from the Lords, which had suffered, or were condemn'd in the said Parliament; and as a necessary Consequence of that, the Heirs of the condemn'd Lords were restored to their Honours and Estates by another Act made for that Purpose; yet, with a *Proviso*, That the Rents of their Lands should not be exacted of the Persons that had been in Possession of them for the Time past. And because many Things had by the said Parliament been made to be Treason, which had not been formerly so esteem'd, and that for no other Reason, but that the Crimes of the said Lords might be more notorious; yet with such Prejudice to all the King's Subjects, that no Man hardly could be-

have himself cautiously enough to avoid the Penalty of it; therefore it was further enacted, That nothing for the future should be esteem'd, or adjudg'd to be Treason, but what was ordain'd to be Treason by 25 *Edw. 3.*

The next Thing they enter'd upon, was the Duke of *Gloucester's* Murther, concerning which they had a very particular Information given them by Sir *John Baggott*, then a Prisoner in the Tower, who in a kind of Narrative, among many other Things relating to King *Richard's* Actions and Sayings, discover'd; That it was by the Advice and Instigation of the Duke of *Aumerle*, that the Lords were apprehended by the King, and that the Duke of *Gloucester* was inhumanely murther'd at *Callis*; That the Duke of *Norfolk* did keep the Duke of *Gloucester* alive Three Weeks against the King's Will; but, that for fear of the King's Displeasure, both the said Duke and himself, with several of the King's, and Lord's Servants, went over to *Callis*, and saw him put to Death. The Duke of *Aumerle* denied the Charge brought against him by Sir *John Baggott*, and offer'd to justify his Innocency by Combat, in such manner, as should be thought requisite; but *Baggott* not being at Liberty to accept the Challenge, the Lord *Fitzwater*, with Twenty other Lords, offer'd to make it good by their Bodies, That he was the very Cause of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death. The Duke of *Surrey* stood up against the Lord *Fitzwater*; and having affirm'd, that what the Duke of *Aumerle* had done against the Duke of *Gloucester*, was by Constraint and Force, offer'd to vindicate him by Fight: Their Hoods, which they flung down as Pledges of their Intention, were deliver'd to the Constable and Marshal to be kept. The Parliament might have taken Occasion from these Dissentions of the Noblemen to have proceeded with greater Severity against all the Instruments of this barbarous Fact; but the King having prescribed them such Measures as were more suitable for his present Condition, they contented themselves to inflict a more moderate Punishment on them, viz. That the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Surrey*, and *Exeter*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, and Earl of *Gloucester*, who had been the Accusers of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the other Lords, should be reduced to the same State they were in before the Arrest of the said Duke and Lords, losing not only their present Titles of Honour, of Duke, Marquess, and Earl, but also all those Castles, Lordships, Manors, or other Possessions whatsoever, which had been given them since the last Parliament, and belonged to any of the Persons whom they had impeach'd, or were held by Gift from the King, and should forthwith bring the Charters and Deeds of the said Lands, Castles, or Manors into the Chancery to be cancell'd; and, That it should be utterly unlawful for any of the said Lords to give Liveries to any Retainers, or keep any Persons about them, but necessary Servants; and, That it should be High-Treason in any of them to enable, or any ways assist King *Richard*, to recover his Crown, and disturb King *Henry* in the Possession of it.

These Inflictions satisfied the King and Parliament, but the Commonalty were not so con-

(b) His Hereditary Title was one of the Three by which he proclaim'd, that he held the Crown. The First was, *By Right of Conquest*; the Second was, *King Richard's Resignation and Designation of him for his Successor*; the Third and Last was, *His being of the Blood Royal, and next Heir Male of King Richard*; which last Words in the Proclamation occasion'd that *Pun of Mortimer's*, *Hares Milus*; but *Edmund* had his Jest and *Henry* his Crown.

(c) On the Day of his Coronation his Eldest Son *Henry* was by assent of all the Three Estates created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, being then about Eleven Years old; the Crown was also settled upon him after his Father's Death; and in case of the Death of the Prince, on Kings *Henry's* other Sons.



A. D. 1399. Reg. 1. tented, for they repined against the King, Archbishop, Earl of Northumberland, and others, that they were not put to Death, as well as those who had been immediate Actors; of whom *John Hall*, who confessed himself to be one, was in the Time of this Session hang'd and quarter'd, and his Head sent to *Calis*, to be set upon the Castle; for, if the Executioner acting by the King's Command be guilty of Murther, much more the false Accusers and Witnesses, who caused his Condemnation; but Moderation was thought more necessary at this Juncture, and especially, since the King's Authority was pleaded for their Action: But, that no such Pretences should be used for the future, a Statute was made, enacting, That it should be no Excuse hereafter for any Persons doing an unlawful Action, to alledge, that he was forced and constrained by the King; and a general Pardon was then granted to all Persons, but the Duke of Gloucester's Murtherers.

Proceedings against King Richard. The Parliament having proceeded thus far in the Matters done in King Richard's Reign, came next to consider about his Person; and the Motion being made how he should be disposed of, (d) that he might not be a Trouble to the King and Nation for the future, the Houses enter'd into hot and long Debates concerning it, as being a Matter of very great Importance; and among others, who by special Order of the Houses were allow'd to deliver their Opinions upon that Subject without Interruption, *John Marke*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, a Person both of Learning and Integrity (and as *Sir Walter Rayleigh* says, the only honest Man in the Parliament, who scorn'd his Life and Estate in respect to his Sovereign's Right, and his own Allegiance) having always disliked the former Proceedings, in deposing King Richard, and setting the Duke of Lancaster on the Throne, deliver'd his Judgment to this Effect, in a grave and learned Speech; That the Resolution of this Question being so necessary for the Settling the Peace of their own Consciences, as well as the future Order and Quiet of the Nation, they ought to consider, before they came to any Determination upon these Two Things. 1. Whether King Richard be sufficiently and lawfully deposed: And, 2. Whether King Henry be justly and prudently chosen in his Place. As for his own Opinion upon them, he freely and boldly laid it down before them thus: That though in a Popular or Consular State, such as of old, the Commonwealth of the *Lacedaemonians* and *Romans* at first were, and such as the Empire of *Germany*, Kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Swedeland*, and Dukedom of *Venice* at this Day are, it may be lawful for the Nobles, or People to restrain, or remove their Princes from their Imperial Power and Dignity, because they have not Regal Rights, yet in such Governments as the Sovereign Majesty is absolutely seated in the Prince, as it was in the Three first Empires, and in the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judea* anciently, and is in the Nations of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and almost all the Kingdoms of *Asia* and *Africa* at present, it is not, nor can be lawful for any, nor all their Subjects, whether Nobles or Commons, to injure and hurt the Persons, nor limit and abrogate the Power of such Kings, either by any judicial Proceedings, or by Force, altho' they be become not only unprofitable and hurtful, but intolerable and destructive to their

Subjects; and that because neither one, nor all Magistrates have any Authority over their Prince, from whom all their Power is derived, and whose Presence doth immediately suspend all their Rule and Jurisdiction; and more especially, because no Subject of what Degree or Condition soever can imagine, attempt, counsel, assist, or undertake any thing prejudicial to the Person or Authority of such Princes, but they incur the great and heinous Crime of High-Treason. Who were more cruel, unjust, and impious Princes than *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Saul*, and yet the Prophets *Jeremiah* and *David* command Obedience to, and condemn all rebellious Attempts against them? The Law of God allows not the Child to lift up his Hand against his Parent, be he a Robber, a Murtherer, and a Person never so execrable for Villanies, both to God and Man; and surely our Prince, who is *Pater Patria*, the common Father of all his Subjects, and therefore ought to be more sacred and dear to us than our natural Parents, may much less be rebelled against or deposed, though never so Tyrannical and Impious. The Oracles of God tell us, That Kings have Dominion over the Bodies and over the Cattle of their Subjects at their Pleasure; and the Church hath declared it an Heresie, to hold, That a Prince may be slain, or deposed by his Subjects for any Defects, either in his Life or Government. And if it be really unlawful to depose the worst of Princes, how unjust is it to depose good King Richard, who is really guilty neither of any Cruelty, nor Impiety. For, if we impartially examine the Accusations brought against him, we shall find nothing either of Truth or Moment objected. Some Errors and Overights he may be guilty of, but such as have proceeded from such Originals viz. want of Experience, or corrupt Counsels, as are very pardonable, and in their worst Effects have not favoured of Tyranny, or Cruelty; and if these Failings may be allow'd as just Causes of deposing Kings, the best of Princes will be daily in Danger, and every Tax, Execution of Criminals, or disapproved Action shall arm their Subjects against them. But suppose King Richard must be deposed without Authority in us, or desert in him, yet what Right had the Duke of Lancaster to the Crown? Why did we give it him? Heir he could not be to the Crown, not only because King Richard is still alive, and the Living have no Heirs; but because some of the Posterity of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, are yet surviving, whose Line by the Judgment of the Parliament, holden 8 Rich. II. was declared Heirs to the Crown. By Right of Conquest he could not have it; for being a Subject, all War raised by him against his Sovereign was Rebellion; and Victory, Treason. As for King Richard's Resignation of the Crown to the Duke, it gives him no Title; for by the Laws of the Land the King can't alienate so much as the ancient Jewels and Ornaments belonging to the Crown, much less the Crown it self and Kingdom; which, if it were in his Power, yet since it was exacted of the King in his Imprisonment, and under Constraint, it can't in Reason be thought of any Force to bind him; for no Act of a King can be obligatory that is not free, and none is free where Liberty is restrain'd, and Fear justly suspected.

(d) *Holinhead* says, The Commons Address was to this Purpose; That since King Richard had resign'd, and was lawfully deposed from his Royal Dignity, he might have Judgment decreed against him. P. 512.



A. D. 1399. Reg. 1. We have no Custom in *England*, that the People should elect them a King at their Pleasure, but they are always bound to submit to him, who by Right of Blood is the next Successor; and therefore the People's Election, as it can neither create a Title to the Crown, nor give any Regal Right, so neither can it make that Title good, which is before by Violence gotten and usurp'd. 'Twas nothing then that rais'd *Henry* to the Crown, but Ambition in himself, and a seditious Disposition in the People, who, though they have gotten greater Wisdom and Courage in their King by the Change; yet will find, if not greater Cruelty and Policy, shou'd the right Heirs ever be able to vindicate their Title by Arms, that they have entail'd Misery and Bloodshed upon themselves and Posterity. From these Premisses, he boldly concluded, That they had neither Power nor Policy to depose King *Richard*, nor elect King *Henry* in his room; That King *Richard* was still their lawful King, and that they ought not to pass any Judgment concerning him; That the Duke of *Lancaster* had offend'd more against the King and Realm by his impious Arms, than King *Richard* hath against him or us; and if they thought not fit to take Notice of *Henry's* Injuries done to the Nation, contrary to his Oath, yet their private and publick Dangers ought to deter them from any violent Proceedings against King *Richard*.

This Speech how well soever it was inwardly approved in such Mens Minds, whose Loyalty was stifled rather than extinct, yet was outwardly generally disgust'd, and the Bishop himself being apprehended and sent to the Tower by the Earl-Marshal, (e) the House proceeded to this Resolution, and caused it to be enacted, That King *Richard* having been lawfully deposed from his Royal Dignity for his Misgovernment, was by the Clemency of King *Henry*, granted his Life; yet, for the Security of the Kingdom, should be kept in close Imprisonment so long as he lived, being allow'd a Princely Attendance and Maintenance; but, if any Person should attempt his Deliverance, King *Richard* himself should be the first Man that should be put to Death for it.

And thus was the Nation secured against King *Richard*, and the bad Effects of his Government, as was thought; whereupon the Houses proceeded to provide as effectually as they could for the future Safety, Greatness, and Continuance of their new King, his Friends, and Children; and to that End made several Statutes, viz. 1. That no Persons that had been assisting to King *Henry*, either in subduing King *Richard*, and his Adherents, or in raising King *Henry* to the Regal Dignity, should be hereafter impeach'd for Rebellion and Treason. And whereas King *Richard* had procured a Bull of the Pope for the more certain Observation of some Statutes made by him and his Parliament, as tho' there were not sufficient Power in them to enforce Obedience without the Pope's Concurrence: This was look'd upon by the Parliament as a Derogation to the Regal Dignity of *England*; and accordingly, after they had voted it to be an Act of Wrong to the Nation in King *Richard*, to desire any such Bull of the Pope, they enacted; That the Crown of the Realm of *England*, and the Jurisdiction belonging to the same; as also the whole Realm it self is still, and at all Times lately past hath been at

such Liberty, and enjoy'd such an independent and absolute Prerogative, that neither the Pope, nor any other Prince or Potentate, who is out of the Kingdom, ought or may intrude himself, or intermeddle with the Rule and Government of the same; and so secured the full Power of the Regal Dignity to King *Henry*. And that not only himself, but Posterity might enjoy it, an Act of Settlement was made to entail the Crown upon King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his Body, lawfully begotten, viz. That from and after the Decease of King *Henry*, his eldest Son *Henry*, lately created by his Father, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*, should succeed him in the Crown and Government of the Nation, and his Heirs after him; but for want of such Heirs, it should descend and come unto his Three Younger Brothers, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, in order, in case the Heirs of any, or all of them did not survive them. By this Parliament also Arch-bishop *Arundel* was restored to his See; and *Roger Walden*, who had been put into it by King *Richard*, was removed. (f) Other Matters relating to the present State and Condition of the Nation were resolv'd, and agreed on; as about the Accompts of Sheriffs, the Liberties of Merchants-Strangers, the Necessity of sending Ambassadors to the Neighbouring Princes, about the present Change, to satisfy them in the King's Title, and Reason of his assuming the Kingdom, with such like Things; and so the Parliament was dissolved.

*Henry* having thus attended his Parliament for his Establishment; and not much minding how other Affairs went, till he saw what the Effects of that would be, because he knew that if the Parliament stood by him, other Opposition would easily be conquer'd, found the *English* Dominions both at Home and Abroad in great Disorder, and himself to stand very dubious, not only of the Affections of many of his own Subjects, but also of the Foreign Princes his Neighbours. The *Scots*, while the Parliament sat, knowing that the Lords and Gentlemen, who were the Guardians of the Northern Parts, could not be absent from it in this Juncture, invaded these Countries; and because the Pestilence so afflicted the Inhabitants of them, that few Men of Interest or Estate were left in them, had an Opportunity of doing much Mischief, which they were not wanting to make use of, and took the Castle of *Warke* in *Northumberland*, and demolished it.

The People of *Aquitain*, and especially those about *Bordeaux*, the Place of King *Richard's* Nativity, were much discontented, and were almost resolv'd to desert that perfidious Nation, which had proved so false and treacherous to their natural Prince, fancying they could not expect a Blessing from Heaven upon so unjust an Usurpation; and to join in Submission, was to bring themselves, as they supposed, under the Stroke of the deserved Vengeance, which was due to so unreasonable a Rebellion. The King of *France*, who was extremely incens'd at the Severity of the *English* against his Son-in-Law, King *Richard*, because he was disappointed at once of the Advantage he had propounded to himself in so good an Alliance, and to his Daughter in so great a Match, was not a little pleas'd to see his Neighbours in *Aquitain* so much disturb'd at the Change in *England*; and endeavouring to make their Discontents his Ad-

Ex Anno  
Hen. 4.  
Act 27.

(e) He was confin'd in the Abbey of *St. Alban's*. Hol.  
(f) But had the Bishoprick of *Londongiven* him.



A. D. 1399. Reg. 1. *W*antage, sent the Duke of *Bourbon* to solicit them to a Revolt, which they had easily been tempted to, had not Sir *Robert Knolles*, the English Governour there, and some of the most considerate Men over-perswaded them, that it was Madness to yield their Necks to the unsupportable Burthen of French Tyranny, out of mere Fears and Jealousies of a bad Consequence of the Revolution in *England*, which was at best changing a Certainty for an Uncertainty, and so restrain'd their Determination for a Time. King *Henry* being a watchful and crafty Prince, was not insensible of all these Inconveniencies to himself and Government, but with a wonderful Dexterity he applied such suitable Remedies to them all, as, in some measure, quickly dispelled the Dangers which seem'd thus to threaten him on all Sides. His own Subjects he won by Kindness, taking the Dukes of *Aumerle* and *Exeter* into particular Favour, and special Trust about his Person; which Confidence, tho' his Friends blamed him for, yet he chose to shew to them, lest any Indications of Jealousie should excite them to disturb his unsettled State. The Scots he despised, because they appear'd not as Enemies, but as Robbers. The Neighbouring Princes he endeavour'd to satisfy, by sending an Embassage to each of them, fully instructed with all such Arguments for his assuming the Regal Dignity, as rather made his Cause plausible, than justified it; and was so successful with all the Princes unconcern'd, that they seem'd to approve what he had done; unless it were the King of *France*, who resolved upon a War with *England*, to restore his Son-in-Law, King *Richard*, being instigated to it by many of his Nobles, but chiefly by *Valerem*, Earl of *S. Paul*, who had married King *Richard*'s half Sister. The deposed King, who had been kept a Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, during the Session of Parliament, was removed to his Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and a little after sent to *Pomfret* Castle in *Yorkshire*. The People of *Guyenne* and *Aquitain* King *Henry* pacified by sending over to them *Tho. Piercy*, Earl of *Worcester*, a Person faithful to his Interests, and very expert in managing Matters of that Nature, with a considerable Body of Men. He behaved himself with that Prudence and Moderation towards the wavering People, perswading the better Sort with fair Promises and good Arguments to continue their Subjection, and terrifying the common People with Threats and Arms, that he in a short time brought those Provinces to swear Fealty to King *Richard*, and yield as willing Obedience to him, as to any of the former Kings of *England*; yet he thought fit to plant some Garrisons among them, to secure their Allegiance, if they should be tempted to revolt, and so return'd Home again.

A. D. 1400. *W*hen things being thus settled, and tolerably composed for the present, the King was encouraged to keep his *Christmas* after the usual Manner at *Wind-sor*, in Feasting and Sports, as being secure from all Dangers, which were near at hand, or within his own Dominions at least, and having Time enough to prepare against his only open Enemy the King of *France*. But as Sores hastily cured seldom prove sound, so this sudden Settlement of Affairs, after so great a Change, soon appear'd to be weak: For, though the Nation generally approved and liked the King, yet there were many Malecontents, who either out of a true Principle of Loyalty, or out of Pity and Compassion to King *Richard*, or out of Discontent for their own Losses or Sufferings, desired and sought the Fall of the new erected Go-

vernment. The first Attempt that was made towards it, was begun while the King was giving up himself to the Pleasures and Ease of *Christmas*; and that it might carry no Shew of the Mischief design'd, was contrived to be acted in a Sport that was usual at that time, *Mumming*, or *Justing*, after this manner. The Abbot of *Westminster*, who was a much better Politician than Divine, and upon that account had been in great Favour and Credit with King *Richard*, was upon the Deposition of his Master not only troubled for the Loss of the Honours and Greatness he enjoy'd under him; but by the Placing of the Duke of *Lancaster* on the Throne, was put in great Fears of losing what he still enjoy'd, because he had heard him often say, when he was a Subject, That the Revenues of the Church were too great, and the Estates of the Noblemen in *England* too little; which made him conclude, That being now King, he would certainly take away the Revenues of the Abbies, to enrich his Nobles, and so ingratiate himself with the Laity, as well as strengthen his Interest with the Great Men of the Nation. To prevent such a Mischief to the Church, as well as to himself, the Abbot invited several of the Nobility and Gentry, whom he knew to be disaffected to the present Constitution, to a Feast in his Monastery, viz. the Lords lately degraded by Parliament, *Edward*, Earl of *Rutland*, late Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* and *John Holland*, the Earls of *Huntington* and *Kent*, late Dukes of *Exeter* and *Surrey*, *John Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Hugh*, Lord *Spencer*, late Earl of *Gloucester*, *Thomas*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, Sir *Ralph Lumley*, Sir *Bennet Celey*, and one *Magdalen*, a Priest, one of King *Richard*'s Chaplains, in Person much resembling his Master; and after Dinner, withdrawing with them into a private Chamber, he propounded the Restitution of King *Richard*. The Earl of *Holland*, whose Mind was full of Revenge against King *Henry* for his late Disgrace, as well as of Desires of restoring King *Richard*, who was not only his Brother, but best Benefactor, greedily embraced the Proposal; and having urged it upon the whole Company, That they were in Conscience obliged to endeavour to set their lawful King on his Throne again, and depose the Usurper, tho' with Loss of their Lives; That they had no Reason to think it an unlawful Fact, since the Laws and Examples of all civilized Nations did not barely permit this Action, but rewarded and honoured the Actors, as the greatest Benefactors to a Commonwealth: So far prevailed, that they all promised their utmost Assistance to destroy and murder King *Henry*, and entered into an Indenture *Sextipartite*, to bind themselves each to other to be diligent and faithful in the Undertaking, swearing to keep their Design secret, and attend carefully upon the Execution.

The Manner of effecting and bringing about their intended Plot, was thus contrived: The Earls of *Huntington* and *Salisbury* appointed to celebrate a solemn *Justes*, with Twenty select Men of a Side, at *Oxford*, under a Pretence of diverting the King; and to that End, the Earl of *Huntington* went to Him, to desire his Presence, and that his Majesty would be pleased to be Judge, if any Controversie should arise in their Exercise. The King not suspecting any Deceit, promised that he would be there at the Time prefix'd, and the Earls made such Preparations as if they were in Earnest, resolving, that when the King was intent upon the Sport,

A. D. 1440. Reg. 1. *W* A Conspiracy to murder K. Henry, and restore K. Richard, and the Occasion of it.

An Embassage sent to the Neighbouring Princes.

K. Henry keeps his Christmas at Wind-sor.



A. D. 1400. Sport, a Party of Men, placed conveniently on purpose, should fall upon him, and kill him.

Reg. 1. The Plot went on smoothly and unsuspected till the Day drew near, and the Lords, having all Things in a Readiness, were preparing to set forward for *Oxford*. The Earl of *Rutland*, late Duke of *Aumerle*, who was one of the principal Conspirators, was as forward as any in the Design; but as he was passing to *Oxford*, left his direct Way to give his Father, the Duke of *York*, a Visit, and dine with him. The Earl had brought with him the Counterpart of the Indenture, in which he was bound to the Confederates, and having put it in his Bosom as he was eating, it was espied by his Father, who immediately ask'd him what Writing it was, and what was the Purport of it? The Earl, conscious of the Subject, and knowing how ungrateful such an Enterprize would be to his Father, submissively told him, *That it was nothing that concern'd him, and humbly begg'd that he might be excused.* But the Duke seeing his Son's Backwardness to shew him the Writing, accompanied with Fear and Surprise, was the more eager to know the Contents of it, and swearing by *St. George*, That he would see it, flew upon his Son, and by Force took it from him. When the Duke had read it, and saw the Treasonable Design carry'd on by it, he burst out into a great Passion at his Son, charging him not only with Treason to the King, but the most ungrateful Perfidiousness to himself, who being bound for his Allegiance in the last Parliament, was involved in the same Ruine and Destruction with him: And therefore told him, *That since he had so little Regard to the Safety of a Father, that had been so tender of his Son's Preservation, as to lay down his Life as a Pledge for it, he would take Care to secure his own Life, tho' with an Hazard to his Son's;* and thereupon order'd his Horses to be saddled, to go to *Windsor*, and discover the whole Matter to the King. The Earl of *Rutland*, affrighted with his present Danger, and having his Conscience, as well as his Father, for his Accuser, was in great Perplexity what he should do; and tho' he was unwilling to desert his Confederates, yet, now seeing nothing but unavoidable Ruine to attend the Prosecution of their Design, because the King would, by his Father's Discovery of it, have Time to avoid their Contrivance, and provide against them, he resolv'd to become the first Betrayer of the Plot himself, and therefore taking Horse as soon as his Father was gone, rode another Way to *Windsor*, and got to the King before him, Youth and Danger putting Spurs to his Horse. As soon as he arrived at the Castle, and had gain'd Admission, he pretended earnest Business with the King, and having caus'd the Gates to be lock'd, took the Keys with him. Being come into the King's Presence, he kneel'd down to him, and with a trembling Voice, and dejected Countenance, begg'd his Mercy and Pardon. The King wondring at his Petition, ask'd him, *For what Offence?* Then the Earl gave him a full Account of the Conspiracy, and Conspirators, with the Manner and Design of the Execution of it. The King, neither rashly credulous, nor imprudently careless of his own Safety, entertain'd the Discovery kindly, and told the Earl, *That if his Relation were true, he would pardon him, but if he sought to impose upon him, it should be at his own Peril.* These

Confiracy betray-  
ed by the  
Earl of  
*Rutland*.

Things had hardly passed between the King and Earl, but the Duke of *York* arriv'd, who by delivering the Indenture to the King, gave him a sufficient Demonstration of the intended Treason and Plot against his Life: So that after he had read and perused it, there was no Room left to doubt of the Confession he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Rutland*; wherefore, making some Reflections upon the Baseness and Ingratitude of his Enemies, whom he spared, contrary to the Desire of the People, in thus seeking his Ruine, he turn'd his Thoughts to more necessary Considerations, how he should secure himself, and defeat the Designs of his Enemies, for his Intention of going to *Oxford* sunk of it self. And for that End he wrote his Letters to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, and such of his Friends as he had in other Countries, to provide what Forces they could raise with all Speed, and come to him to *London*, whither he posted as fast as he could, for fear lest his Enemies should surprize him at *Windsor*; and (g) having acquainted the Major with his impending Danger, provided a Force in the City for his Defence, resolving to stay there till he could find what Course his Enemies would take against him.

The Lords, and the rest of the Conspirators at *Oxford*, who waited in Expectation of the Earl of *Rutland*, not hearing of his or the King's Approach, easily guess'd, that the Plot was betray'd, and therefore considering, that they had so lately been pardon'd, and could not hope again for Mercy, which they had so grossly abused, resolv'd to undertake by open Arms, what they had contriv'd to effect more privately: And that they might get as great a Party as was possible, they cloath'd *Magdalen* in Royal Robes, and gave it out, That King *Richard* had made his Escape from *Pomfract-Castle*, and was come among them to recover his Right, having their *Pseudo-Richard* ready to justify their Pretences to the Scrupulous and Inquisitive. And because they knew, that the King of *France* would be glad of an Opportunity of restoring his Son-in-Law *K. Richard*, they sent to him for his Assistance, and tho' it was not possible to have it presently, yet hoped, he might contribute something in the Spring to their Success. In the mean time, they sent out their Emissaries, to gather as great Numbers out of the Nation to restore King *Richard*, as they could, and wrought so far upon the People, who generally pity'd the hard Fate of the Captive King, that in a few Days they had gotten together 40000 Men, well arm'd. This prosperous Beginning seem'd an Omen of their good End; and, that they might effect their Desires as soon as possible, they march'd first towards *Windsor* against King *Henry*, whom if they could surprize, they hoped to make a speedy Conclusion of the Nation's Troubles; but the King was escap'd to *London* the Night before, and so they miss'd of their Prey. This Disappointment put them into great Doubts how to proceed effectually against him. Some advis'd to march forward to *London*, and set upon the King, while the City was unresolv'd, and in no Readiness to make any Resistance, which as it was the best Course they could take, so it shew'd a brave Courage in the Advisers: But the most part, who were more timorous and cautious, thought it better to release King *Richard* first, lest if

The  
Lords car-  
ried on the  
Rebellion  
after Dis-  
covery.

(g) He staid a Day or two at *Windsor*, but hearing the Conspirators had got 40000 Men together, he stole away in the Night to *London*; and a few Hours after he was gone, the Rebels came to *Windsor*. Sir *J. Heyward's Hen. IV.* it



A. D. 1400. Reg. 1. it should be discover'd, that he was still in Prison, all their Plot should be unravell'd. This Counsel, tho' the worst, was accepted, and in pursuit of it, they turn'd back to *Colebrook*, and so went to *Sunnings*, near *Reading*, where Queen *Isabel's* Palace was; to whom they gave this Account, That the King was gotten from his Imprisonment at *Pomfract*, and at the Head of an Army of 100000 Men. Which News was so pleasant to the Queen, that she immediately defaced King *Henry's* Arms, and pull'd off his Badge from her Servants, who were engaged to wear it, (b) and then departed with the Lords to meet King *Richard*; exhorting the People, as they pass'd along, to take Arms to vindicate their injured King, who was, and is, and should be their Sovereign. They pass'd through *Wallingford*, and *Abbingdon*, and at length came to (i) *Cirencester*; where having encamp'd their Army in the Fields, the Lords took up their Lodgings in the Town, the Earl of *Kent*, late Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Salisbury*, in one Inn; and Earl of *Huntington*, late Duke of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Spenser*, late Earl of *Gloucester*, in another Inn. The Bailiff of the Town, who was a firm Friend to King *Henry*, observing the ill Conduct of this rebellious Rout, and knowing, that if the Heads of the Faction could be suppress'd, the misguided Multitude would melt away of it self, look'd upon the impolitic Separation of the Lords from the Body of the Army, to be a good Opportunity of suppressing the Rebellion, if he could get them into his Power, which seem'd no difficult Matter, because they lay in weak Inns, with no Guards, but a small Attendance of Servants: Wherefore, getting together about Eighty Archers, and such other Arms, as the Time would give leave, he beset the Inns; and, though the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Salisbury* with their Men made as brave a Resistance as the Place and their Company would permit; yet they were at length all, but the Duke of *Exeter* and Sir *John Shelly* taken, and carried Prisoners to the Abbey. All Means was used by the Servants of the Lords, and their Retainers to further their Escape, for they set the Town on fire in several Places, hoping, that while the Townsmen were busied to save their Houses and Goods, their Masters might have Opportunity to get from them: Others fled to the Army to relate the Accident, and bring them to rescue their Captains and Leaders, but all proved in vain; for the Townsmen enraged by the mischievous Action, neglected their Houses, and bringing forth the Lords, whom they look'd upon as the Authors and Advisers of this cruel Act, beheaded Two of them in the Market-place, viz. The Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Salisbury*. And the Army seeing the Fires in the Town, supposed that King *Henry*, who had gotten a good Army of *Londoners*, and others, and was pursuing them, had entred the Town; so every Man fled to save themselves.

King *Henry* was by this Time arriv'd at *Oxford*, with Intention to stop the Progress of the Rebels; but the Service of the Men of *Cirencester* had made his Arms useless, being met there with the good News of their Dispersion, and a strong Guard, with Sir *Bennett Shelly*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, and Twenty Eight Lords, Knights and Gentlemen more, who were the chief Leaders of the

Rebellion, whom they had taken and sent to be disposed of at the King's Pleasure. These he immediately caused to be executed there. Some of the Lords, and others who were Chief in this Revolt, were fled, as the Duke of *Exeter* and Sir *John Shelly*, (k) who got into *Essex*, and attempted several Times to get over into *France*, but were driven back by contrary Winds; and so at length were taken at *Prittlewell*, and being carry'd to *Pleshy*, were executed in the very Place where the Duke had before arrested the Duke of *Gloucester*; a just Reward, as was then thought, of his Wickedness to that Nobleman. The Earl of *Gloucester* fled towards *Wales*, but being taken, was beheaded at *Bristol*, and *Magdalene*, the Counterfeit *Richard*, with one *Fezby*, another of King *Richard's* Chaplains, were apprehended in their Flight to *Scotland*, and being brought to the Tower of *London*, were hang'd and quarter'd. The Heads and Quarters of many of the Conspirators were set upon *London-Bridge*, and sent into other Parts of the Nation to be a Terror to the King's Subjects against such Attempts for the future, which, tho' a just Punishment, yet savour'd so much of Cruelty, that many grave Men were discontented at it, and spared not to say, That in a short time they should wish they still had had King *Richard* for their Governour, the Faults which proceeded from his Remissness and Mildness being more tolerable than the Cruelty of their new King. But yet, for the present, all Things seem'd quiet, and the Rebellion was perfectly allay'd, which, though it was a great Satisfaction to King *Henry* and his Friends, yet was born so heavily by the Abbot of *Westminster*, who was the Author of it, that, for mere Grief of the Disappointment, he fell suddenly into a Palsey, of which he shortly after died. The Bishop of *Carlisle* had the like Death about the same time; for being condemn'd for this Rebellion, he prevented his more shameful Execution by dying for Grief and Trouble in Prison. And thus most of King *Richard's* best Friends were taken off by this first Attempt.

But altho' this Conspiracy against King *Henry's* Life and Dignity was by a propitious Providence disappointed, and the Actors perish'd as suddenly and exemplarily as the King himself could have desired; yet so long as the Cause remain'd, and King *Richard* was alive, he thought he could never promise himself any Security, but, upon every small Discontent, the plausible Pretence of restoring King *Richard* to his Throne would be made use of to revenge themselves, and disturb his Quiet: He should be always look'd upon as an Usurper so long as King *Richard*, whose Right was confirm'd by 22 Years Possession, survived; and, notwithstanding the Rebellion was now appeas'd, yet what Respite could he hope from the like Attempts, so long as the Body of the Rebels still remain'd, wanting only Heads to lead them. These Arguments, grounded upon strong Fears and Presumptions, made him think King *Richard's* Death necessary first, and after put him upon Resolutions of destroying him. Our Historians differ much in the Manner of his Death, tho' most agree it was by *Henry's* Means: For that King *Richard* should voluntarily starve himself for Discontent at the ill Success of the late Rebellion, as some have related, seems very

A. D. 1400. Reg. 1.

The Rebels routed at Cirencester.

Several of the Chief of the Rebels executed at Cirencester.

K. Richard murder'd

(b) The King's own Servants attended on her

(i) at *Cirencester*.

(k) They got out of *Cirencester*, while the Duke of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the other Conspirators, were fighting with the Townsmen, and coming to the Rebels Camp, found them dispersed at the Sight of the Fire in the Town.

im-



*A. D.* 1400. *Reg. 1.* improbable, because he could not be so ignorant of the uncertain Events of Battles and Warlike Attempts, as to be so impatient for a Disappointment, nor had Reason to despair of future Endeavours for him, since of the many Thousands that join'd for his Restoration, he had not lost Half an Hundred. Those that impute King *Richard's* Death to King *Henry's* Order or Encouragement, disagree in the Method of doing it. Some say, He was, by his Order, kept Fifteen Days together from Food, and so, by the Help of Cold, starv'd to Death. Others write, That he was every Day served with Plenty of Dishes fit for a King's Table, as was order'd by Parliament, but not permitted to touch any of them, and so died with Hunger: But both these Ways of destroying were so plain and barbarous, that most of our Modern Historians are of Opinion, That King *Henry* would not so notoriously contradict his Promise, which he had so lately made in Parliament, *That King Richard's Life should not be touch'd.* And therefore the general Current of our Writers follow the Relation of an Author (*1*) of those Times, who seems to have had very good Intelligence of his Death, and relates it thus: That K. *Henry* sitting at Table one Day very sad and melancholy, burst out into these Words, *How miserable is my Condition! who live in continual Fears and Dangers from but one Cause, and yet have no Man so much my Friend as to free me from them.* Sir *Peirce de Exton* hearing these Words, easily guess'd what the King meant, and though he knew them to be no Order or Command, yet he believ'd it would be the more acceptable Undertaking to execute his Desire without an express Command from him; and therefore immediately hasten'd, with Eight Ruffians, to *Pomfract* to execute his bloody Design. When he was arriv'd, he order'd the Gentleman, who usually was King *Richard's* Taster, to neglect his Service, and let him eat what he pleased, because he should not eat long. When his Dinner therefore was served in, the Taster omitting his Duty, King *Richard* demanded the Cause of it, who reply'd, *That Sir Pierce de Exton, who was lately come from the King, had forbid him.* At which Answer King *Richard*, being angry, catch'd up the Carving-Knife, and striking the Taster with it, said, *The Devil take Harry of Lancaster, and thee together.* As the King spoke these Words, came in Sir *Peirce* himself, and his Eight Attendants arm'd. Their Design was easily known by the Roughness of their Entrance, and King *Richard* was so far from being daunted at their Presence, that he wrung an Pole-Ax out of one of their Hands, and stood upon his Defence. The Ruffians and Sir *Peirce* undauntedly pursued their Intent, and assaulted the King, who so well defended himself, that he kill'd Four of them before they could master him. At length Sir *Peirce* himself coming behind him, struck him a Blow on the Head, and fell'd him, and so he died. The News of King *Richard's* Death, however it might inwardly please *Henry*, yet he openly received it with no small Signs of Sorrow for his untimely Fate, and as great Disgust to the Instruments of it; so that Sir *Peirce*, who expected a Reward for this Piece of Service, was quite put out of Favour, and forced to flee to escape the Punishment due to his Crime, which the King, to save his own Honour, seem'd zealous to execute, and died in Discontent, and

*A. D.* 1400. *Reg. 1.* Horrour of Conscience.

Thus did King *Richard* end his Life, after he had lived 33 Years, and reigned 22, some few Months after his Deposition. He was a Man of a very well-proportion'd Body and graceful Personage, of a very liberal and kind Disposition, which, for want of more Age and Experience, expos'd him to the Flatteries and crafty Insinuations of such as were about him, and humour'd his Genius to Pleasures and Pastimes, which he much lov'd and follow'd. He was by Nature every way qualified to have made an excellent King, neither wanting Understanding to rule, nor Courage to defend a Nation; but being corrupted in his Youth by Flattery, and misled by lewd Persons, he neither knew himself nor others, which was the only Cause of his Ruine; for had he dared to do as much at his last Arrival in *Wales*, as he did at his Death, or had he made better Choice of Friends, as he had Judgment enough to have done, he might have kept his Kingdom, perhaps, longer than he did. He was guilty certainly of many Faults in Government; but those, either really none of his own, or for want of Experience; which, had they happen'd in other Times, might have been born with, but meeting with Pride and Ambition in the Great Ones, and Discontents in the People, proved his Destruction.

King *Henry*, being thus rid of his Fears, took such Care of his Funeral, as shew'd, that he neither neglected him, nor would own him for a Rival in his Dignity. His Body being embalm'd, and wrapp'd in Sear-Cloaths, was cover'd with Lead all but the Face, and set in the *Minster* at *Pomfract* several Days to be seen of all Persons, who, either out of Curiosity or Pity, would behold him. From thence it was removed to *London*, and in most of the principal Towns as it was carry'd along, was shew'd to all Spectators. In its Passage thro' the City, the Corps was carried bare-faced, and being brought to *St. Paul's*, lay Three Days also open to all Beholders, in which time was kept a solemn Obsequies to the deceased Prince, both in that Cathedral, and at *Westminster*, King *Henry* himself being present at them, with all the Magistrates, and chief Men of the City. These sacred Offices being perform'd according to the Religion of those Times, the King commanded his Corps to be carried down to *Langley-Abbey*, in *Buckinghamshire*, and there buried in the Church of the *Friars-Precursors*, which was accordingly done by the Bishop of *Chester*, and the Abbots of *Waltham*, and *St. Albans*; none of the Nobles or Commoners being allow'd to attend it, nor any Dinner, or other Ceremony used at it, as was the Custom of those Times. But King *Henry* afterwards had his Body brought back again, and magnificently entombed at *Westminster*, by the Body of his Queen *Ann*, by this pious Deed endeavouring to expiate his Father's Injustice, and Cruelty done to that King.

Much about the Time of King *Richard's* Death, deceased also the Dutches of *Gloucester*, who being extremely grieved for the Loss of her Eldest Son *Humphrey*, who died of the Pestilence at *Chester*, sunk under the Load of her Sorrows, and departed this Life. *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, who, for his Accusation of the then Duke of *Hereford*, but now the King, was banish'd for his Life, died also in

(1) *Thomas of Walsingham.*



A. D. 1400. Reg. 1. Exile at Venice, John, Duke of Brittain in France, who had for his first Wife Mary, Daughter of King Edward the Third, deceased also, leaving behind him a Widow Joanna, who was not long after marry'd to King Henry, and three Sons,

The D. of York's Death and Character. John, Richard, and Arthur. Edmund, Duke of York, also yielded to Mortality about this Time, and left two Sons, Edward, late Duke of Aumerl, and then Earl of Rutland, who was Heir of his Honour and Estate; and Richard, Earl of Cambridge, who marrying Anna Mortimer, the Heiress of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and Daughter of Philippa, the only Child surviving of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, became afterward a Competitor for the Crown. He carry'd himself in his Nephew King Richard's Reign with such Prudence and Caution, that he neither incur'd the Odium of the Court or People, as almost all the rest of the Nobility did, but was trusted by the King, and yet loved by the Commons. Under King Henry he shew'd more Compliance to the Change of Government, than was thought agreeable to the Relation he had to the King; but there was so great a Necessity of submitting, where all Opposition had been fruitless, that even in this worst Action of his Life, he kept up his Reputation of Honesty and Prudence to the last, and died lamented and honour'd; his Moderation in all times gaining him both Praise and Safety.

King of France ready to invade England, desists from it upon the News of King Richard's Death. While these Things happen'd in England, Charles, King of France, who had resolved to revenge the Wrong done to King Richard by the English, was very active and busie to gather such an Army, as might be able to effect his Design; and by the Assistance of his Nobility, who readily concurr'd with him in so great a piece of Justice, had got all Things necessary for that Expedition ready against the Spring, and was come down with a mighty Army into Picardy; from whence he intended to sail over into England: But the News of the Death of King Richard being brought to the Army, chang'd their Resolutions; and now since they saw it impossible to restore him, the King and chief Men engag'd in that Enterprize thought it the best way to desist from the Invasion, which, though it had some shews of Advantage by plundering so rich a Country, for which End some desir'd it might go on, yet had so much evident Hazzard attending it, that most were willing and glad of the Opportunity of laying it aside, and so the Army was dismissed: And it was resolv'd, that a solemn Embassage should be sent over to Henry to demand, that Queen Isabell should be sent into France to her Father with her Dower, which was accordingly done; but King Henry would give them no other Answer than this, *That he would shortly send his Commissioners to Callis to treat and conclude with their Master about that, and several other Affairs of Importance to both Realms, and then would do what was Just and Reasonable.*

The Welsh rebel under Owen Glendour. This Summer the Welsh weary of Subjection to the English, and thinking this a fit Opportunity to revolt, when Subjection was grown a disputed Duty, set up Owen Glendour to be their Prince and Captain, and associating themselves in a firm League under him, resolv'd to recover their Ancient Liberty, and free themselves from the English Yoke. This Owen was of no great Parentage among his People nor Estate; but being a Gentleman of great Courage and Boldness in himself, and because he had been a Servant of King Richard's at Flint-Castle, was very forward to oppose and annoy King Henry's Dominions, partly to vindicate his Old Ma-

ster, and partly his own private Wrongs. The latter he thought would be the more plausible Pretence for his Rebellion; and therefore having had a Quarrel with Reginald, Lord Gray of Ruthen, about a part of a Common which lay between their Estates, and had been enjoy'd by Owen some time in King Richard's Days, but was lately adjudg'd by Law to belong to the Lord Gray, to the great Discontent of Owen Glendour, who taking occasion from the rebellious Humour of his Country-men, invaded the Lord Gray's Estate, with a Body of Men, burns his Houses and Woods, tramples down his Corn, and barbarously murder'd his Servants and Tenants. The Lord Gray, with such Assistance as he could get among his Neighbours and Friends, stood up in his own Defence, and sought to subdue his Enemies: But being overpower'd by Owen Glendour and his Welsh Men, was taken Prisoner himself, and many of his Assistants kill'd. Owen, glad of this Advantage to raise his Family, treated the Lord very gently and civilly, and promised him Liberty upon Condition, that he would marry his Daughter: But the Lord at first scorn'd the Offer; yet at length considering that he was unable to discharge his Ransom without a greater Damage to his Estate accepted it, and was marry'd to her, which was not so grateful to Owen, as to oblige him to release him, because he look'd upon it as only a crafty Design, and therefore he as deceitfully dealt with him, and kept him Prisoner till his Death. The Success which the Welsh had against the Lord Gray, so encourag'd them, that they made another inroad into Herefordshire, and having spoil'd and harass'd the Country, return'd with much Riches and Prey. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who was retreated to his Mannor of Wigmore, in that County, being much griev'd for the Miseries of his Country, assembl'd all the Gentry of those Parts to oppose these Insolencies of their Neighbours, and engaging with them, maintain'd a bloody and long Battel; but by the good Conduct of Owen, who like a brave Commander encourag'd his Men to hold out, with the Glory of Victory, and Promises of Reward, they were overcome, above a Thousand of the English being slain, and the Earl of March himself taken Prisoner: The Welsh grew very Insolent by this Victory, and not only abused the Bodies of the Slain, but having loaden the Earl of March with Chains, put him into a nasty and irksom Dungeon, and ravag'd all the Countries on the West of Severn, burning and destroying the Towns and Villages with extreme Barbarity. King Henry was not insensible of these Mischiefs, but either looking upon them as the Effects of a private Quarrel between the Welsh and their Neighbours, or else being taken up with Matters of greater Moment, would not concern himself in them; and though he was solicited much by the Friends of the Earl of March to revenge his Quarrel, and redeem him from Captivity, yet he would not listen to their Desires, knowing his Title to the Crown, and his Liberty might be a Damage to him, but told them, *The Earl had not engag'd in his Quarrel, and therefore he was under no Obligation to redeem him.*

The Scots trouble England, and War is proclaim'd between the Two Nations. While these Things were done by the Welsh, the Scots were not idle in molesting England both by Land and Sea, though with no great Advantage to themselves, the English doing as much Damage to the Scots in the Isles of Orkney, as they had done in Northumberland, and taking the greatest part of their Fleet, which they had sent



A. D. 1400. Reg. 2. sent out, under the Command of Sir Robert Logan, to surprize the *English* Fishermen; yet so long as Damages were equal, the Peace was not actually broken, till King *Henry* was thought to give an Occasion to *Robert*, King of *Scots*, to proclaim open War upon this Account, and for this Reason: *George Dunbarr*, Earl of the *Marches* of *Scotland*, having betroth'd his Daughter to Prince *David*, the Eldest Son of *Robert*, King of *Scots*, had paid that King a great Sum of Money, in Consideration of the Marriage which was shortly to be celebrated; but being defeated in his Agreement by the Subtilty of *Archibald*, Earl of *Douglas*, who envying the Dignity of the Earl of *March's* Family, so prevail'd with the King, that he married his Son to his own Daughter *Mariel*. This Affront and Disappointment was a very great Vexation to the Earl of *March*, inso much that he could hardly restrain his Passions from breaking out into open Rebellion; but chusing first to make the Cause known, demanded of King *Robert* the Restitution of his Money, which he had paid him; but the King not able to spare it, tho' he could not refuse Payment, yet would neither promise it, nor pay it, but put him off with delusory Answers and Delays. The Earl being impatient at the injustice of *Robert*, sends Messengers to the King of *England*, to request of him a Permission for himself and Family to come into his Dominions, and Letters of safe Conduct for that End, complaining heavily of the Injury done him by his own King, and intending by the Assistance of the *English* to revenge his Wrongs and Loss. King *Henry* thinking that the Earl might be some Advantage to him, if there should happen any Wars between the Two Nations, gave him Liberty to come into his Kingdom; and he immediately fled out of *Scotland* with his Family to *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom he was receiv'd with a grateful Welcome, and by his Assistance and Advice, the Earl made many Incursions into *Scotland* with Success, burning their Towns, and returning with much Booty.

The King of *Scots* hearing that the Earl of *March* was gone, and turn'd his open Enemy, deprived him of his Honour, seiz'd upon all his Goods and Possessions in *Scotland*, and proclaim'd him an open Traitor, sending Messengers to King *Henry*, to tell him, That he must either deliver up to him the Earl of *March*, or banish him his Dominions, or else not expect that the Truce between the Two Nations should last long. King *Henry* knowing the uncertain Humour of the *Scots*, and considering their late Incursions, to the Prejudice of his Subjects, was resolv'd not to lose the Benefit of this Discontent between the King of *Scots* and Earl of *March*, and therefore return'd an Answer, That he was desirous of the Continuance of the Peace, but not fearful of the War, which he would rather run the Hazard of, than falsifie his Honour and Promise to the Earl of *March*, and his Company, who had come into his Nation by his Permission and Leave. This Answer being brought to the Scotch King, so incensed him, that he proclaim'd War against the King of *England*, and accordingly both Kings began their Preparations for it against the next Spring, when the Season would allow it.

The Greek Emperor comes into England.

The *Grecian* Emperor *Immanuel Palaeologus*, whose Dominions were in great Danger to be lost by the Incursions of the *Turks*, under *Bazajet* the Sixth, came into *England* to beg King *Henry's* Assistance against them. The King met him at *Black-Heath*, and conducted him with much Respect and Honour through the City of

*London*, and entertain'd him magnificently, bearing his Charges all the Time of his Abode in *England*, which was but short, because he receiv'd News, that the King of *Leto* had defeated the *Bassa* of *Jerusalem*, and taken that City, and he thought it might be some Advantage to his Affairs at Home: Wherefore, taking his Leave of King *Henry*, he departed, being dismiss'd by him with rich Gifts, and Promises of a larger Assistance, when he should by God's Providence have Peace settled among his Subjects.

In the *Utis* or *Octaves* of *S. Hilary*, Jan. 21. the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and made divers Acts for the Benefit both of Church and State. For the Good of the Church, it was made a *Præmunire* for any Person to purchase any Bull from the Pope, to exempt them from Payment of Tythes, for the *Cistercian* Monks, and other religious Orders then began to bring in such Exemptions, not only for their own *Granges*, but also for all their Farms and Lands belonging to their Monastries holden by Laymen, and so much lessen'd the Maintenance of the Secular Clergy, which further to prevent, the Parliament made this Act. But that which was then thought to be the best Act for the Support of the Church, was the Statute against the *Lollards*, or Hereticks of those Times, because Corruptions in Doctrines are more prejudicial to the Church, than the Loss of its Revenues. The Occasion of this Act, was this: One *William Sawter*, a Priest, but a Follower of *Wickliff's* Doctrine, having formerly recanted his Opinions before the Bishop of *Norwich*, grew more zealous upon his Repentance, and rise from this Fall; and that he might satisfy for his Lapse, by an Act of singular Courage and Charity, came into the Parliament House, and petition'd, That he might be allow'd to speak something for the inestimable Benefit and Advantage of the Nation, purposing to propound a general Reformation both of Doctrine and Discipline in the Church. The Bishops, who some of them knew the Man and his Conversation, and that though he were a Man of singular Piety and Vertue, yet worshipp'd God after the Way which they call'd Heresie, opposed his Request, and desired that he might be turn'd over to the Convocation to be examined; which being granted, he was there accused of holding Heterodox Opinions about the Worship of Saints and Angels, Pilgrimages to Tombs and Shrines, and the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. To which, being obliged to answer particularly, many Days were spent in his Examination, and Conviction. In the mean time the Clergy and their Friends, being excited by his Forwardness, to stand up for their Doctrine and Church, became earnest Suiters to the King, to provide a sufficient Remedy against so growing an Evil, and obtain'd a severe Act against all erroneous Opinions; because, in this unsettled Estate, he was willing to gratifie the Clergy, who had assisted him in his coming to the Throne, and being discontented, might much embroil his Affairs: Therefore he caused it to be enacted, 'That none should preach without License, except Persons priviledged: That none should preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of Holy Church; and, that none should favour or abet such Preachers, or their Doctrines, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the Diocesan of the Place, within Forty Days after the Proclamation of this Statute: And, if

A. D. 1400. Reg. 2.

A. D. 1401.

Second Parliament, and its Acts.

The Act de Hæretico comburendo first made.



A. D. 1401. Reg. 2. if any Persons were defamed, or suspected of doing against this Ordinance, then the Ordinary might arrest them, and keep them in Prison till they were Canonically clear'd of the Articles laid to their Charge, or abjured them according to the Laws of the Church, provided that the Proceedings against them were publickly and judicially done, and ended within Three Months after the Arrest; and, if they were convicted, he might fine them, and keep them in Prison, as to him should seem fit: And if any being convicted did refuse to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapse, then they were to be left to the Secular Court: And the Mayors, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs being present at the Passing the Sentence, were to receive them after Sentence, and they before the People in an High-place to be burnt.

This Act was no sooner past, but the Clergy put it in Execution upon William Sauter, that it might be a Terror to all others; for being convicted of Heresie, and Relapse, the King issued out his Writ, Feb. 26. for his Execution, which was done accordingly, (m) and so the Act was sealed with Blood.

Other Laws also were made of great Use and Advantage to the State, viz. That no Provisions should be brought from Rome by any religious Person, to exempt him from Obedience to the Secular Power; and that all such Persons that shall bring any such Provisions into the Nation, shall incur a *Premunure*. That no Person shall carry any Gold or Silver in Coin, without the special License of the King, out of the Nation; and if any Person shall presume to do the Contrary, he shall forfeit all the said Coin to the King. That the Chirographer of the *Common-Pleas*, Clerk of the Crown of the *King's-Bench*, the Marshal of the *Marshalsea* of the King's House should take no greater Fees than what are prescribed and limited by the said Statutes.

By these Acts the due Subjection of the Clergy and People was preserved and secured to the King, the Traffick of the Nation promoted, and Courts of Justice made an Ease, and not an intolerable Grievance, as since they have been, to all such as seek their Rights. We do not find that the King had, or desired any Tax in this or the former Parliament, because, as he had no great Need of more than the Revenues of the Crown, so he was willing to get the Love of the People by easing them of Charge, and oppressing Taxes.

A Treaty between the English and French, and Queen Isabel sent into France. As soon as the Parliament was dismissed, the King sent his Ambassadors according to his Promise to *Guisnes*, to treat with the French about Queen Isabel's Restitution, and other Matters of Importance. The English Ambassadors were Edward, Duke of York; Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and his Son Henry, surnamed, *Hotspur*; the Lord Fitz-Warren, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln; and the French were, the Duke of Bourbon, the Lords D'Albert, Hangeft, and Chastellonant, and the Bishops of Paris and Beauvais. The main Things insisted upon by the English were, that Queen Isabel might be given in Marriage to King Henry, (n) since the Marriage between her and King Richard was never consummated by actual Knowledge; and that the Truce which was made by King Richard for Thirty Years, might be continued

for the Years that were unexpired. The French Ambassadors would by no Means consent to a Marriage, because it was not in their Instructions to treat about it, and their Master being in a Fit of his old Disease, the Frenzy, was not capable of treating with, about any such Proposition; and so they insisted upon it, That she should be restor'd, with her Dower. The English reply'd, That the Marriage not being compleated, she had no Dower, but she should be sent back with her Treasure and Jewels. Concerning the Truce, they came to a firm Agreement, That so much of the Truce as was unexpired should go on, till the Thirty Years were out: And so the Treaty ended, and Queen Isabel was soon after sent, under the Care of the Earl of Worcester, and several other Noblemen and Women, into France, and between *Bulloigne* and *Calis* was deliver'd to the Lord Valeran, Earl of St. Paul, Lieutenant in Picardy, who, with many French Lords and Ladies, convey'd her to Paris to her Father and Mother, by whom she was not long after given in Marriage to Charles, the eldest Son of Lewis, Duke of Orleans. The Earl of Northumberland protested her free from all Marriage-Bonds, and received a Testimonial of her safe Delivery to them, from the Earl of St. Paul.

King Henry, having gather'd a large Army to go against Scotland, thought it was the wisest Way not to wait for the Coming of the Scots, but to invade his Enemies Country, because by that means the Miseries of the War would fall wholly upon the Scots, and both Sides prey upon Scotland: Wherefore sending some of his Light Troops before, to bring a Terrour upon them, that they might not invade England before he could arrive with the whole Army, he entred Scotland at last with all his Forces, and burnt many of their Towns and Villages, took their Castles, and ruin'd the greatest part of Edinburgh and Leith, sparing nothing but Monastries and Churches. The Scots, terrified with the Greatness of his Army, which they represented much greater than it really was, fled before him, and made no Resistance; so that where-ever he came, the whole Country was left in his Power, and to the Will of his Soldiers.

In the End of September, the King besieged the Castle of Maidens in Edinburgh, which was maintain'd against him by David, Duke of Rothsay, Prince of the Realm, and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, who were the Causes of the War. While this Castle was besieged, Robert, Duke of Albany, was appointed Governour of the Realm, because the King of the Scots was very sick, and unable to govern. This Duke, being under an Obligation, as Vice-Roy, to rescue the Castle from being taken, sent to King Henry, desiring him to forbear an Assault upon it for Six Days only, and he would give him Battle, and either raise the Siege, or lose his Life. King Henry, being a very magnanimous and courageous Prince, who valued an Heroick Action above the Taking of an inconsiderable Fort, liberally rewarded the Herald that came with the Petition and Promise, giving him a Silk-Gown and a Gold-Chain; and assuring him on his Word, that he would tarry the Time desired: But it was evident, that the Duke of Albany was not so sincere in his De-

(m) He was burnt in Smithfield.

(n) The English Ambassadors demanded her in Marriage for the Prince of Wales, King Henry's eldest Son; A Man answerable to her in equal Degree both of Blood and Tears.



A. D. 1401. Reg. 3. fire, as *Henry* was in his Promise, because he never durst appear against King *Henry*, and, 'tis probable, had no other Design, but, by his Delays, to keep the King from Action, till Winter and Want should force him home, which the Time of the Year easily foretold were at Hand, as, indeed, it happen'd accordingly; for the King, out of Generosity, waiting longer than his Appointment, was forced to withdraw Home without any further Action, because of the Weather and the Want of Provision. The *Scots*, while King *Henry* remain'd in *Scotland*, having the Lords Wardens of the *Marches* with him, had made some Inroads into *England*, and did much Harm in *Cumberland* about *Bamborough-Castle*, but retreated when the People assembled against 'em: And when King *Henry* was gone, they again vex'd the Borders, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Halibarton* of *Dirlston*, and Sir *Patrick Hepburn* of *Hales*; and though they did little Harm, yet they shew'd, that though they had no Courage to fight their Enemies, they had Malice to revenge themselves upon them. And thus concluded the first Summer's War between the *English* and *Scots*.

K. Henry goes against the Welsh. While the King was thus busied in *Scotland*, *Owen Glendour*, and his *Welsh*, were (o) very active in annoying the Counties adjoining, doing all manner of Mischief, which either Malice or Cruelty could invent, burning, plundering and destroying as they pleased. The King being return'd, tho' he was not much concern'd to revenge the Earl of *Marche's* Quarrel, whose Captivity he did not much pity, because he would have been well pleased if a more severe Fate had befallen him; yet hearing of the Miseries of his Subjects in those Parts, he march'd, with his Army, against the *Welsh*, to punish them for their Cruelty. *Omen*, as unequal in Strength to the King as in Courage, withdrew himself and his Party, and fled into the Defarts and inaccessible Places about *Snowdon Hills* (p); so that the King could do no more, than plunder and waste the Country, which he did very severely, to show his Anger against those Rebels, and carried away a great Booty of Cattle with him.

Some Accidents of this Year. Several remarkable Things are said to have happen'd this Year. King *Henry's* Enemies, discouraged by the ill Success of their Plot the last Year, dared not to appear in any open and form'd Action, but they are supposed to have convey'd a Galthrap (q) into his Bed, which being so fram'd, That Three Iron Spikes, very sharp, stood upward, it was almost impossible for him to have escap'd Death, if he had chanced to have lain down upon it; but discovering it before he went into his Bed, he saved his Life. The Contrivers and Layers of it could never be found out. The usual Plenty of this Nation was so much abated, that Wheat is said to have been sold at Sixteen Shillings a Quarter, which not long before was at Four Shillings; and it had been much dearer, but that the Merchants brought much Rye and Rye-Flour out of *Sprucia*, (r) which serving for common Use, kept down the Price of Wheat. But tho' there was such a Judgment upon the Nation as Famine, yet the Natives

were not humbled by it, but great Pride and Vanity in Cloathing were used, Masters and Servants wearing Gowns with Poke-sleeves down to the Ground, which were both vain and superfluous. The Conduit in *Cornhill* was built in a Place, where before had stood a Prison for Night-Walkers, call'd, *The Tun*, the Materials of which serv'd to raise the new Conduit.

The King having been at very great Charges by his Expeditions into *Wales* and *Scotland*, had a Subsidy granted him by the Laity, by way of voluntary Contribution, or Gift, without calling his Parliament; so ready are Subjects to assist the King with Monies, when they see them careful for the publick Welfare of the Nation.

About the Beginning of *March* appear'd a very terrible Blazing-star, sending forth its Fire Streams at first toward the North-East, and at length toward the North, where it seem'd to fix, which was after thought to portend the bloody Wars between the *Scots* and *English*, and the several Executions done this Year upon the Malecontents under the Government. These latter not only raised divers Reports, that King *Richard* was alive, and would shortly come to recover his Right with a puissant Army, but industriously dispersed them as Things certain thro' the whole Nation by their Books and Libels, in which they encouraged all Persons, by Hopes of great Rewards, to assist King *Richard*, and aspersed King *Henry* as an Usurper, and cruel Tyrant. The King had Knowledge of all these Things, and to deter these Disturbers of the Government from their Designs, he declar'd, That he would spare none that he could find instrumental in promoting these Reports, and would be at any Pains or Charge to discover them: But it seems this did not so affright them from their Attempts, but that several Persons were apprehended, and upon their Conviction executed. Sir *Roger Claringdon*, who was said to be the Bastard son of *Edward* the Black Prince, and Eight Fryars, were hanged and beheaded for reporting, That King *Richard* was alive. A Priest also was taken, who had a Catalogue of divers Gentlemen and others, who had avouch'd, that King *Richard* was alive, and had promised him their Assistance when he should arrive in *England*. Several of the Persons in the List were also taken and imprison'd: However, nothing being prov'd against them, and the Priest himself confessing, that he had never heard any such Thing from them, but had set down their Names either by the Report of others, or mere Conjecture, they were at length dismiss'd, after much Charge and Trouble, and only the Priest hang'd and quarter'd. *Walter Baldocke*, Prior of *Laund*, a small Monastery in *Leicestershire*, was also apprehended, and accused of being an Instrument in the above-mention'd Reports, but nothing could be prov'd against him; yet because in his Examination he confess'd, that he knew some that had been industrious in spreading such Treasonable Reports, and otherwise acting against the Peace and Government, he was condemn'd for Misprision of Treason, and hang'd. *Richard Frisby* also, a Doctor of Divi-

(o) Sir *John Hayward* writes, That Sir *Patrick Hepburn* was kill'd in the First Year of *Henry* the Fourth's Reign. *Life of Hen. IV. p. 149.*

(p) In *Carnarvonshire*.

(q) A Smith's Tool, so call'd.

(r) From *Prussia*.



A. D. 1402. Reg. 3. nity suffer'd the like Punishment, for saying, upon the Report that King Richard was alive, That if he were indeed alive, he would fight to Death in his Quarrel. (s) These, with many others, suffer'd for these Reports and Libels, the King sparing none according to his Resolution; in which, tho' he may seem to have kept a good Conscience, and rid himself of his Enemies, yet he was esteem'd cruel, and over-severe for such an Act.

Owen Glendour and his Welsh having with Success made several Inroads upon the English Borders, to their great Enriching, began this Summer with fresh Assaults upon the Inhabitants, burning, plundering, and destroying all Places where-ever they came. The King desirous to relieve his oppressed and injured Subjects, assembled a great Army of his Nobles, Gentry, and Commons to reduce Wales to its due Obedience, who being all troubled at the sufferings of their Fellow-Subjects, went with full Resolutions of subduing it before they return'd: Nor did Owen Glendour himself seem to retain so much as Hopes of withstanding an Army of Men so well prepared for an Encounter, the Welsh being all struck with a panick Fear of their Destruction. The King with these full Hopes, arrived in Wales, but before he could enter upon any Action of moment, there happen'd such foul and tempestuous Weather, that the Army suffer'd much Damage, and the King was at length forced to return without doing any thing worthy his Reputation. These Storms falling out at a Season of the Year, when they were most unusual, were said to be raised by the Magical Skill of Owen Glendour, who was thought to be a Wizzard.

The Scots hearing of King Henry's Expedition into Wales with so numerous an Army, and accompany'd with many Nobles, supposed that the Northern Lords, who were their implacable Enemies, and the Guardians of their Country against them, were also gone along with the King, and therefore they could not have a fitter Opportunity to invade the English Borders. Sir Patrick Hebborn, (t) who had the Year before made some Incursions into England with Success, was chosen their Captain, and with a competent Army of the Men of Loughdean, or Lawden, enter'd Northumberland as far as New-Castle, taking many Prisoners, and loading themselves with Spoil and Prey, as if being out of Fear of Opposition, they came not to fight, but enrich themselves. But the Earl of Northumberland, and his Son, who were left behind upon Suspicion of the Scots Attempts, had News of these their Actions, and with a sufficient Strength, falls upon them at a Town called Nesby: The Scots receiv'd them courageously, and maintain'd the Battle stoutly a good while, but being in Confusion when they first joyn'd the Battle, they were not able to hold out against as strong, and a better order'd Army, so that they were forced to yield the Victory to the English. Sir Patrick perceiv'd the Advantage which the English had against them, and thought to patch up the Defects in their Order, by animating his Men to fight, and giving them an Example of Bravery, in encountering the Enemy at the Head of them, but all was to no Purpose. He was slain himself, and his Army absolutely van-

quish'd, many of the Flower of Loughdean being slain, and some of the principal Commanders, as Sir John and William Cockburn, Sir William Basse, John and Thomas Habington, Esquires, and many of the common Soldiers being taken. Of the English few were kill'd, and those not of any Quality. This Fight happen'd upon June 22. The News of this ill Success was heavily taken in Scotland, and by none more than Archibald, Earl Douglas, who resolving to revenge this Loss upon the English, obtain'd a Commission at his own Charge to invade England; and having gather'd an Army of 20000 Men, enter'd the Kingdom like an enraged Enemy, destroying all before him. The Earl of Northumberland, and his Son Hotspur as zealous to keep the Victory they had gotten, as Earl Douglas was to recover it, being certified of the Scots Return, augmented their Forces proportionable to their Adversaries, and upon Holy-rood-day, tho' it was then Harvest, met the Scots at Hamildon, or Halidown, and with equal Courage and Fury engaged them. The Battle was very fierce and lasting, but the Scots not able to endure the violent Shot of the English Archers, were forced to give Ground, and betake themselves to flight with an incredible Loss; for there were slain not only some Men of Esteem, viz. Sir John Swinton, Sir Adam Gurdon, Sir John Levison, Sir Alexander Ramsay, and 23 Knights more, but also 10000 of the Commons; and many Prisoners were taken; of which the Chief were Mordack, Earl of Fife, (u) Earl Douglas's Son, who himself lost one of his Eyes in the Battle, the Earls of Angus, Murrey, Athol, and Monteith, with 500 Men of an inferior Degree.

The Earl of Northumberland being thus victorious, resolved to pursue the Advantage he had gotten over so restless and troublesome an Enemy; and therefore having disposed of his Prisoners into safe Custody, he invaded Scotland, and entering Tividale, he burnt and destroy'd the whole Country. Then he laid Siege to the Castle of Cocklaws, of which Sir John Greenlow was Captain; he, tho' he were a valiant Man, finding himself unable to withstand so great an Army, promised to resign the Castle to the Earl of Northumberland, if it were not reliev'd within Three Months; but before that was expired, the King call'd the Earl off to assist in another Enterprize, and so the Castle was saved, and they had Liberty to redeem their Prisoners.

Particular Accidents this Year were these: Particular Accidents. Tho. Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, died Apr. 8. The Lady Blaunch, the King's eldest Daughter, was marry'd to William, Duke of Bavaria, the eldest Son of Lewis Barbatus, the Emperor, at Cologne, in great Magnificence, being conducted by the Earl of Somerset, the Bishop of Worcester, Lord Clifford, and several others of the Nobility. The Devil is said also to have appear'd, in the Shape and Habit of a Gray Fryer, in Danbury Church, in Essex, where he behaved himself so outrageously, that he much affrighted the Inhabitants. At the same time arose so great a Tempest thereabout, that it blew down the Steeple, and carry'd away Half the Chancel. One Sir Lewis Clifford also, who had for a long time lean'd to the Doctrine of the Lollards, wholly deserted them, and dis-

(s) This Richard Friseby was a Gray Fryer, and hang'd in his Fryer's Weeds, to the great Mortification of his Brethren.  
(t) Sir Patrick Hebborn was kill'd in a former Invasion. This was his Son, Patrick Hebborn the Younger. Holinshead.  
(u) Mordack, Earl of Fife, was Son to the Duke of Albany, Governour of Scotland, Ibid. Earl Douglas was himself taken Prisoner.



*A. D.* 1402. *Reg.* 3. cover'd all he knew of them to the Archbishop, viz. The Doctrines maintain'd by them, and chief Ministers among them, confessing his Error.

*Reg.* 4. On the Morrow after the Feast of St. Michael a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and sat Seven Weeks, to dispatch several Matters for the Good and Advantage of the Realm. In this Parliament the King declaring, 'That he had in Remembrance the faithful Hearts and inward Affections that the Clergy of *England* had born to him, and also the great Charges they had sustain'd for his Honour and Profit, since the Time of his Coronation, and therefore was desirous to be unto them a gracious Lord; caused several Privileges of the Church and Clergy to be established and enacted: For, First, He confirm'd the several Statutes made by his Grand-father King *Edward the Third*, in his 25th Year, called, *Statutes for the Clergy*; as also, the Statute of 15 *Rich.* 2. 6. whereby it was provided, That in appropriating of Benefices to any Religious House, there should be a perpetual Vicar appointed, who should be allow'd conveniently, at the Discretion of the Ordinary, a sufficient Stipend, for saying Divine Service, and to inform the People, and keep Hospitality, and that no Religious or Monk shall be Vicar. It was also enacted, That the begging Fryers should admit none into their Order, without their Parents Consent, or under Fourteen Years of Age. Several other Acts relating to the Affairs of State were pass'd, but that which the Parliament was chiefly busied in, was to settle the Disorders in *Wales*; for which End they made Nine several Acts, prohibiting the *Welsh* to pass any Judicial Sentence upon an *English* Man, to have any publick Assemblies, to wear Arms, or buy any out of *England*, to raise any Forts or Castles, to bear any Office in Church or State, and commanding them to put all their Wall'd Towns into the Custody of *English* Men. All which Acts tended to subduing and humbling the *Welsh*, who at that Time were very troublesome to the King and Realm. In the End of this Session, the Parliament gave the King a Tenth and Half of the Clergy, and Fifteenth of the Laity, and a Tenth of all Boroughs, and particularly recommended the *Scotch* Earl of *March* to the King's Favour, because he had behaved himself with so much Fidelity to the Nation: And so were dismiss'd into their several Countries.

*A. D.* 1403. About *Christmas*, King *Henry*, who had the Year before made some Propositions of Marriage to *Joan de Navarre*, the Widow of *John de Mountfort*, late Duke of *Brittain*, and was come to an Agreement about it, sent several Persons of Honour into *Brittain*, to conduct her over into *England*, who accordingly, after Two Months Stay, brought her safely to *Falmouth* in *Cornwall*, Feb. 7. The King hearing of her Landing, went to meet her at *Winchester*, whither he had order'd her before to be convey'd, and there was marry'd to her in *St. Swinthin's* Church, on the 7th of *February*, by the Bishop of that See. From thence, within a few Days, he pass'd with her to *London*, where they were receiv'd magnificently by the Citizens; and on Feb. 26. the Queen was solemnly crown'd at *Westminster* by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. She had Three Sons, but they were left in *France* under the Care and Guardianship of that King. Her Coronation was kept with great State and Splendor, and there appear'd an Universal Joy both at Court, and in the Kingdom for these

Nuptials: But it was not in this King's Fate to enjoy Peace or Pleasure long, fresh Troubles, both at Home and Abroad springing up to disturb his Ease and Quiet.

The First Enemy that annoy'd his Dominions after them, were the *French*, under *Valeran*, Earl of *St. Paul*, who envying *Henry's* Power, because it was raised upon the Ruins of his own Interests, gather'd an Army of 16 or 1700 Men, invaded the *Isle of Wight*, and burnt Two small Villages, and a few separate Cottages. The Inhabitants of the *Isle*, who had formerly had the like Injuries done them by the *French*, and found that they loved Prey more than Fighting, and seldom would stand out against a faint Resistance, assembled in a considerable Body, and drew up against them to fight them. The *French*, tho' enough in Number to have conquer'd the Island, yet seeing the Courage of the People, withdrew to their Ships, and with little Prey, and less Honour, return'd Home. The Earl, that he might make this Expedition seem the more considerable, Knighted Four of his Captains, as he pretended, for their Bravery and Valour: But the more knowing Men of his Company repined at their speedy Return, being sensible, that the Charge of this Expedition was much greater than the Gain. At the same time that the Earl of *St. Paul* infested the *English* Coasts, *John*, Earl of *Clermont*, Son to the Duke of *Bourbon*, was sent with an Army against the Subjects of the King of *England* in *Gascoigne*, and won the Castles of *S. Peter*, *S. Mary*, and *New-Castle* from the *English*, and the Lord *De la Bret* at the same time got the Castle of *Carlasfin*; all which were a great Loss to the *English*. These Damages King *Henry's* Courage would not have patiently sustain'd without a sharp Revenge, had he enjoy'd a peaceable Kingdom at Home; but before he could make any Preparations for a Foreign Expedition, the Rebellion of his own Subjects broke out, and drew all his Designs and Endeavours to secure himself at Home. The Occasion of it was this:

King *Henry* not contented with the Peace, which the late Victories gotten by the Earl of *Northumberland* over the *Scots* had brought his Dominions, was very eager, and desirous to share in the Gains and Advantage of them; and to that End, required of the Earl his most gainful Prisoners, all the Lords, whose Redemption would raise great Sums. The Earl alledg'd, 'That as it was most just, that they who had undergone the Danger of the Battle, should have all the Advantages of Prey and Prisoners; so it had been the Custom of the Kings of *England* to allow the Lords of the North all the Advantage of the *Scots* Wars, to encourage them in defending his Dominions, and make up the Damages of the continual Depredations of that faithless People. The King was very angry at this Denial, tho' dutiful and submissive, and not only took the Prisoners he had demanded, but continued his Displeasure to the Earl, not suffering him to come into his Presence. This Severity the Earl, who had been so instrumental in raising King *Henry* to the Throne, resented not only as a great Piece of Injustice, but which was worse, very great Ingratitude; and therefore resolved to revenge his Wrong upon the King himself, whom as he had set up, so he thought he had Power enough to pull him down. He was, indeed, in very great Power in the North, and commanded in his Country as a Petty King. He had a near Relation to *Edmund*

*A. D.* 1403. *Reg.* 4.

*French* invaded the *Isle of Wight* and *Gascoigne*.

The Rebellion of the Earl of *Northumberland*; its Cause and Success.

*K. Henry's* Marriage to the *Duchess of Brittain*.

*Mor-*



A. D. 1403. *Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, by the Marriage of *Eleanor* his Aunt, *Mortimer* being Heir of the Crown had no small Interest in the Nation, and therefore he might well pretend some Obligation to restore him to his Right, or at least to his Liberty. These Two Interests he thought sufficient to effect his Design, especially since the Earl of *March* was upon fair Terms with *Owen Glendour*, and it would be no hard Matter to unite the *Welsh* with himself in dethroning King *Henry*. The Earl having laid a sure Train for Rebellion, that he might render his future Actions more plausible, and make his Party more firm to him, he by the Advice of his Cousin *Tho. Peirce*, Earl of *Worcester*, goes to the King, and demands the Redemption of the Earl of *March* his Kinsman, who had long lain in his foul and miserable Imprisonment, among the King's Enemies. But the King answer'd, 'That he had no Reason to redeem, or relieve the Earl of *March*, nor would, because he was not taken for his Cause, nor in his Service, but had suffer'd himself to fall in to the Hands of *Owen Glendour* and the *Welsh*, being not willing to resist them. The Earl having receiv'd this Answer, pretended to be angry, and blaz'd abroad the Cruelty of the King, who would not redeem a Person so nearly related to him, and his Son *Henry*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, said openly, 'Behold, the Heir of the Realm is robb'd of his Right, and the Robber will not redeem him with a Part of his own. Hereupon the Earl and his Son, meeting in the Arch-Deacon of *Bangor*'s House, (x) with the Earl of *March* and *Owen Glendour*, by an Indenture Tripartite oblig'd themselves mutually and firmly to depose King *Henry*, and, after his Deposition, it was further agreed to, and among them, 'That *Owen Glendour* should have *Wales*, and all the Lands beyond the *Severn*, to rule over them as their King and Supreme Lord: 'That the Earl of *Northumberland* should govern all the Countries on the North Side of the River *Trent*, and the Earl of *March* should enjoy all the Residue of *England* in his Right, as Supreme Lord. This Agreement being made, they all employ'd the utmost Interests they had to raise an Army sufficient for their Design. The Earl of *Northumberland*, besides the Forces he raised among his Northern Neighbours, procur'd an Augmentation of his Forces out of *Scotland*, partly by releasing the Captives, which he had in his Keeping, and partly by Promises of several Lordships and Seignories in these Parts adjoining to their Country, by which Means they raised a large and well appointed Army. All Things being thus prepar'd, they put out their Declaration, 'That King *Henry* giving Encouragement to Flatterers and Calumniators, their Enemies, had entertain'd such an Aversion to them, that they dare not come into his Presence, but by the Mediation of the Bishops: 'That though he was raised to the Throne, for the Good of the Nation, yet he had play'd the Tyrant, and abus'd his Trust, converting the Money given by Parliament, for the publick Defence, to his own private Interests: Wherefore, that they might secure their own Persons, and reform the Government, they had raised such Force, as might

be sufficient to reduce Things into a better Course, both for themselves and the whole Nation. They also gave out a Report, to further their Design, That King *Richard* was yet alive in the Castle of *Chester*, ready to join with *Owen Glendour* to recover his Right; and so march'd to *Shrewsbury*, intending to make that City the Rendezvous of their Army. The King had no Suspicion of these Treasonable Contrivances and Actions, because they carried them on with very great Secrecie; yet, having no visible Enemy but the *Welsh*, he raised a powerful Army to reduce them to their Allegiance; so that when the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Forces appear'd, he was in a very good Condition to oppose them. But considering, that a Civil War would bring great Damages to his Subjects, he chose to allay the Discontents of the Seditious Party by answering their Declaration, alledging, That he never had denied the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Peirce* his Son, or any of the Lords of their Party, any Access to him; but allow'd them to come into his Presence at any Time, without all Danger or Damage to their Persons; and that the Monies which had been given by the Parliament for the Defence of the Nation, were paid to the Earl of *Northumberland* himself for that End, as he could prove by his Receipts; so that their Complaints were ill grounded and slanderous. The King himself was inclined to wait for the Effect of this Answer; but the Earl of *March*, a Scot, telling the King, That Delays would strengthen his Enemies, put him upon hastening to them, to give them Battle, which proved of some Advantage to the King: For the Earl of *Northumberland*, being somewhat indisposed, was not come up to his Son at *Shrewsbury*, and the King's sudden Arrival put the Army there into a Consternation, so that they were unfit to engage him. The King being ready to join his Enemies in Fight, was very loth to spill his People's Blood, and therefore sent the Abbot of *Shrewsbury*, and one of the Clerks of his Privy-Seal, to offer them Pardon upon such reasonable Terms as they should desire. The Lord *Peirce* was so far wrought upon by their Persuasions, that he was willing to accept of the King's Mercy, and sent his Uncle, the Earl of *Worcester*, to represent their Grievances, and having procur'd a Reformation to submit to the King. The King is said to have condescended beneath himself to heal the Breach; but the Earl of *Worcester*, a Man that sought to foment the Quarrel, represented Things so ill to the Lord *Peirce*, at his Return, that his Nephew was more incensed than before, and forthwith blew the Trumpet for Battle. The King was ready to receive him, and the Signs being given on both sides, St. *George* by the King, and *Esperance Peirce* by the Lord *Peirce*, the Fight began. The Scots behav'd themselves with great Resolution, and so fiercely fell upon the King's Van-Guard, that they forced them to give Ground, and had almost broke in upon his Main Body, and being seconded by the *Welsh*, who reserv'd themselves for an advantageous Onset, put the King upon his last Refuge, to call in his Reserve to reinforce his Army, by which means he recover'd his Ground, and, after a fresh Rencontre, got the better of the

A. D.

1403.

Reg. 4.

K. Henry's Mercy to the Rebels.

His Fight with, and Victory over them.

(x) How could the Earl and his Son meet *Glendour* and *March* in *Wales*, the *Welsh* being at open War with the *English*? *Holinshed* saith, They did it by their *Deputies* in the House of the Arch-Deacon of *Bangor*. And 'tis not likely, the *Peircies* would venture to treat in Person with the Rebel *Glendour*, before they were provided to publish their Rebellion to the King and Kingdom; for such an Interview would have given too much Umbrage to both, and ruin'd their Plot.



A. D. 1403. Reg. 4. Rebels. The Lord Peircy, and Earl Donaglass General of the Scots, despairing of Victory, boldly attempted to slay the King, and overthrow his Standard, and to that end forcing their Way thro' the King's Party, they at length got to the King's Standard, which they overthrew, killing Sir Walter Blunt, the Standard-Bearer, and the Earl of Stafford, with many others that stood to guard it. The King was retreated from the Standard, by the Advice of the Earl of March, the Scot, who observing their Design, timely warn'd the King of his Danger, and caused him to avoid it. But the King neglected not this Opportunity to assault his Enemies in the Absence of their Captains, and crying, *St. George*, made such an impetuous Onset upon the Rebels, that he broke their Order, and put them to Flight, and obtain'd a compleat Victory. In this Battle, which lasted Three Hours, the King himself was once dismounted, and the Prince, fighting in Defence of his Father, was wounded in the Face, yet would not leave the Army till the Fight was ended, lest he should discourage the Soldiers. Ten Knights and 1600 Soldiers were kill'd, and 4000 wounded, on the King's Side; but with much greater Loss to the Rebels, for they had 200 Knights and 5000 Soldiers slain, besides the Lord Peircy himself. The Earl of Worcester, the Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon were taken, and, being condemn'd, were beheaded Two Days after the Battle, on the 23d of July. The Earl's Head was sent up to London, to be set on the Bridge. The Lord Peircy's Body was permitted to be buried, but upon after Thoughts the King command'd it to be taken up again, and being beheaded and quarter'd, dispos'd of it into several Parts of the Kingdom. The Earl of Northumberland, who had been kept from uniting with his Brother and Son by some Indisposition of Body, soon after the Fight, set out towards Shrewsbury, with a considerable Recruit, to assist his Son and Brother, but being met with in his Passage by the Earl of Westmorland and Sir Robert Waterton, with a strong Detachment from the King's Army, he retreated to Warkworth Castle, and there fortified himself. The King having settled the Countries about Shrewsbury, went to York, and there sent his Commands to the Earl of Northumberland to dismiss his Forces, and come to him upon Assurances of Mercy. The Earl, seeing no Possibility of standing out against the King's Power, obey'd his Summons, and dismissing his Forces, attended upon the King at York upon the Morrow after St. Lawrence's Day, Aug. 11. The King, according to his Promise, pardon'd him his Life, but kept (y) him in Prison sometime, till the Ferment of his Trouble was a little over, and then restor'd him to his Liberty, but deprived him of his Estate and Honour for the present, yet afterwards gave him that also, hoping by his Kindness to oblige him to be more faithful and firm to him for the future.

K Henry sends the Prince against the Welsh.

The King having thus settled the Disgusts of the North, kept his Army about him, which being encouraged by their late Success, was most likely to effect his Designs against the Welsh, and took up some Resolutions to go on, and Endeavours to subdue that People: But wanting Money to pay his Soldiers, and furnish himself out for his Expedition, he became wavering in that Resolve. Some Persons about

him, who were more zealous for the King's Service, and desirous to please him, than to chuse out fit Ways for it, advis'd him to seize upon the Bishops Treasure and Lands; but Archbishop Arundell boldly told them, That none of his Province should be spoil'd by them, unless with Opposition. Though the King was not forward to meddle with the Church-men, yet this Advice put him in mind of the Riches and Plenty of the Clergy, which being bestow'd on Persons, whose best Character it is to be Dispersers of the World, might best be spared at this Juncture, and thereupon, though he would use no Force, yet he dealt with the Archbishop to procure him a Supply in this Exigency, and so prevail'd with him, that calling a Synod of the Clergy, he obtain'd a Tenth of them for him, and the King sent the Prince, with his Army, into Wales.

In the latter end of this Summer, the Brit-tains, under the Conduct of the Lord Cassilis, came to the English Coasts, and having burnt and plunder'd Plymouth, return'd Home safe, laden with rich Spoils. This Insolence was not long unrevenged, for the Western Parts being incensed by the Loss, did, by the King's Leave and Permission, man out a Fleet, to recover their Damage, and sent it to ravage the Coasts of Brittain, under the Command of William Wilford, Esq; who being both a skilful Captain, and a Person very zealous for his Country-mens Injuries, faithfully discharged his Trust; for he took Forty Sail of Merchant-Ships, laden with Oil and Soap, and a Thousand Tun of Rochel Wine; and, not contented with this Prey, though sufficient to compensate for the Spoils of the English, he landed in the Country of Pennarch, and, for Six Miles together, burnt and destroy'd the Towns and Villages, as far as the Town of St. Mathew, which also he left in Flames, and returning to his Ships, set several empty Vessels on Fire, which lay in the Harbour, and so departed, well satisfied with the Retaliation of their Wrongs upon the Britains.

About the Feast of All-Saints a Parliament was called at Coventry, and sat till St. Andrew's Day, when they were prorogued, and order'd to meet again at Westminster upon the Octaves of Epiphany. The Shortness of this Session was caused by the Inconvenience of the Place, there being neither suitable Accommodations for Provision or Lodging. Nothing was done by this Parliament of Moment, their Debates being interrupted by their sudden Adjournment, only the King proclaim'd and granted a Pardon to all such Persons, as had been engaged in the Rebellion of the Peircys, and all other Offenders against the King's Crown and Dignity, those only excepted, who had contrived to deliver up Callis to the French, whom the King sent over to suffer the Punishment of their Perfidiousness in that City.

A little before Christmas a Party of French landed in the Isle of Wight, and with their usual Confidence told the Inhabitants, That they were come to keep their Christmas with them. They demand'd a Tax of them for King Richard and Queen Isabel, and began to drive off their Cattle to their Ships. The People of the Island deriding their Pretensions and Confidence, gather'd together in a Body, and challenged them to fight, but the French Men not loving dry Blows, fled to their Ships, and departed without their Prey, to their great Shame.

(y) Hall writes, that he suffer'd him to depart Home at their first meeting.



*A. D.* 1404. *Reg. 5.* The Parliament according to Appointment met at *Westminster*, and sat Twelve Weeks to settle many Abuses and Irregularities of the Nation, as well as constitute several Things for the Good of it. The most remarkable were, against such as procured Pardons for those Persons that had been once guilty of notorious Felonies, but relapsed into the like Crimes again; That those who procured their Pardon for such reiterated Felonies should forfeit 100 *l.* to the King's Use: That Watches should be constantly kept upon the Sea-Coast, to prevent the Damages done by the *French* Rovers: That Merchants-Aliens, who brought Goods into the Nation, and sold them, should lay out the Money upon other saleable Commodities, and not carry out the Coin of the Kingdom into Foreign Parts: That Constables of Castles should not imprison any Man in their own Castles; and that all Vessels that were Gilt, or Silver'd over, should have a Place in the Foot, or elsewhere, to discover their base Metal. In this Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* was restored to his Lands and Honours, excepting only the *Isle of Man*, which the King had bestow'd on him (2) at the Beginning of his Reign, to hold of the Crown by the Tenure of carrying the *Lancaster's* Sword at the Coronation, and now took away from him, to shew that he was undeserving of his Favour. By this Parliament, the King had so great a Tax granted him, that the Houses desired there might be no particular Record of it left to Posterity, viz. Twenty Shillings for every Knight's Fee, and Twenty Pence for every Twenty Pounds a Year, and One Shilling in the Pound for Goods: So cautious was the Parliament of oppressing the People with heavy Taxes, and where Necessity requir'd it, not to leave a Precedent to their Successors of over-loading the People. The Clergy also, being met in their Convocation, give the King a Tenth.

*Duke of Orleans* challenges *K. Henry*. In the Time of this Session of Parliament, the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to the *French* King, a Person courageous, but of more than equal Pride, sent a Challenge to King *Henry* to meet him at *Bordeaux*, with 100 Men, well arm'd, and expert Warriours, and fight the same Number of *English*, and every Victor to have his Prisoner. The King, tho' sensible of the Presumption of that Peer, gravely answer'd the Messengers: 1. 'That he could not but wonder at the Imprudence of the Duke, who sought to break the Peace between the Two Nations, by such idle Pretences of Feats of Arms. 2. That if this could not be objected, yet it was against the Custom of Nations, for any Crown'd and Anointed King to accept a Challenge from any Person, but such as is of equal Dignity, which he could not pretend to be; but yet, that he might satisfy his courageous Desire, he promised, upon the Word of a Prince, to go soon into *Gascoigne*, with a convenient Number of Men; and there, either as he had propounded, or by single Combate, for the avoiding of the Effusion of Christian Blood, to enter the Lists with him. The Duke of *Orleans* reply'd to this Answer, and the King retorted with so much Sharpness, that the Duke burst out into Arms, and raising 6000 Men, invaded *Guienne*, and besieged the Town of *Vergi*. Sir *Robert Arisfield*, a valiant Captain, was the Governour of it, and had a Gar-

rison of 3000 *English*, who defended the Town so bravely, that the Duke was forced to leave it, after Three Months Siege.

In the Spring, the *Britains*, under the Lord *Cassils*, being desirous to revenge the Losses they had sustain'd from the *English* the last Year, came with 30 Ships, mann'd with 1200 Men of Arms, to the *English* Coasts, and took Two or Three *English* Ships, laden with Wines, and not being satisfied with so small a Prey, landed about *Dartmouth*; but were driven from the Place by the Inhabitants, who had arm'd themselves in Expectation of their Coming, with no small Loss; and after being met by the *English* Fleet in *Black-Pool*, were engaged with so much Success, that the Lord *Cassils* was kill'd, with 400 more of the Common Soldiers, and 200 taken, of whom the Lord *Baqueruil*, the Marshal of *Britain*, was one. The Country People, pleased not more with the Success, than that they had an Opportunity to approve their Courage, and Fidelity to the King, presented him with their Prisoners, who graciously accepted their Service and Gift, and gave them Plenty of Gold for their Pains; which, though not of equal Value with their Ransoms, yet was more acceptable to the People, with his Approbation, than greater Sums would have been without it: Yet, some of lower Degree they kept, and had their Ransoms.

This Summer *Owen Glendour*, with more than usual Cruelty, infested the *English* Borders, plundering and burning their Towns, and carrying away many Prisoners and great Booty; and intending to take the Country into his Dominions, possess'd himself of divers Castles, which he fortified, and mann'd to defend it. This Success, whether through the Neglect of the King, or because other more important Affairs of State took up his Care, was thought an Approbation of his Cause; and so far prevail'd with *John Trevor*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, that he fled to him, and took his Part against *K. Henry*. With these Calamities by the *Welsh*, concurr'd other Damages done by the *Britains* and *Flemings*, who cruizing upon the *English* Coasts, took several *English* Ships, laden with rich Merchandize, and hanging the Mariners, carry'd the Goods Home with them. But these Misfortunes did not so much disturb the King, as a Rumour which was dispersed up and down the Nation at this Time, That King *Richard* was in *Scotland*, at the Head of an Army of *French* and *Scots* of 100000, and would shortly come to recover his Crown. This Rumour was built upon the Letters of one *Serlow*, a Gentleman of King *Richard's* Bed-Chamber, who having heard of the like Report in *France*, went into *Scotland*, and found, indeed, a Gentleman very like King *Richard*, but not the Person, as he very well knew; yet, in Hatred to King *Henry*, he sent Letters to several of King *Richard's* Friends in *England*, seal'd with his Privy-Seal, That King *Richard* was, indeed, alive, and would shortly appear, to the Comfort of his Friends, and Confusion of all his Enemies. The Countess of *Oxford*, Mother to *Robert de Vere*, late Duke of *Ireland*, eagerly laid hold upon this false News, and employ'd her Agents to publish it in all Parts of *Essex*; and to confirm such as seem'd most zealous to espouse King *Richard's* Interest, she caused a great Number of Hearts of Gold and Silver to be made, and given to them, as Badges of King *Richard's* Favour,

*A. D.* 1404. *Reg. 5.*

The *Britains* again infest *England*, but are repulsed.

*Owen Glendour* infests the *English*.

A seditious Rumour about King *Richard*.

(2) It fell to the Crown by the Attainder of the Earl of *Salisbury*, in the Beginning of his Reign, and was granted to the Earl of *Northumberland* for his Service to King *Henry*.



*A. D.* 1404. *Reg. 5.* because that King was wont to give such Tokens of his Kindness to his Friends. King Henry, who was very jealous of his Crown, knowing the Tendency of such Reports might prove fatal to him, tho' false, was very watchful upon the Instruments and Authors of them, and finding them entertain'd by many, seiz'd upon the Countess of Oxford, and committed her to Prison, and confiscated her Goods and Estate. Her Secretary, who both by Letters and Report had spread abroad the false News, he hang'd and quarter'd. This Severity against some of the principal Actors struck Terror into the rest, and made others Ambitious to gain King Henry's Favour by apprehending such as had been guilty of the like Crime. For Sir William Clifford, Governour of Berwick, who had incurred King Henry's Displeasure in holding out of the Castle of Berwick against him, apprehended Serlow and presented him to him, who thereupon pardoned his own Treason. Serlow being before known to have been one of the Persons that murder'd the Duke of Gloucester, was immediately examined about that, and being found guilty of both, was Condemn'd at Pontefract, and Executed at London, confessing his wicked Actions, and Purposes so fully and freely, that many pity'd him, and promised to hire the Priests to say Masses for his Soul. The King had heard, that the Earl of Northumberland had been engaged in this Conspiracy, and sent for him to come to him at Pontefract to clear himself; but the Earl bringing his Two Nephews to be Pledges of his Fidelity, gave him such Satisfaction, that the King declar'd him innocent of this Attempt.

*Reg. 6.* On St. Faith's Day, October the 6th, a Parliament met at Coventry, which because it consisted of such Persons as were unskilful in the Laws of the Nation, and illiterate, according to the particular Orders given by the King to the Sheriffs of Counties, and Mayors of Corporations, that none but such Persons should be chosen, was called *Parliamentum indoctum*, or the *Lack-learning Parliament*. The chief Business of this Parliament was to raise a Tax for the King's present Supply, and therefore little else was done, save that the Lord Stephen Scroop of Masham, and the Lord Fitz-bugh were admitted to sit among the Peers, and two or three Acts were made. First, To prohibit the Clergy from paying to the Court of Rome more for the First-Fruits of any Benefice, Dignity, or Bishoprick, than was usually paid before, under the Penalty of a double Forfeiture of the same to the King. Secondly, To prevent the Deceits of Sheriffs, Escheators and Customers in giving up their Accompts. And Lastly, To provide, that Merchants-Strangers should not carry their Goods out of the Nation, which they have once brought in. These Statutes being settled, they proceeded to Debates about the Tax, and it was concluded by the Commons, That the King standing in need of very great Sums of Money to defend the Nation from so many Enemies, as then appeared against it, viz. the Welsh, Scots, Britains, Flemings and French, could not be supplied by the Laity, but that it was necessary, that he should seize upon the Temporalties of the Clergy; which being one full third Part of the Nation did little Service to the Publick, and did the Clergy themselves no good, making them careless of their Duty, negligent in their Studies, and abominably corrupt in their Morals. And this they judged the more reasonable, because the Laity served the King in his

*A. D.* 1404. *Reg. 6.* Wars both with their Persons and Estates, but the Clergy were exempted in their Persons, and therefore their Estates ought to bear a greater part of the Charge. These Votes much provoked the Clergy, and the Arch-Bishop in a Passion replied; That the Clergy had always as well in this, as former Kings Reigns given as large Sums to support the publick Charge, as the Laity: And though they did not serve the King in Person in his Wars, they sent their Tenants to assist him, and contributed as much to his Success by their Prayers, as the Laity did by their Weapons. Sir John Cheyny, the Speaker of the Commons, a Person who was very forward to make the Clergy's Revenues a prey to the King's Necessities, replied to the Arch-Bishop; That they did not value the Clergy's Prayers, their Lands would do the King and Nation more good. This Answer more stirr'd the Arch-Bishop's Choler, and he told him plainly; That that King and Kingdom could not expect to thrive, where the Prayers and Suffrages of the Clergy were undervalued; but yet if they feared not their Religion, they should find their Power and Interests were not so inconsiderable, but that they should have hot Work of it to take away their just Rights and Possessions from them, though under the specious pretence of a Law. And he declared, That so long as he was Arch-Bishop of Canterbury no Man should meddle with any Lands belonging to his See, but he would oppose them with all his Interest and Might. The King was present at this Contest between the Arch-Bishop and Commons, and shewed so little Concern for the Clergy, that he seemed to favour the Design of the Commons. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop in some fear of it turn'd to the King, and kneeling down besought him, That he would consider, that God had given him the Kingdom, that he should be the Protector of his Church, and to that End he had sworn at his Coronation to preserve the Church, and her Ministers in their Liberties; which Oath he could not break without a great Prejudice to his own Conscience, and Offence to God, as well as Injustice to Men, and therefore implored him to fear the God by whom he Reign'd, and his own Conscience. The King seeing the Bishop's Earnestness and Zeal, answer'd him; That though he could not condemn his Piety, yet his Fears were Groundless as to him, for he might assure himself, that he would leave the Church in as good, if not a better, Estate than he found it. The Arch-Bishop being encouraged with this Promise, told the Commons, That their wicked Advice was intended more for their own, than the King's Advantage; for as it happen'd to the King's Predecessors, who seized upon the Lands and Goods of the Friar's Aliens, which were worth many thousand Pounds; the Courtiers begg'd them, and left not the King ten Groats of them: So if you could obtain your wicked Designs to have our Temporalties seized, you would find such ways to gratifie your Covetousness by them, that the King would not in a Twelve-month be one Farthing the Richer. The Commons made no Reply, but prosecuted their Design so vigorously, that had not the Arch-Bishop gotten a strong Party against it in the House of Lords, the Commons had carry'd it; but by his Courage and Diligence they were driven from their Purpose, and so fell into the old Current of Taxing: For the Laity were to pay Two Fifteens, and the Clergy a Tenth and a Half, but upon



A. D. 1404. upon Condition, that it should be put into the Hands of the Lord *Furnivall* to be imploy'd for the King's Wars, and so the Parliament broke up.

A great Inundation. About the End of this Parliament happen'd a great Inundation of the Sea in *Kent*, which overflowed many of the Arch-Bishop's Grounds, and others, and drown'd much Cattel: The like Damages did the Waters do also in *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*. But the greatest Loss which *England* sustained at this Time was by the Death of *William* of *Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, one of the greatest Benefactors, to the Publick that ever *England* had: For though he was but of mean Parentage, being the Son of *John Long*, (a) Parish-Clerk of *Wickham*, in the County of *Southampton*; yet having obtained great Riches by the Preferments which were heaped upon him by King *Edward* the 3d, and King *Richard* the 2d, for his Deserts, he employ'd them wholly in Works of publick Charity, and for the Encouragement of Piety and Learning: For he built a Chappel at *Tytchfield* for a Priest to pray for the Souls of his Father, Mother and Sister; a Chauntrey at *Southwick*, in the County of *Southampton* for five Priests; *New-College* in *Oxford* endowing it with sufficient Revenues to maintain one Warden, seventy Students, twelve Chaplains, three Clerks, sixteen Choristers, an Organist, and other Officers; A publick School in the South-Suburbs of *Winchester*, to be a Nurfery for his College; in which are sustained one Warden, ten Fellows, two Masters, seventy Schollars, three Chaplains, three Clerks, an Organist, sixteen Choristers, and other Statutable Officers and Servants, by the Revenues of it; the West part of the Cathedral from the Quire, and several other Buildings of less Note. He expended also twenty thousand Marks in repairing the Manor-Houses and Farms belonging to his Bishoprick; added two hundred Marks per Annum to the See, repaired all the High-ways from *Winchester* to *London*, and released all the Prisoners in his Diocese, who were in Goal for Debts under twenty Pounds. Other Acts of Charity and Piety he did in so great Numbers, that as none equall'd him in his Beneficence while he lived, so none died so much loved or desired. He was eighty years Old when he deceased, and still lives in the Hearts of many grateful Men in this World, but most happily in the Presence of God, the Rewarder of all good Actions. (b)

A. D. 1405. About St. Valentine's Day the Earl of *March's* Children, which the King had taken and kept in *Windsor-Castle* Prisoners, that he might bring their Father to Submission, least by his Attempts against King *Henry*, he should provoke him to put them to Death, were taken from their Imprisonment, and convey'd away to be carry'd to their Father in *Wales*. The King was much concerned at their Escape, and used all speedy Means, not only to take them again,

but to find out the Instrument of their Release, in which the Persons employ'd were so Successful, that they soon discovered and apprehended them both: The Children were remanded to their Prison, and put into more safe Custody, and the Smith who made the Keys to open the Goal, had his Hands first cut off, and then was beheaded. The Duke of *Tork* was accused by his own Sister, the Lady *Spencer* (c), to be the Head of the Conspiracy, and was imprisoned upon it in *Pemsey-Castle* till the Parliament met, but was then discharged, either for want of fuller Proof, or because the King was willing to drop the Prosecution of so inconsiderable a Fact, especially he having already suffered Imprisonment for it.

Very early in the Spring the King, who had been making Preparations against the *Welsh* all the *Winter*, sent his Son the Prince of *Wales* into the adjoining Parts with a very good Army, and well furnished with all Necessaries; by which he had reduced himself to such Streights, that he was forced to call a Council of his Nobility at *London*, to get a Supply of Money of them for his present Wants; but the Peers having lately paid their Two Fifteens, were not willing, or not able to spare any more, and so were dismissed with some disgust. Then the King summoned the Clergy to *St. Albans* to desire a Contribution of them: But they guided by the Precedent of the Lords, would not grant him any thing; whereupon they also were sent Home on *Palm-Sunday*, under the King's Displeasure. But the Prince of *Wales* had better Success in the Camp, than his Father in the Council; for he being as Active as Courageous soon after his Arrival engaged the *Welsh-Men* at a Town called *Huake*, on *March* the 15th, and after a sharp Battel obtain'd a signal Victory, slaying fifteen hundred *Welsh-Men*, and taking *Owen Glendour's* Son Prisoner. *Owen Glendour* being troubled for the loss of his Son, resolved to try the Fate of another Battel, in hopes, that if Fortune should favour him, he might recover his Son, and accordingly encountred the *English* on *St. Dunstan's Day*, *May* the 14th, but not with the Success desired; for the *English* had much the better in this Fight also, and slaying many of his Men, took *Owen's* Chancellor Prisoner, who being sent up with the rest of the Prisoners, was safely kept in the *Tower* with his Master's Son.

While the *English* Arms were thus employ'd against the *Welsh*, *Valeran*, Earl of *St. Paul*, who sought all Advantages to disturb King *Henry's* Peace and Dominions, and was encouraged in all his Attempts that way by his Master the *French* King, laid Siege to the Castle of *St. Marke*, which was three Leagues from *Callis*, with five hundred Men of Arms, five hundred *Genoese* Cross-Bows, and a thousand *Flemish*-Foot. Sir *Philip Hall* was Governour of it, a very violent Man, who though he had but

The Earl of *March's* Children slain.

A. D. 1405. Reg. 6.

Two Battels with the *Welsh*.

The *Fr.* and *Eng.* lost each other.

(a) According to *Leland* the great Antiquary, he was Bastard-Son to one *Perros*, Town Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampshire*. Hol. pag. 527.

(b) The Reward of good Actions is to be expected according to the Sincerity of the Heart. An Ostentation of Charity, and the Merit of Alms in those Days put People on wicked Courses to shew their Beneficence to the Church and Church-men. This *William* of *Wickham* was hated by the *Black-Prince* for his Mismanagement in the publick Offices he enjoy'd; he was banish'd afterwards, and lived abroad all the Time of King *Edward's* Reign, from that of his Exile; nor durst he come into *England* in the Reign of *Richard* the Second till he had procured a Pardon for his past Offences. He was first Chaplain to King *Edward* the Third. Preacher at *St. Martins*, *London*, and Arch-Deacon of *Buckingham*. Then Surveyor of the King's Works and Forts; for the Clergy in those Days easily reconciled the Ecclesiastical and Military Functions. After this he was advanced to be Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Master of the Wards, Overseer of the Forrests, Treasurer of the King's Dominions in *France*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and at last Lord-Chancellor: No wonder he raised such a mighty Estate in his Ministry, considering he lived in so loose a Government as that of King *Richard* the Second.

(c) She was Widow to the Lord *Thomas Spencer*, beheaded at *Bristol*.



*A. D.* 1405. *Reg. 6.* eighty Archers, and twenty four Soldiers, yet defended it so manfully, that the Earl could not gain it at the First Assault, and at the Second took only the outward Court, with a considerable Booty of Cattle. The Garrison at *Callis* in the mean time having Intelligence of this Action of the *French* against *St. Mark*, sent out two hundred Men of Arms, two hundred Archers, and three hundred Foot, with twelve Waggon of Provisions and Artillery, under the Command of *Sir Richard Aston*, to relieve it. The *French*, who fearing this Descent of the *English* upon them, had fortified the Town, kept themselves close in it: However, the *English* poured in their Arrows so thick, that the *French* could not stand the Brunt, but having lost some of their Number betook themselves to flight, and were pursu'd so closely by the *English*, that near Fourscore of them were taken, and among them some of Note, *viz.* the Lord *Dampier*, *Seneschall* of *Ponthieu*, the Lord *de Rambures*, *Monsieur de Weriners*, and other Gentlemen, and sixty slain, of whom the Lord of *Queray*, the Lord *Courbet*, *Sir Robert Berengueville*, and some others were the Chief. The *English* laden with the Spoils of the Earl's Camp, and having gotten a good Number of Prisoners returned to *Callis*. This Success encouraged them so, that within five Days five hundred issued out by Night, and assaulted the Castle of *Arde*, but it was so well defended by *Sir Monfred de Bois*, and the Lord *Kigine*, that the *English* were forced to return to *Callis* with the Loss of forty of their Men. These Inroads of the *English* and *French* one upon another made way for greater Designs; for as King *Henry* thought it convenient to strengthen his Garrison at *Callis*, not only to defend it self, but make Invasions upon the *French* Countries, by sending a thousand fresh Men thither; so the *French* King made effectual Provisions against them, furnishing *Graveling*, and other Fortresses with plenty of Soldiers for their Defence; but because all they could do was not enough to secure themselves against so potent an Enemy as the *Callisians* then were; therefore the Duke of *Burgundy* was sent by the *French* King to besiege *Callis* with six thousand Men of Arms, fifteen hundred Cross-Bows, and twelve thousand Foot. The King of *England* disturbed with the News of this Siege, sent a Navy with three thousand Land-Men, under the Command of his Son the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Earl of *Kent*, to raise the Siege by plundering and burning the adjoining Countries, which they did for thirty Miles together in *Normandy*: Though this did not draw off the Duke from *Callis*, till the King of *France*, as was thought, by the Advice of the Duke of *Orleans*, who envy'd him the Glory of gaining so important a Fortress, commanded him to withdraw, and come Home, which caused a Cessation of Arms between the Two Nations for a little Time.

*Callis* besieged.

After the Departure of the Prince of *Wales* from the *Welsh*, that People being enraged by their Losses, became more Troublesome and Mischievous Neighbours to the bordering *English* than ever, of which when the King had News, he resolved to undertake another Expedition against them to reduce them: But before he could get all Things ready, a strong Conspiracy of his Nobles to depose him was discovered, and so he was obliged to stay to secure himself in his Throne. The Conspiracy

was begun and carried on in this Manner. It seems, that King *Henry* having received a peremptory Denial from his Lords, that they would give him no Money at *London*, dismiss'd them with some angry Words, and sharp Menaces, which meeting with Discontents in some of his Nobles, and more especially in *Richard Scroop*, Arch-Bishop of *York*, and the Earl of *Northumberland* so enrag'd them, that they formed a strong Conspiracy against him to depose him. These two Peers having consulted with, and engaged several other great Men in their Design, *viz.* *Thomas Mowbrey* (d), Earl-Marshal, the Lords, *Hastings*, *Falconbridge*, *Burdolf*, and others, and appointed a Meeting of all the Forces they could get together upon *Torkwolds*, compos'd certain Articles containing such Things as the Nobles and Commons found themselves aggrieved with, that by divulging them among the People, and shewing them their Friends, they might raise a Strength sufficient for their Design. The Piety of the Arch-Bishop, who had engaged in this Conspiracy, drew such great Multitudes of the Gentry and Commons to join in his Quarrel, that almost every one that could bear Arms in the Countries adjacent followed him. The Arch-Bishop seeing this Success, encouraged them to proceed in their good Enterprize, and immediately caused the Articles of their Grievances to be set upon the Doors of the Monastries, and in the Streets of *York*, that all Men might understand the Cause that moved them to take Arms against the King. The Articles were to this Effect.

*A. D.* 1405. *Reg. 6.* The Rebellion of Arch Bp. Scroop and the Cause of it in several Articles.

#### ARTICLES of the Wrongs and Injuries done by King Henry to the Royal Dignity, and People of England.

*Imprimis.* 'That King *Henry* at his coming into *England* out of his Exile

'had vountarily sworn, that he came only to Challenge and Recover his Own and Wife's Inheritance, and not to intermeddle with the King's Crown or Authority, but after finding himself strong enough to fulfil his Ambitious Desires, had wickedly broke his Oath, and without any Right or Reason caused himself to be made and proclaimed King.

*Secondly,* 'That as an Arch-Traitor he had not only imprison'd his Sovereign Lord King *Richard*, and by Threats and Terrors had forced him to resign his Crown and Dignity upon Promises of Life, but had barbarously caused him to be Murdered in Prison, that he might enjoy his Crown and Kingdom with less Trouble and Molestation.

*Thirdly,* 'That ever since the Death of King *Richard*, he had unjustly kept the Kingdom, and the Crown from his Kinsman *Edward Mortimer*, who was the Son and Heir apparent of *Philippa*, the Daughter and Heir of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, the Father of the Now Usurping King.

*Fourthly,* 'That he had unjustly put to Death several of the Nobles of this Nation, for endeavouring to promote the Publick Good, and had contrary to the Law of the Land caused several Bishops to be Arrested, and Imprisoned.

(d) Son to that Duke of *Norfolk*, who was banish'd with this King, when he was Duke of *Hereford*.

*Fifthly,*



A. D. 1405. Reg. 6. Fifthly, 'That he had willingly ratified, allowed, and approved in his Parliament at Winchester a most wicked Statute made against the Church of Rome, the Powers and Pricipality thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ to Blessed St. Peter and his Successors the Bishops of Rome, and so hath been the Cause of much Simony, Perjury, and other Disorders among the Clergy, and Gentry of the Nation, who sell their Vacant Benefices to unworthy and unfit Persons, to the great Discouragement of Learning in the Universities, and Diligence in the Ministry.

Sixthly, 'That he hath usurped a Tyrannical Government, and so grievously oppressed the Nation by his continual Exactions of Needless Taxes and Subsidies, when there was no reasonable Cause or Occasion for them, that the People are miserably impoverished, and dare not complain, because of his Menaces and Threats.

Seventhly, 'That no Justice could be expected from him, because, that contrary to his Coronation Oath, he had hindered the Free Election of Parliaments by sending his Letters into the Shires and Borroughs of the Kingdom, whereby he procured, that such Persons only should be chosen Knights and Burgesses, as would not fail to serve his Turn in their Votes and Acts, as Occasion was offered.

Eighthly, 'That whereas in Honour and Respect to his Affinity, he ought to have ransomed and redeemed his Cousin the Earl of March from his loathsome Imprisonment, (and the more especially, because he was often solicited to it by the Lords of his Council) he not only deny'd to grant the same Request, but falsly and untruely Published and Declared, That the Earl made himself a Prisoner to the Welsh voluntarily, that he might have a more colourable Pretence to join with Traitors and Rebels to conspire and plot against him, and disturb his Peace and Government.

Lastly, 'That the Premisses being very destructive to the Nation, and calling for a speedy Redress, they had taken Arms with no other Intention, than to exalt unto the Kingdom the true and lawful Heir, and to crown him with the Royal Diadem of England, to bring the Welsh, Irish, and other Enemies of the Kingdom to a perpetual Peace; and lastly, to free the Nation from all those Exactions, Extortions, and unjust Payments, which ruined the People: And therefore as they defied King Henry, as an Usurping Tyrant, and pronounced him Perjured and Excommunicate; so they threatned the Curse of God, and his Holy Church upon all those that should assist him against them, and not join with them against him.

These Articles being seen and read, were very well approved by the Generality of People, and brought a mighty Concourse to the Assistance of the Arch-Bishop; insomuch, that they had no reason in the least to doubt of Success. The King having Intelligence of these Things, gave over all Thoughts of his Expedition into Wales, and resolved to turn his Forces against them: But Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, and his Son John, Duke of Lancaster (e) with several other Great Persons,

who were at that Time marching towards Scotland to defend the Borders with a considerable Force, thought it necessary to stop the Growth of the Rebellion, by opposing it in the Beginning; and being not far from their Camp, presented themselves with all the Strength they could get to give them Battel. The Arch-Bishop's Party was much the Stronger, being twenty thousand Men, but yet were not forward to set upon them, which the Earl of Westmoreland perceiving, and not daring to assault them, he contrived to supplant them by this Stratagem. He sent certain Messengers to the Arch-Bishop to know the Cause, why a Person of his Character for Wisdom and Piety, who should by his Place endeavour all he could to promote Peace and Quietness in the Nation, should appear in Arms, and disturb the Government. The Arch-Bishop reply'd, 'That he attempted nothing against the King's Peace; but all that he intended was, to advance the Good of the Commonwealth, by redressing the Abuses and Corruptions of the Government, contained in certain Articles, which he gave them a Copy of, and desired them to carry to the Earl to consider upon, not doubting but he would agree with him, that his Purpose was Good and Profitable, as well for the King himself, as for the whole Realm. The Earl having received this Answer, and the Paper which they brought with them, from the Messenger's Hands, read the Articles contained in it; and immediately sent the Bishop Word again; 'That having well considered of the Articles sent to him, he highly approved the Holy Intention and Purpose of the Arch-Bishop, and was ready to concur with him to his utmost in establishing the same, desiring to meet the Arch-Bishop in some convenient Place, and with an equal Number of Men, to confer farther about the more effectual carrying on of their Design. The Prelate having received this Message did not suspect the Deceit lurking in it, but rejoiced much at the Earl's Proposals, appointing a Place to meet him, as he desired. The Earl-Marshal was afraid of the Trick, but the Arch-Bishop giving Credit to the Earl's Words, perswaded him to attend him to the Conference, where the Earl of Westmoreland again solemnly declared, 'That he and his would do their Best, that a Reformation should be made according to the forementioned Articles: And then desiring that their Soldiers might be dismissed to their Camps, they shook Hands, and sat down to drink together, as perfect Friends; which when the Soldiers saw they departed with Joy, and left them; but one of the Troops wheeling about by the Earl of Westmoreland's Order, came suddenly upon them as they were sitting, and took the Arch-Bishop, Earl-Marshal, and several other Prisoners. This Perfidiousness the Arch-Bishop too late upbraided the Earl of Westmoreland with, and that with some Smartness; but the Earl pacified him by repeated Promises of his Safety, and of them that were with him. The Earl of Westmoreland soon after hearing, that the King himself was come to Pomfrait, went thither with his Prisoners, and presented them to the King; but whether he forgot to tell the King of his Promise, or whether the King would not perform it, certain it is, that they were both Executed. The Arch-

A. D. 1405. Reg. 6.

Earl of Westmoreland takes the Arch-Bishop Prisoner, by a Stratagem, and ends the Rebellion.

(e) John of Lancaster, King Henry's Third Son, he was not Duke of Lancaster; but afterwards he was famous by the Title of Duke of Bedford, and Regent of France.

Bishop



*A. D.* Bishop suffered with great Constancy, and was so much admired as well as pitied after his Death, that the People worship'd him for a Martyr, till the King forbade them. From *Pomfrait* the King marched with his Army of 37000 Men to *York*, where he fined the Citizens at his Pleasure for their Rebellion, and so furnished himself with Money and Provision for his further Progress in pursuit of the Earl of *Northumberland*: But that Earl, with the Lord *Burdolf* escaped into *Scotland*, and was received by *David*, Lord *Flemming*. The King in his way took the Lord *Hastings* and *Falconbridge*, Sir *John Colvill*, and Sir *John Griffith*, and beheaded them at *Durham*. Then he assaulted *Berwick*, *Warkworth*, *Alnewick*, and several other Castles which belonged to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and took them, and so put an end to the Rebellion at present.

*K. Henry's Expedition on against the Welsh.* While the King was thus employ'd against his own Subjects, the *Welsh* under *Owen Glendour* were very solicitous to strengthen themselves against King *Henry's* Arms, whose Intentions (as they knew) were not laid aside wholly, but deferred, and therefore they might expect him as soon as Things were quiet at Home. They thereupon sent to the King of *France* for his Assistance, and obtained 12000 Men, which were sent over in 140 Ships, under the Command of the Marshal *Montmerancy*. In their Passage they lost all their Horses for want of fresh Water; and just after their Landing, the Lord *Barkley*, and Mr. *Henry Pay*, burnt and took near Thirty of their Ships: But these Losses they soon recovered upon the *English*; for joining with *Owen Glendour*, they besieged *Carmarden*, *Worcester*, and several other Places, from whence they took store of Spoil and Plunder. King *Henry* hearing of these Troubles from the *Welsh*, hastened against them; but as if an ill Fate had pursued him, he lost all his Carriages with a violent Tempest, in his Passage thither; and being arrived, could effect nothing against them; for the *Welsh* after their usual manner retreating into their Mountains, the King for want of Money and Forrage was forced to return Home without any Action worthy of Mention, losing some of his Carriages in his Retreat. The *French* also returned with little gain by their tedious Journey, having lost more than they had gotten.

*Reg. 7.* In the beginning of this Year the Lady *Philip*, King *Henry's* younger Daughter, was married to *Erice*, King of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, and not long after proclaimed Queen of those Countries on the Conception of our Lady, *December 8.* in the Presence of the Embassadors, who had celebrated the Marriage before. On the Translation of *St. Martin*, the Town of *Roylton* was set on Fire, and almost burnt down to the Ground. The Earl of *Arundell* also about the same time married the King of *Portugal's* natural Daughter, and the King and Queen were at the Marriage.

*A. D.* On the First of *March* a Parliament met at *Westminster*. The main Design of their Meeting was to grant the King a Subsidy for his present Supply; but that he might more easily gain his Ends upon them, the King passed several Acts at their Request, about the more regular and orderly Election of Knights of the Shires, and Burgesses for Parliament; against Bulls to be discharged of Tythes, Provisions, Licenses and Pardons for Benefices, held by Incumbents, purchased of the Pope, and brought into the Nation, to the great Prejudice of the Church, and Disturbance of the Order of the

Nation; as also for the Confirmation of the ancient Liberties, and Preservation of the Peace, with several other Statutes; by which Readiness and Facility he thought to oblige them to be more liberal to him in granting him Money: But when the King's Necessities and Wants came to be propounded, the House was generally averse to it, and deny'd to grant any Tax at present. The King had no way to force them to it, but by prolonging their Session, which would not only be chargeable to the Nation, but prejudicial to all their private Interests, in neglecting their Summer-Business; and therefore, when they had long waited for their Dissolution with Impatience, and found the King's Design, they at length granted him a Fifteenth of the Commons; which was so much the more heavy, because the length of the Session had been very Expensive: And the Clergy to ease the Seculars, who had been much impoverished with paying so many Tenths, imposed a new Subsidy upon Stipendiary Priests, Mendicant-Friers, and Chantry-Priests, viz. three and four Pence a Head, which was paid by them with much Murmuring and Repining, because of the Poverty of those inferior Priests and Monks and the Novelty of it. By this Parliament the Succession was entailed a-new upon the Posterity of King *Henry*, and a Pardon given to all those Persons that had been instrumental in suppressing the late Rebellion, and such riotous Meetings as were Precedent, or Consequential to it.

The King while the Parliament sat, considering how Turbulent the Earl of *Northumberland* had been to his Government; that he had been the chief Cause and Instrument of Two Rebellions, and that he could never hope for any Security so long as he was alive; for though he was fled into *Scotland*, yet being so near his Friends in the *North*, and among his Enemies the *Scots*, who if not out of Love to the Earl, yet out of Hatred to himself and the *English*, would lay hold of any Opportunity to assault his Dominions, and disturb his Peace; contrived to prevent the Earl's Designs, by getting him into his Hands, and to that End agreed with several of the *Scotch* Nobles to restore certain Great Men of their Kingdom, whom he kept Prisoners, if they would resign the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf* into his Hands. The *Scots* readily assented to the King's Proposals, thinking it unreasonable to value the Safety of Two Rebels, before the Liberty of many of their very good Friends, and accordingly conspired to take them and deliver them to him: But the Lord *Flemming*, who had entertained them, having Intelligence of the Design, and being loath to violate the Sacred Rules of Hospitality, gave them Notice of it, and advised them to provide for their Safety elsewhere, since he could no longer protect them; whereupon the Earl of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf* fled into *Wales*. The *Scotch* Lords being thus disappointed of their Aim, turned their Anger upon the Lord *Flemming*, and slew him, but with no less Trouble to the Nation than Cruelty in themselves: For the Children and Relations of the said Lord, being excited by the Barbarousness of the Fact, resolved to revenge it, and being in so just a Cause, obtained Assistance easily to effect it. This begat a Civil War in *Scotland*, and raised such dangerous Quarrels in several parts of the Nation, that the King not thinking it safe to keep Prince *James* his Son and Heir at Home, sent him under the Care of the Earl of

*A. D.*  
1406.  
*Reg. 7.*

*K. Henry*  
contrives  
to get the  
Earl of  
*Northumberland*  
from the  
*Scots*.

*A. D.*  
1406.  
Seventh  
Parliament, its  
Acts and  
Taxes.

*Reg.*  
*Earl*  
*Kem*  
*Marr*

*A.*  
1406.  
*Reg.*  
*den's*  
*Death*



A. D. 1406. Reg. 7. of Orkney, and a Bishop, into France to complete his Education, and learn that Language. In their Passage, as they sailed by the English Coast, about Cley in Norfolk, they were taken by certain English Ships belonging to those Parts, and sent to the King at Windsor; who though they presented to him the King of Scots Letters, containing a Request of his Favour to his Son, if he should land in any part of his Dominions, yet he imprisoned them all in the Tower of London; saying, *He would teach the Young Prince to speak the French Tongue, and so they need go no further.* The Bishop remained not long in Custody, but either through Cunning or Connivence escaped; and though a Truce was made a little after between the two Kings of England and Scotland, yet the Prince was kept a Prisoner, either as a Pledge of his Father's Fidelity, or to make him expel the English Rebels out of his Dominions, whom he entertained to the King's great Displeasure.

Divers Accidents. In the End of this Summer the Britains, who served the Queen, were banished the Nation, and two of her Daughters sent along with them by Order of the Parliament. The Lady Philippa also was sent over into Denmark to her Husband, being attended by Henry Bowet, Bishop of Bath, and the Lord Richard, Brother to the Duke of York, with a great Train, and was soon after her Arrival married to the said King with great Magnificence. At the same time solemn Jufts were held at London between the Earl of Kent, Sir John Cornwall, and the Lord Beaumont and Three Scots, the Earl of Marre, and Two Scottish Knights; but the Honour of the Victory fell to the English. This Year also the Mayor of London caused all the Wears or Banks, as far as Gravesend, which had been made into the Thames to catch the Fish, to be beaten down and demolished, because they were found too destructive to the Fishery. The Earl of Arundel, and some other of the Nobility opposed the Mayor in it, but he prevailed through some Concessions given the City of London by their Charter. Sir Robert Knolles finished Rochester Bridge, and the Chappel adjoining to it. The Pope made Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, in the Place of Walter Skirlow, lately deceased. The French also sent a further Aid to the Welsh in thirty eight Ships, but lost eight in their Passage, and the rest hardly escaping the English, got ashore in much Fear and Danger.

Reg. 8. Earl of Kent's Marriage. The King, who greatly favoured Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, and for that Reason had raised him to very great Honour and Offices about him, preferred him to the Lady Lucy, the Eldest Daughter, and one of the Heiresses of Barnabas, Duke of Milan; which Match he had obtained for him by great Interest, and large Expences. She was married to him January the 24th, in the Church of St. Mary Overies, in Southwark, and the Duke on the Day of her Marriage paid him by the Hands of Don Alfonso de Caimuola 100000 Ducats.

A. D. 1407. Reg. Walden's Death. About this Time died Roger Walden, Doctor of Divinity, and so at length came to his Haven of Peace and Quiet, after a Life of infinite Changes and Troubles; for of all Men living he was the greatest Instance of the Mutability and Inconstancy of Fortune. He was originally of mean Parentage, and born to a small Estate; but being educated in Learning, and of a pregnant Wit, he raised himself by degrees to the highest Offices both in Church and State; for he was first made Lord High-Treasurer, and a little after by the Deposition of Thomas Arundel, he

was made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and so continued during King Richard's Reign. From these Pinacles of Grandeur he was cast down by the coming of King Henry to the Throne, who restored Thomas Arundel to his See. Several Years he remained in a private Station, and at length was again raised to Episcopal Dignity, being made Bishop of London: But, as though Fortune raised him only to shew her Power to cast down, he was again removed from that See in less than the space of a Year, and Nicholas Hobwith put in his Place; dying if not in as poor, yet in almost as mean a Condition as he was Born: So uncertain is worldly Greatness.

The Duke of Orleans early in the Spring having gathered a mighty Army, beleaguered the Towns of Burges and Blay in Gascoigne, not doubting, but that with his Army he might easily win the said Towns: But, as if Providence had fought against him, and disapproved the Action; there happened such continual Tempests of Rain, mixt with Hail and Snow, every Day for six Weeks together, that he was not able to attempt any Thing; but lost by the Violence of the Weather (as was reported) six thousand of his Men; so that he was forced to break up the Siege and depart with Disgrace. The English not insensible of this Danger, in the mean time annoy'd the French Coasts; and with fifteen Ships under the Command of Henry Pay, Esq; and some others belonging to the Cinque-Ports took a hundred and twenty Prizes on the British Coasts, laden with Iron, Salt, Oyl, and Rochel-Wines; so that the French sustained many Damages by Sea and Land.

Some Seeds of Rebellion began to spring this Year, tho' being nipped in the Bud, they came to nothing: For some Persons desirous to stir up the People to Sedition, set up Bills in several Places of the City of London, and upon the Doors of St. Paul's Church; declaring, that King Richard was still alive, and would shortly come with great Power and State to recover his Kingdom. But the Chief Actor in this Business was by the King's Vigilance soon found out, and punished according to his Desert, that the Terror of his Sufferings might make others to avoid the like false Attempts.

The City of London was so much infected this Summer with the Plague, that it is said thirty thousand died of it; and the Country was proportionably afflicted with it, for many whole families died of it. The King not daring to venture himself in the City, passed his Time in the Country, till the Infection should cease; where having kept his Court some time at his Castle of Leeds in Kent, he pass'd into Essex to reside a while at Pleshey. He took Ship at Queensburgh, in the Isle of Sheepy, to sail to Leigh in Essex: But in his way certain French Pirates, who lay at the Thames Mouth, watching for Prey, fell in among his Ships, having Information of his crossing, and took four Ships which were next to the King's, missing of the Ship he was in, which they intended to take; but carrying away Sir Thomas Rampstone his Vice-chamberlain, with his Furniture and Apparel; the King himself escaping only through the Swiftnefs of his Ship. The Lord Camois, had undertaken with certain Men of War, to convey the King over safely; but either thro' the Sluggishness of his Ship or cross Winds, not being at hand to guard the King from this Danger, was thought to have practised with the French to deliver the King into their Hands; and

A. D. 1407. Reg. 8.

Duke of Orleans besieges Burges and Blay.

Seditious Libels set up in the City.

A Plague in London.

The King near taken by some French Pirates.



*A. D.* 1407. and being Attach'd was imprison'd, and oblig'd to undergo his Tryal, but was cleared by his Reg. 8. Peers, and restored by the King to his Lands, Goods and Offices.

*The King opposes the Pope's Provisions.* *Robert Halome*, Chancellour of *Oxford* being at *Rome* with the Pope, obtained a Provision of him for the Arch-Bishoprick of *York*, when it should become Vacant by the Death of the present Bishop. *Richard Scroope* being beheaded for his Rebellion, *Robert* possessed himself of the See: But the King was so offended with him for this Intrusion, that he was afraid to keep it; and therefore submitted the Disposal of it to the King's Pleasure, who thereupon made *Henry Bower*, from Bishop of *Bath*, Arch-Bishop, and put *Robert Halome* into the See of *Salisbury*, then vacant by the Translation of *Henry Chicheley* to *St. Davids*. (f) The Prince of *Wales* much about the same Time won the Castle of *Aberystwith* (g) in *Wales*, forcing the Belieged to resign it to him upon certain Conditions; but the Prince was no sooner departed from those Parts, but *Owen Glendour* by a subtle Stratagem got Possession of it again; and putting out the Keepers, whom he charged with Treason for resigning the Castle without his Consent, put in others more faithful to defend it for his Use.

*Sir Robert Knolles's Death and his Acts of Charity and Piety.* About the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, Aug. 15. deceased that most Warlike Knight, and Brave English Hero, *Sir Robert Knolles*, at his Manor of *Sconethorp* in *Norfolk*; and being carried up to *London*, was honourably Interred in the Church of the *White-Fryars* in *Fleet-Street*, by the Lady *Constance* his Wife; which Church he had a little before re-edified. He was of mean Parentage, but by his Courage and Valour raised himself to be the Commander of Armies, and Governour of Provinces; in which Places he behaved himself so well, that he not only enriched himself, but was a Terror to all the Enemies of the Nation, especially the *French* and *Britains*. In his old Age he resigned his Government of the Province of *Aquitain*, to *Sir Thomas Belfort*, and gave himself to Acts of Piety and Charity; in which he was as eminent, as in Heroick Achievements: For he built the large Bridge at *Rocheſter* over the *Medway*, with a Chappel at the Foot of it; in which is a Table of all the Benefactors to the Bridge, who have given Land or Money to the upholding of it. The Coping hath been added since by *John Warner*, a Merchant of *Rocheſter*, and the Iron Bars and Spikes by Arch-Bishop *Warham*. He also founded a College of secular Priests at *Pontefract* for six Priests, thirteen poor Men and Women, and endued it with a hundred and eighty Pounds a Year in Lands, with many other Acts of Charity, to his great Honour and the eternal Commendation of his Memory.

*Reg. 9.* *Sir Thomas Rampſtone*, Constable of the Tower of *London*, passing from Court to the Tower by Water, was drown'd in shooting the Bridge. *Sir Richard Whittington* the Famous Benefactor to the City of *London*, was this Year made Mayor, and held that Place three Years. With the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at *Glouceſter*, but was removed in *November* to *Westminster* for mere Convenience. In this Session little was enacted of publick Advantage,

*Eight Parliament's Acts & Taxes.*

besides the Confirmation of the Ancient Liberties, Laws and Customs of the Realm, but only some Irregularities about the Payment of Taxes by Strangers, sealing Cloths, and the like were removed. In respect to the Church several Things of Importance were moved, and some enacted, viz. It was moved by Petition to the King, That forasmuch, as divers Provisors of Benefices in the Church of *England*, thro' Covetousness have devised to destroy the Present Incumbents, by suing Processes in the Court of *Rome*, and without any Citations given them within the Realm have deprived them of their Benefices; It would please the King to consider the Mischief of such Proceedings, and to ordain, That all such Persons, as shall procure or sue in the Court of *Rome* any Process touching any Benefice or Collation in his Majesty's Dominions, and obtain any Presentation thereupon, shall not be admitted by any Ordinary into such Benefices, but shall incur the Penalty of the Statute of Provisors made 13 *Rich. 2.* with all their Counsellors and Fautors: To which the King answered, That he would take effectual Care, that the Statutes before-mentioned should be observed. Another Petition was also put up to the King, begging, 'That since many Benefices of the Realm were held and enjoy'd by Foreigners and others, who took no care of the People, he would be pleased to seize upon all Benefices, where the Parsons were not Resident, and take one half of the said Benefices to his own Use. But to this the King answered, 'That he would cause the Ordinaries to do their Duties; which if they would not do, he would take care to prevent Pluralities. These favourable Answers encouraged the Commons to pass several Bills in reference to them, which the King enacted, viz. 'That no Monies should be carried out of the Nation to the Court of *Rome*; and that if any of the Pope's Collectors should levy any Money within the Realm for the First-Fruits of any Ecclesiastical Dignity, he should incur the Penalty of the Statute of Provisors: That the Elections and Presentations to Benefices should be free, and no Patrons should be interrupted in their Right, either by the King or Pope: That all Statutes against Provisors, and Translations of Bishopricks and Arch-Bishopricks, shall be strictly observed and executed upon all Offenders against them, and that no Clergy-man shall sue for any Benefice but in the King's Court. These Acts were so pleasing to the Parliament, that they granted the King a general Subsidy thro' the whole Nation, and so it was dismissed.

*A. D.* 1408. A little before Christmas, began a Frost of that Violence and long Continuance, that the like was scarce ever heard of in *England*. It lasted fifteen Weeks; and being accompany'd with an abundance of Snow, it was so destructive to the Birds especially, that almost all the smaller Birds died with Cold and Hunger.

Early in this Spring the Earl of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf*, who from their Escape out of *Scotland*, had spent a whole Year to gather an Army in *Wales*, *France* and *Flanders* to invade *England*, returned again into *Scotland*, and entred into *England*. The King, who had no Suspicion of this Attempt, was at *London*, consulting with his Nobles and Peers about the

*A. D.* 1407. *Reg. 9.*

*A. D.* 1408. An hard Winter.

The E. of Northumberland rebels a third time, and is slain.

(f) The Translation of Dr. *Chicheley* from the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* to *St. David's*, shews us that there must be a vast Alteration in the Revenues of the See of *St. Davids*, from what they were formerly: That of *Salisbury* being now valued in the King's Books at 1367 l. 11 s. 8 d. and that of *St. Davids* but at 426 l. 5 s. 8 d. and yet as low as the Priests are now, the Value of it in the said Books amounts to much more, than that of the other Three Welsh Bishopricks put together.

(g) *Aberystwith* in *Cardiganshire*.



A. D. 1408. Reg. 9. Affairs of the Realm, and was in no Readiness to make any Opposition; so that the Earl had time to gain several of his Castles with ease, before the King could get his Army together, though he endeavour'd it with all speed. These prosperous Beginnings encourag'd the Earl to go on, and invade *Yorkshire*; where being at *Thresh*, he put out a Proclamation, assuring the People, 'That he came to relieve the *English* Nation from their many and unjust Oppressions; and requiring all Persons that loved the Liberty of their Country to resort to him immediately with their Weapons and Armour to assist him; by which fair Pretences great Numbers of People resorted to him. The King being certified of these Things, hastened towards them with a great Army; but not being able to get there time enough to secure those Countries from their Ravage and Spoil, Sir *Thomas Rockley* or *Rokesby*, High-Sheriff of the County, a Person of signal Courage and Loyalty, assembled the Forces of the County together, if not to fight them, yet to stop their Progress, which without any Signs of Opposition would prove of greater Damage. The Earl and his Party advanced forward, and the Sheriff as resolutely marched against them, and meeting them at *Braham-moor* near *Haselwood*, resolved to give them Battel, though with a far less Number than the Earl had. The Rebels chose their Ground, and were ready to receive them; which Advantage the Sheriff so little regarded, that he fell immediately upon them perhaps more boldly than wisely; but Fortune seconds the Adventurous. The Earl and his Men encountered him with equal Resolution and Bravery. However in the Issue he was forced to resign the Victory to the Sheriff; many were slain on both sides, but the Rebels lost far the most. The Lord *Bardolf* was taken, and so much wounded, that he died soon after of his Wounds. The Earl of *Northumberland* was slain, but his Head being cut off was sent up with the Lord *Bardolf's* to *London*, and there set upon a Pole on the Bridge. His Death was much lamented by the People, by reason of his Valour and Honour. The Bishop of *Bangor*, who had gone over to *Owen Glendour* was taken; but because he was not in Arms, the King pardon'd him, more in respect to his Order than Merit. But the Abbot of *Hailes* found not that Mercy from the King; for being taken in Armour, he was hang'd. The King was on his March towards the Rebels, when the News of this Victory was brought to him; but judging it necessary to proceed in his Course to settle those Countries, and purge 'em from the Dregs of Rebellion, he went to *York*, where he punish'd many that were accused for succouring and assisting the Earl of *Northumberland*, some with Death, others with great Fines, and so brought those Parts in a small time into good Order.

This Summer the *English* Seas being much pestered with *French* Rovers, which did much Damage, both to the Coasts and Merchants, the King sent out a well-mann'd Fleet, under the Command of *Edmund Holland*, Earl of *Kent*, to scour the Narrow-Seas of them. The Pirates having Intelligence of the King's Design, withdrew themselves into their Ports, so that the Earl, when he came to Sea, though he

sought carefully for them, could find none of them; but at length getting Intelligence that they were gotten into *Brittain*, he pursued 'em, resolving to revenge on them the Injuries they had done to the *English*; and because he could not bring them to a Sea-fight, he landed his Men, and besieged the City of *Briak* which harbour'd them, and sent them out. The Inhabitants stoutly defended themselves, endeavouring to drive the *English* back, by casting Arrows and Stones upon them, and were so lucky as to wound the Earl himself mortally on the Head, of which hurt he died within five Days. This might have proved Fortunate to the Besieged, had their Enemies been Men of common Tempers; but the Loss of their Captain so much enraged the Soldiers, that they became more desperate in the Assault, and within a few Days took the Town by force, and slew all that had made Resistance, but staid not to secure it, being satisfied with the Prey and Prisoners. The Countess of *Kent* had no Issue, and therefore the King desired her in Marriage for his Bastard-Brother the Earl of *Dorset*, an old and decrepit Man; (b) but she chose rather to please her self, and married a young Gentleman, *Henry Mortimer*, by whom she had One Daughter, named *Ann*; afterwards married to Sir *John Arbemond*.

The Schism between the Popes, which had lasted several Years past, was now grown very wearisome to the whole Church, having cost so many Lives to maintain it, and being such an open Breach of Unity and Christian Love, the two main Pillars of the Church. The two last Antipopes, *Gregory XII*, and *Benedict XIII*, had been sworn at their Election to call a Council, and submit to the Decision of it, that by that most effectual way Peace might be restored to the Church; but their Behaviour afterwards in choosing new Cardinals to strengthen their Parties, was an evident Sign they intended to perpetuate the Schism, as much as in them lay, not valuing the Oath they had taken to the contrary. This Action offended the more moderate Cardinals, and gave distaste to particular Churches, insomuch, that they began to take other Methods to bring the Popes to Terms of Agreement.

In *France* the King having taken Advice of the Learned Men of his Universities of *Paris*, (i) *Bolonia*, *Orleans*, *Tholouse* and *Montpelier*, how he might avoid the Danger of Schism; determined to submit to neither of these Schismatical Popes, until Peace were restored to Christ's Church. In *England* also the Doctors of both Universities met in a Council at *London*, with the rest of the Clergy to debate, whether they should withdraw from the Pope their usual Payments of Monies, and their accustomed Obedience; considering, that contrary to his Word and Promise, confirmed by his Oath, he had hindered the Agreement and Concord of the Church: But they came to no Resolution, because the King was willing to try more gentle Methods first, especially since the Council of *Pisa* was appointed to meet to determine the Controversie the next Summer: And therefore the mean while, that he might dispose Pope *Gregory* and his Cardinals to submit to their Decision, he wrote a Letter to each of them, to this effect. 'To the Pope he represented

(b) It could not be the Earl of *Dorset*, for the King did not confer that Title till four Years afterwards on his younger Brother, *Thomas Beaufort*. Hol. The Author must mean *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, the eldest of *Esquire Sui-ford's* Sons, by the Duke of *Lancaster*; and he being several Years Younger than the King, who was not now above one and forty Years of Age, deserved not the Character of Old and Decrepid.

(i) *Bologna* is not one of the *French* King's Universities, and never belong'd to the Domains of *France*.



A. D. 1409. Reg. 10. the Miseries of Christendom by this Schism, and how much Blood-shed it had been the Cause of; that 200000 Men had been slain in several parts of the Christian World in this Antipapal Quarrel; and lately in the Contention for the Bishoprick of *Leige* between the Two Competitors, set up by each Pope 30000 Men had been slain: And then added, That if his Holiness would seriously consider these Things, he could not but be much troubled at it, and for Conscience sake rather relinquish his Papal Authority and Grandure, than be a further Cause of such detestable Murders; imitating the Example of the True Mother, who pleading her Cause before *Solomon*, chose rather to part with her own Child, than see it cut asunder: And though by his late Creation of Nine Cardinals he had given some Suspicion, that he intended not the End of the Schism; yet he hoped, that he abhorred to be guilty of so great Inconstancy. To the Cardinals he gives only an Exhortation to behave themselves with that Candour and Impartiality at the Council of *Pisa*, that God may be pleased, and the Pope himself obliged to thank them. These Letters to the Pope and Cardinals the King sent to *Rome* by Sir *John Colvil*, Knight, and Mr. *Nicholas Rixton*, Clerk. Soon after their Departure the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* summon'd the Clergy of his Province to a Convocation in *St. Paul's Church*, to choose sufficient Persons to go to the General Council appointed to be held at *Pisa*; and they unanimously fixed upon *Robert Halome*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Henry Chicheley*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, and *Thomas Chillingden*, Prior of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*.

This Summer, notwithstanding the Burning of *William Sawter*, and other Severities used against the *Lollards* in this King's Reign; it was found, that several Learned Men of the University of *Oxford*, and in other parts of the Nation were inclinable to the Doctrines of *John Wickliff*, and did publickly in their Sermons and other Discourses, deliver Opinions and Conclusions tending that way. The Bishop and chief of the Clergy were much troubled at it; and the Lord-Chancellor, by his special Mandate, ordered a Convocation of the Heads and Body of the University, to meet and examine the Doctrines of *Wickliff*; who accordingly on *June 26.* assembling in great Multitudes, viz. both Regents and Non-regents, reprov'd and condemn'd with one Consent the Books of *John Wickliff*, D. D. Entituled, *De Sermone in monte*, *Triologorum de Simonia*, *De perfectione Statuum*, *De ordine Christiano*, & *de gradibus Cleri Ecclesie*. As also his Treatise of *Logick* or *Sophistry*: Prohibiting under the Penalty of the Great Curse and Deprivation of all Scholastick Degrees, that none from thence-forward should affirm, teach, or preach by any manner of means or ways any of the Opinions or Doctrines contained and set forth in the same Heretical Books.

Several Accidents. About the same time was a famous Play acted at *Skinner's Well*, near *Clarkenwell*, *London*, representing the chief Matters of the World

from the Creation: It lasted Eight Days, and most part of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* were present at it. From hence they went to Royal Jufts in *Smithfield*, between the Marshal of *Henault* and certain *Hanovers*, Challenggers; and the Earl of *Somerset*, and an equal Number of *English-men* Defendants. The Victory was on the *English-men's* side; for the Earl overcame, and all the *English* but one. *Owen Glendour* also the famous *Welsh* Rebel died. He had behaved himself with Valour enough; but not being able to effect what he had promised his Country-men, viz. an absolute Sovereignty among themselves, and a Freedom from the *English* Yoke; but instead of these having engaged them upon insupportable Expences, and an endless War, they deserted him; and he being forsaken, partly through fear of being delivered up to King *Henry*, and partly thro' discontent and trouble of Mind, fled into the Mountains and Deserts; where being destitute of all Comfort and Succour, he ended his miserable Life. The Council of *Pisa* after a long Deliberation about the State of the Church thro' the Schism of the Antipopes, at last determined against both, and created *Alexander V.* Pope in their Room, and so put an end to the Schism which had vexed the Christian Churches so long.

The King made *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Surrey* (k) Lord-Chancellor, and the Lord *Scroop*, Treasurer; and after *Christmas* met his Parliament at *Westminster*, Jan. 28. In this Parliament it was enacted. That Sheriffs making false Returns of Knights of Shires elected for Parliament, shall forfeit a hundred Pound to the King: That Records shall not be amended or corrupted after Judgment enrolled, and that Jurors shall be returned into *Westminster-hall* by the Sheriffs. But that which was most amazing in this Parliament was a Petition of the Commons delivered to the King, purporting, That the Temporal Possessions, Lands and Revenues of the Clergy were lewally spent, consumed and wasted by the Bishops, Abbots and Priors of the Realm, which if they were well managed, would maintain 150 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6200 Esquires, and 100 Hospitals more than are now at present; by which means the Safety of the Nations would be better provided for, the Poor better maintained, and the Clergy would be more Humble and Pious; and therefore they humbly besought him to take them into his own Hands, and order them accordingly. In their Bill they alledged, That the Temporalities of the said Bishops and Religious Persons amounted to above 322000 Mark; which at the Allowance of 3000 Marks to an Earl, a 100 Marks to each Knight, 40 Marks to an Esquire, and an 100 Marks to each Alms-house yearly, would be sufficient for the said Number. But it is said, that the King was displeased at this Motion, which having before been made, he commanded them for the future never to meddle with any such Matters. The Commons also petitioned, That the Statute which pass'd in the Second Year of the King against the *Lollards* might be revoked or qualified with some Restrictions and Mitigations: But the King so much favoured the Clergy, that he plainly

(k) This was *Thomas Beaufort*, younger Son of *John of Gaunt*, and not *Suinford*, whom *Walsingham* erroneously stild Earl of *Surrey*, and the Modern Historians have erred, copying after him. *Thomas Beaufort* was created Earl of *Dorset* two Years after; and this Remark may also correct an Error in *Holinshed*, who says, that *Thomas Beaufort*, (*Camb. Brit. Tit. Surrey.*) the Chancellor died this Year 1411. pag. 536. And the very next Page he relates, That *Thomas Beaufort*, the King's Brother was created Earl of *Dorset*, Anno 1412. Now there was no other *Thomas Beaufort*, besides he who was the Son of that *Suinford*, that we read of in History, and he had the Fortune to be Duke of *Exeter*, Protector of the Realm, and to be a chief Man in the Government to his Death, which happened in the Year 1446. *Holinshed*, pag. 1079.



*D. A.* told them, 'That he was so far from dis-  
*1410.* nulling or mitigating the said Act, that he  
*Reg. 11.* would have it made more vigorous and sharp  
 for the Punishment of such erroneous Persons.  
 Then they further desired, 'That Clerks con-  
 victed should not be delivered to the Bi-  
 shop's Prison, because they escaped the Pu-  
 nishment of their Crimes by that means:  
 But they could not obtain their Requests.  
 These Denials so sharpened the Commons a-  
 gainst the King, that when he desired that he  
 might have annually a Fifteenth of the Laity,  
 and a Tenth of the Clergy, though the Parlia-  
 ment did not sit, they would not agree to it;  
 nor had he gained a present Supply, were it  
 not, that he tired them with a long Session, keep-  
 ing them till *Mid-May*, and forcing them to  
 purchase their Dismission with the Gift of a  
 Fifteenth of the Commons, though with much  
 Discontent.

*The Mar-*  
*tyrdom of*  
*J. Bodby.*  
 In the Time of this Parliament was one *John*  
*Bodby*, a Taylor, of the Diocese of *Worcester*,  
 convicted before *Thomas*, Arch-bishop of *Can-*  
*terbury* of Heresie, and obstinately persisting in  
 the same, because he had been convened before  
 his Diocesan, and being admonish'd to leave his  
 Erroneous Opinions, neither did, nor as yet  
 would forsake them, and therefore was carried  
 to *Smithfield*, and there burnt in a Pipe or Tun  
 to Ashes. *Henry*, the Prince of *Wales*, was pre-  
 sent at this Execution, and much compassiona-  
 ting his Sufferings, was very desirous to have  
 saved him, offering him a Pardon if he would  
 recant his Errors before the Fire was kindled;  
 but he refusing, was tied to the Stake, and the  
 Fire made about him. As soon as he felt the  
 Flames he cried out most hedecously; which  
 when the Prince heard, he caused the Fire to  
 be put out, and then exhorted him again to  
 renounce his Errors, and he should be saved;  
 and since the Fire had made him Impotent, he  
 promised him Three Pence a Day out of the  
 King's Treasury, as long as he lived; but the  
 Holy Man recovering his Spirits, deny'd the  
 Prince's Offers; and being put into the Fire  
 again, was burnt to Ashes: With miraculous  
 Constancy, sealing the Doctrines he had reso-  
 lutely maintained with his Death.

*The D. of*  
*Burgun-*  
*dy's De-*  
*sign to*  
*take Cal-*  
*lis, defeat-*  
*ed.*  
 The Duke of *Burgundy* intending to make a  
 second and more effectual Attempt to take *Cal-*  
*lis* for his Master the *French* King, (1) had  
 brought down to *St. Omers* many Engines and  
 Provisions for that End. The *English* Garrison  
 at *Callis* were so much the more fearful of this  
 Siege, because the Duke was enraged for his  
 last ill Success against it; and had now resol-  
 ved, either to take it, or utterly demolish it;  
 for which Purpose he had brought thither ma-  
 ny strange Engines newly invented, and laid  
 them up in the *Abby* there, till all things were  
 ready for the Siege. The *Callisians* had a watch-  
 ful Eye upon the Duke's Motions; and their  
 Fears suggested Methods to avoid the Danger,  
 and disappoint his cruel Purpose: For hiring  
 a young Man, who was both subtle and de-  
 sperate, with a large Sum of Money to enter  
 the Town of *St. Omers* and set it on fire; he  
 did it so privately, that he escaped himself un-  
 suspected, and burnt down, not only the *Abby*  
 wherein the Duke's Provision and Ammunition  
 lay, but the greatest part of the Town perished  
 in the Flames, and so the Duke's Charge, as  
 well as Aim was lost, and the *Callisians* preserv'd.

*Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Surrey* died. The *A. D.*  
*1410.* Citizens fell under the King's Displeasure for  
*Reg. 11.* quarrelling with the Prince's servants, attend-  
 ing their Master at a Feast in *Eastcheap*, and  
 the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen were sent  
 for; but it appearing, that the Mayor had done  
 his Duty in suppressing the Disorder, and pu-  
 nishing the Offenders, the King pardon'd them,  
 and so dismissed them. This Year also he laid  
 the Foundation of a College at *Battle-field* in  
*Shropshire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry*  
*Peirce*, surnamed *Hotspur*, and his Uncle, in  
 grateful thanks to God for that Victory, it be-  
 ing by far the strongest Rebellion that was rais-  
 ed against him all his Reign; and through the  
 Courage and Conduct of the Leaders most  
 likely to succeed, which was the Motive to  
 the King of building this College of Praise to  
 God.

*Robert Humphreyle*, Knight, Vice-Admiral *Reg. 12.*  
*of England* being employ'd against the *Scots* with  
 Ten able Ships of War, much infested the  
 Coasts of that Nation; and entering the *Forth*,  
 or *Frith* of *Edinburgh* he lay there fourteen  
 Days, and landing every Day on one side of  
 the River or other, took great Spoils, and ma-  
 ny Prisoners; notwithstanding the Duke of  
*Albany*, and Earl *Douglas* lay with a considera-  
 ble Body of Men upon the Shore to prevent  
 their IncurSIONS. At his Departure he burnt  
 the *Galliot* of *Scotland*, a Vessel of great Ac-  
 count with them, and many other Vessels, and  
 brought away with him fourteen good Ships la-  
 den with Prizes of Cloath, both Woollen and  
 Linnen, Pitch, Tar, Woad, Flower, Rye,  
 and Wheat Meal, with which he so well fur-  
 nish'd our Markets at home with Plenty, that  
 Corn grew much cheaper, and the Poor much  
 loved and admired him, giving him the Name  
 of *Robert Mend-market*, in token of the Good he  
 had done them, and with a Desire that it should  
 be an eternal Honour to his Name, That  
 whereas others made it their Business to raise  
 Markets, he had in Charity to them beat them  
 down. And thus he was called *Mend-market*  
 in both Kingdoms; for in *Scotland* he had got  
 himself that Name, by falling upon the Town  
 of *Peebles* on the Market-day, and selling the  
 Cloaths he had taken from the Traders at cheap  
 Rates by their Bows for a Measure to the  
 Country People, and then burning the Town.  
 Shortly after his Return from Sea, he made an  
 Inroad into *Scotland* by Land, with his Nephew,  
*Gilbert Hunsfrevile*, Earl of *Angus*, and burnt  
*Jedworth*, with the greatest part of *Trivdale*.  
 This Year died 14000 of the Bloody-flux at  
*Burdeaux*, and a proportionable Number in the  
 Provinces of *Gascoigne* and *Guienne*, whereby the  
 Country was so much dispeopled, that there  
 wanted Men to dress their Vines, and press  
 their Grapes.

A little after *Christmas* the King sent out *A. D.*  
*John Pendergrace*, Knight, and *William Long* to *1411.*  
 clear the Channel of the *French* Rovers and Pi-  
 rates, who much molested the *English* Coasts,  
 and Merchants, which they did with so great  
 Care and Diligence, that in a little time no  
 Pirate dared to appear, nor any Merchant fear-  
 ed any Danger. But this Success which brought  
 so much Safety and Gain to others, proved a  
 Misfortune to themselves; for their Enemies  
 envying the Honour and Favour which they  
 had deservedly merited, accused them as the

(1) He is improperly called his Master, it should rather have been his Ally. The *French* King, *Charles* the Sixth  
 was this Duke's Nephew, himself was Sovereign of great part of the Low-Countries, by marrying the Daughter of  
 the Earl of *Flanders* and *Heynauld*.



*A. D.* 1411. *Reg. 12.* only Pirates; and that though they had driven away the little Thieves from our Shores, 'twas but to take all the Prey for themselves, and do more Mischief, because they were more powerful: What Grounds they had to raise this Calumny upon them doth not appear; but 'tis certain, that they moved the King to so great Displeasure against them, that they dared not when called home, appear in the King's Presence, but *Pendergrace* fled to Sanctuary in *St. Peter's Church* at *Westminster*; and was forced to lodge with a Guard about him in the Porch, Night and Day, because no Man durst receive him into his House, for fear of the King's Anger, and his Enemies threatned his Life. *William Long* kept out at Sea; and though the Lord Admiral was sent out to bring him in, yet he could not catch him, and he would not be induced to resign himself, till the Admiral in the King's Name had promised him that no harm should come to him for what he had done: Upon which assurance he delivered himself to the Admiral, who brought him to the King; but the Admiral's Faith proved no Advantage to him, for he was imprisoned in the Tower, and there for some time kept close Prisoner.

*1412.* This Year the *Guild-Hall* in the City of *London*, which was but a mean Cottage before, was made a stately Building by the Mayor and Aldermen at the Charge of the City. And the Company of Grocers laid the Foundation of their Hall upon a piece of Ground, which they purchased for three hundred and twenty Mark in *Cumhope-Lane*. Also *Rice ap Dee* an Esquire of *Wales*, who had joined with *Owen Glendour* in Rebellion against the King, was brought up to *London*, and there drawn, hang'd and quartered for his Crime.

The cruel War between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy in France. This Summer broke out the furious Factions of the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* in *France*, by which the whole Kingdom was involved in the Troubles of a Civil-War: The Occasion is said to be this. The Duke of *Orleans*, a Prince not only of great Courage, but of an equal Ambition, seeing the present King his Brother to be a Person unfit for Government, because of the Fits of Frenzy to which he was subject, and often fell into, was desirous to have gotten the Throne for himself; and having contrived with the Queen to remove the *Dauphin*, and convey him into *Germany* to her Brother the Duke of *Bavaria*, intended to persuade the Pope, who in the Schism sat at *Avignon*, *Benedict XIII.*, to depose the present King, as Pope *Zachary* did King *Chilperick*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, the King's Uncle, who had married his Daughter to the *Dauphin*, was not insensible of the Duke of *Orleans's* ambitious Aims; and as he kept the *Dauphin* out of the Snares, so he laboured by all means to countermine his other Practices; but fearing least at length through his great Interests and Policy he might prevail, he hired certain Persons to murder him, which was soon after done in *Paris*, near the *Barbet-Gate*. This Cruelty being committed in the Night, the Actors were not known, but the Duke of *Burgundy* was vehemently suspected, and when after his Burial inquiry was made about the Murderers, the Duke fled, and confirmed all the Suspicions concerning him. He remained some Months about *Antwerp*; yet being again reconciled to the King, and invited to the Court, he became as much in Favour as ever: But still retaining his

*A. D.* 1412. *Reg. 12.* Enmity to the Duke of *Orleans's* Family, he much discountenanced all his Friends, and put some of them out of their Places, and others to Death. *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, Son of the murdered Duke *Lewis*, being daily burdened with the Miseries and Complaints of his Party, began to harbour angry and malicious Resentments against the Duke; and as it often happens, that new Discontents revive the Memory of old Injuries, he became very hot and zealous to revenge the Death of his Father upon the Duke of *Burgundy*, which would seem to all the World a just and reasonable Cause of making War upon him, since he had not only escaped Justice, but as if it had been a meritorious Act, was in as great Favour as ever. Before he would appear in Arms he consulted with his Friends, and great Relations, the Dukes of *Berry*, *Burbon* and *Alençon*, Kings of *Navarre* and *Aragon*, and the Earls of *Albert*, *Richemont*, *Armeniac*, and divers other Nobles and great Persons, who approving his Design, and promising him their Assistance, encouraged him to go on in the Attempt. The Duke of *Burgundy* saw the Storm growing over his Head, and though he had the King and *Dauphin* on his side, yet he despaired of being able to withstand the contrary Faction, and therefore begged the Assistance of King *Henry*. There had been a Motion a little before made in the Court of *France*, for a Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the French King's Daughter, (*m*) which was an Encouragement to the Duke to address himself to King *Henry*, hoping by the Promises of the Marriage, and other large Proffers to engage him to his Assistance; and for that End he sent an Embassy into *England*. King *Henry* received the Embassadors honourably, but told them, 'That the Duke of *Orleans* did only prosecute a just Revenge for his Father's Blood, and therefore was not to be fought with, but appeased, and therefore he thought it reasonable, that he should be tendered all suitable Satisfaction, which yet if he refused to accept, then he would lend him all convenient Assistance; and so dismissed them to their Master with hopes of Aid, but with an Obligation to try all Methods of making a peaceable Conclusion of the Quarrel.

King *Henry* after their Departure considering, that this Civil Dissention in *France* might prove of good Advantage to him; and tho' it would not look well in him to encourage a Murderer openly, yet it would be impolitic to neglect his own Interests; sent into *France* twelve hundred Archers and Spearmen, under the Command of the Earl of *Arundel*, *Gilbert Hunnfreville*, Earl of *Angus*, and Sir *Robert Hunnfreville* his Uncle, Sir *John Oldcastle*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Grey*, and *William Porter* to join with the Duke of *Burgundy*, if they saw occasion. They took Ship at *Dover*, and landed at *Sluis*, from whence by easie and careless marches they came to *Arras*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* lay with fifteen thousand *Flemmings* and *Picards*. The coming of the English was as welcome as unexpected; and the Duke having by many Kindnesses and Courtships oblig'd them to join with him, marched with them to *Paris*, where they arrived *October* the 23d, in the Evening. The Duke of *Orleans* with the main Body of his Army lay at *St. Dennis*, and with a small part of it kept the Town of *St. Clou*, which held Communication with the Grand

(m) Other Authors say, the Proposal was for the Duke of *Burgundy's* Daughter.



A.D. 1412. Reg. 13. Army by a Bridge over the Saine. The English soon after their Arrival, not willing to lie still, undertook the Siege of St. Clou, and on November the 9th, by a sharp Fight won it, slaying and drowning nine hundred Men of their Enemies, which were set to keep the Bridge, and taking 400 Prisoners, besides 1200 Horses, and great Spoil, which they found in the Town. The Duke of Burgundy partly to encourage the English, but chiefly to gratifie his revengeful Temper, purchased the Captives of the English, and among them Sir Manserd de Bos, a valiant Captain: The English glad of the Money sold all their Prisoners, not suspecting the Duke's Design; but when they saw, that contrary to the Law of Arms which secures the Lives of Prisoners, and permits their Ransom, he put many of the Chief to Death, they were much troubled, and repented of the Deed in selling them; and though they could not then help it, yet afterward they took this occasion to shew their Repentments of it to the Duke, and how ungenerous and unmanlike an Action it was: Within a few Days the Armies of the two Dukes had a Skirmish, and the English having again the upper-hand got a great many Prisoners, which the Duke of Burgundy, not having Money or Will to redeem, endeavoured to perswade the English to put them to Death, as Enemies to their Country: But the Earl of August and the English Men boldly replied. *That they would not be guilty of such a breach of the Law of Arms, as he had been, and would rather die themselves, than any of their Prisoners should, but they would keep them for Ransome, and so they were secured from the Duke of Burgundy's Cruelty.* After this Engagement the Duke of Orleans's Party finding themselves too weak for the Burgundians, withdrew themselves into the mountainous Parts of the Country, and dar'd not for the present appear openly against the Enemy; whereupon the Duke of Burgundy supposing himself able to keep them down, and to have no further need of the English, sent them home with large Rewards, and equal Thanks for their help.

Tenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

While these Things were transacting in France, King Henry assembled his Parliament on All-Saints-Day at Westminster: In it the two Principal Matters that were enacted, were, 1. About the Coin of the Nation, which being much embased by foreign Money, or other base Pieces was grown scrupulous and not current; whereupon a Law was made to forbid a certain bad Coin, called then, *Gally-half-pence*, which were still used, notwithstanding they had been prohibited in a former Act in the Eleventh Year of this King, and all foreign Money, as well of Scotland as of other Nations. 2. About Riots, and other seditious Assemblies. It seems, that King Richard's Ghost haunted this King to his dying Day. The People were never thoroughly satisfied, but Tumults threatened his Peace very often: Wherefore it was enacted, *That all Justices of Peace should have a very strict Eye upon his Subjects, to prevent all riotous Meetings, and Sheriffs be as watchful to suppress them; which if they neglected, they should each of them forfeit a Hundred Pound to the King for every Neglect, or Offence in this Kind.* There was no Tax given this Parliament; but the King so well managed the Business of the Coin, which needed Reformation, and was encou-

raged by Act of Parliament, that he raised as good a Fund by it; for partly by seizing the Forfeited Money, and partly by coining new Nobles, which he made a Groat lighter than formerly they had been, he much enriched his own Treasury; and so as he had no Tax, so he wanted none. Soon after the rising of this Parliament, the King made his Sons, the Lord Thomas of Lancaster, who was Lord Steward of England, and Earl of Aumerl, Duke of Clarence, John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his Brother, Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset.

A.D. 1412. Reg. 13. Some new Creations of Noble Men.

John, Duke of Burgundy being now free from the Opposition of the Party of the Duke of Orleans, governed all at Court at his Pleasure; and having possessed the King, that it was not his own Cause, but the Crown, that was in Dispute, for all that he had done to the Duke of Orleans was only to secure the Kingdom against his ambitious Aims, was allowed to prosecute the Duke of Orleans and his Complices with the utmost Malice and Rigour, than which nothing was more agreeable to his Temper, as it was for his Interests, and he did not spare to act what he judged would be grateful to either. The Party of the Duke of Orleans being thus heavily oppressed, had no other Refuge left for their Relief but the King of England, who tho' he had been engaged for the Duke of Burgundy, yet his Army being sent Home, and that not very fairly, though with a French Civility, they hoped, that as he was free from all Obligations to assist the Duke of Burgundy, so by fair and advantageous Proposals they might win him over to them, and by that means rescue themselves from their Enemy's Hands. With this Confidence they dispatched over into England, Albert Aubemont, a Man of great Wit, Learning and Courage, and some other Persons as their lawful Procurators, who might in the Name of all the Confederates, of whom the Chief were, John, Duke of Berry, Charles, Duke of Orleans, Valois, Earl of Blois, Beaumont, Lord of Coucy and Ach, John, Duke of Bourbon, John, Duke of Alençon, Bernard, Earl of Arminiack, and others, tender these following Articles and Covenants, viz. 'That if the King of England, as Lord of Guien would defend and succour them against all Men, which as their Sovereign (n) Lord he ought to do, especially, until they had executed Justice upon the Duke of Burgundy for the Death of the Duke of Orleans, recovered the Goods which the said Duke and his Fautors had taken from them, had due Satisfaction for all Damages done by them to their Friends, Vassals or Subjects, and a firm Peace, so far as was possible, were concluded and established between both the Realms of England and France, then they promised, covenanted and agreed, That they would serve the King of England, his Heirs and Successors, with their Bodies, Lands and Finances, Castles, Towns, Treasures and Goods, in all Just Causes and Actions, without Impeachment to their Allegiance, which they knew he desired not; That he should and might bestow their Sons and Daughters, Nephews and Nieces, and all other their Kindred in Marriage as he pleased; That their Friends, Allies and Well-wishers, which were the greatest part of the

The Duke of Orleans and his Party solicited the King's Aid.

(n) The Dukes of Berry and Orleans, and the Count D'Armagnac, had by other Articles engaged to hold the Counties, Pombieu, Angoleme, Perigori, and some other Places by Homage and Fealty of King Richard, and to have them for Life only.



A. D. 1412. Reg. 13. Nobles of France, Church-men, and chief Citizens should be always at his Service; That they would put him in Possession of the Dukedom of Guien, which they were ready to protest, did now as truly belong to the King of England, with all its Liberties and Franchises, as had done to any of his Majesty's Predecessors; and would recognise their Lands in that Dutchy to hold of him, and do all the usual Homages and Services to him for them: That as much as in them lay, they would deliver to him all the Towns and Castles which were in their Hands, and did anciently belong to the Kings of England, and assist him to recover the rest out of the Hands of their Enemies, only desiring, that the Duke of Berry might hold the County of Ponthieu during his Life, and the Duke of Orleans the County of Angoulesme for Life, and County of Perigord for ever, and the Earl of Arminiack four Castles upon such Conditions and Sureties, as should be agreed on between them.

K. Henry's Answer to the D. of Orleans's Messengers. King Henry having received these Proposals, gave the Messengers a kind and civil Entertainment; and consulting with his Privy-Council about their Message, who unanimously resolved, that it would be both for his Honour and Profit to assist these Lords, and so to uphold the Faction, which otherwise would soon be subdued, he gave them this Answer; 'That being their natural Sovereign he was sensible of his Obligation to protect and defend them his Vassals and Subjects; and to this he was the more inclined, not only because he had found the Duke of Burgundy a false and deceitful Man, who was forward to entice Men by fair Promises to his Friendship, but never performed more than was to serve his own turn; but chiefly because it was the Office of a King to help such as cried unto him for Justice, which they could not otherwise have, as he looked upon this Occasion chiefly to be; for he evidently saw, that the shameful Murder of the Duke of Orleans (which he could never think on without the deepest Horror and Detestation) could never be revenged, but by such Methods as they now were taking: And therefore they might assure the Lords, that he would not be defective in the Duty of a Prince, but would send them speedily such a Force, as should be able to defend them against all Men, and so sent them Home with Satisfaction to their Masters.

The Siege of Bourges. These Things were not so secretly acted between the King of England, and Duke of Orleans's Party, but that it was known in the French Court; and to prevent any Assistance that might come to the Lords that way, the Earl of St. Paul was sent down into Picardy with fifteen hundred Horse-Men, and a great Number of Foot to prevent the landing of the English; or if that could not be, to detain them in raising the Siege of Guisnes, which they sat down before, and the Duke of Burgundy in the mean time pursued the Party of the Duke of Orleans, called Arminiack; and having won many Towns, at last drove them into Bourges in Berry, and there closely besieged them. In the City were the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the Earl of Auxerre, Arch-Bishop of Sens and Bourges, Bishops of Paris and Chartres, with other great Men, and fifteen hundred Soldiers well armed, and four hundred Archers: Among the Besiegers were the King himself, the Dauphin, Dukes of Burgundy and Barr, with

many other Nobles: The Duke of Berry was very desirous of a Peace, because his Country was wasted, and the Besieged declared, That they had no Quarrel with the King or Dauphin, but were Enemies only to the Duke of Burgundy's Ambition and Cruelty; and therefore in their Sallies cried out, *God save the King*: The Dauphin, who was next Heir to the Crown, knowing his Father was unable through his Frenzical Disease to judge of the Miseries of his Country, was much disturbed at Affairs, and told the Duke of Burgundy, Things should not be long so; The Nation should not be Sacrificed to his Passions or Humour: And therefore resolved immediately to make Peace. These Words no sooner dropped from the Dauphin, but they were eagerly caught up by Two considerable Men in the French King's Camp, viz. Philip de Lignac, Lord great Master of Rhodes, and the Marshal of the Duke of Savoy, who was sent by his Master with some others to labour a Peace between both Parties. These Men knew very well from the Duke of Berry, how well the Besieged were disposed to Peace, and immediately upon the Dauphin's Words began to negotiate a Treaty between them, which was soon brought about; and though the Duke of Burgundy much feared, that what was a Peace to others, would be a War to him, yet he appeared as forward as any to make up the Breach, which in a little time was concluded, and was called from the Place, *The Peace of Bourges*. It was sealed July the 15th, and the King entered the City the same Day. While these Things passed at Bourges, the English under the Command of the Duke of Clarence, Edward, Duke of York, and Thomas, Earl of Dorset, which were sent by King Henry to assist the Duke of Orleans, being eight thousand Knights and Men of Arms, and a thousand Archers, arrived in Normandy. The Earl of St. Paul was not present to oppose their landing, being beaten from Guisnes, and withdrawn to St. Quintins. The Duke of Orleans had promised to meet them at their Arrival, but neglecting it, they fell to plundering the Country for their Sustenance and Pay, till the Duke of Orleans came down and made an Agreement with them, and so they withdrew into Aquitaine; the Duke of Clarence taking of him his Brother John, Duke of Angoulesme as a Pledge for the 200000 Francks, which were further to be paid to the King towards the Charges of this Expedition.

But as War was the Disturbance of the French Court, so Peace seems a little to have corrupted the English; for Prince Henry being eased from the Employment of the Welsh Wars, and being a Person of an active and brisk Spirit, who could do nothing moderately, fell as eagerly upon the Sports and Pleasures, which usually debase the Minds of Youth in times of Ease and Leisure, as he had been bold and adventurous in warlike Attempts. He kept a Court different from his Father, being of Man's Years, and able to move in a Sphere of such Greatness, as might become the Heir of a Crown, in which Station he maintained a Princely Port and Magnificence; but being a little over-indulgent turned them into vicious Excesses: So that his Court was counted a Paradise for Voluptuaries, where was an uncontrollable Enjoyment of all carnal Pleasures; and Venus and Ceres had routed out Mars and Bellona. His Palace was like a Camp, for multitudes of Persons that flocked thither, either to please



A. D. 1412. Reg. 13. please the Prince's Genius, or gratifie their own, and as if he had put off the Nature of a Hero, which he once seemed to affect, he like a second *Sardanapalus* delighted in the Company of effeminate Persons; and pleased himself more in Dancings and Musick, Revellings, and mad Maskings, than he had ever done in the Manlike Feats of Arms. This Change in a Prince of such promising Hopes was very amusing to the Considerate, who silently lamented the Eclipse of such Virtues, as aimed so bright lately in him, and did not pare to say, *That they must expect no great Happiness under such a corrupted Prince.* But though the Prince's irregular Behaviour was manifest enough to others, yet it seems either not known to the King himself, or else to be winked at by him: For though he affronted his Chief Justice on the Bench, by striking him on the Face, because he had condemned One of his Companions for breaking the Peace, and abusing a grave Citizen, for which the Judge committed him to Prison; yet he so pleased his Father by his Submission to the law, that he rejoiced equally that he had in Impartial Judge, and an Obedient Son: So that he looked upon this Action, rather as a youthful Prank, or an effect of his Passion, than as prejudicial to himself or Realm; till some, who were about him, and being the Prince's Enemies, by their frequent Discourses of the Prince and his course of Life, buzzed clear different Thoughts concerning him into the King's Head: For having a Desire to ingratiate themselves into the King's Favour, by misrepresenting the Prince's Behaviour, they not only complained to the King of his Lewdness and Excesses, but insinuated into him, that though he drew such a Multitude about him under a shew of Sports and Pastimes, yet he carried on a secret Design of deposing his Father, and extorting his Scepter out of his Hand. These Suggestions easily found Entertainment in the King's Breast, to whom Jealousie was now become natural, being frequently frightened with Fears of losing his Crown, and he did not conceal his Resentments; for he did not only shew an aversion to the Prince in his Carriage, but removed him from being President of his Council, and put his Brother *John* into his Place. The Prince not having received the Cause of this Change from his Father's Mouth, seemed to bear it with an even Mind, as being always contented to submit to his Royal Pleasure, and went on without any Concern in his usual Sports and Pastimes, as not conscious of any real Guilt, though he was sensible enough what he was accused of; but in the meantime he expostulated by Letter with his Accusers, convincing them how slanderous their Accusations of him were, and how vast a wrong he had suffered by their injurious Abuses of him to his Father, whose Favour as he valued more than his Kingdom, so he could never enjoy an Happiness in the midst of the most flourishing State without it. This way of clearing himself, though it rectified the Opinions of the Generality, yet so long as his Accusers had his Father's Ear, did him no Service, as to Recovery of his Father's Favour; and therefore to do that, he made use of an unusual Stratagem, which was this: Having provided himself with a rich Sattin Suit of Cloaths, which he caused to be made full of Eylet-holes of black Silk, the Needle hanging at every Hole, he put it on, and on his Arm he wore an Hound's Collar set

full of SS of Gold, with Tyrets of the same Mettal: Being thus apparelled, he with a mighty train of Nobles and Gentry went to his Father's Palace at *Westminster*; where having entered the Hall, and given a strict Command to all that attended him, not to go further than the Fire-place, he desired to be admitted into his Father's Presence, which was without delay granted him; and though the King at that time was Ill, he caused himself to be set in his Chair, and carried into the Presence-Chamber to receive him. When the Prince was come before his Father, he was commanded to declare the Cause of his coming, and especially in that strange Garb. Then the Prince kneeling down said, 'Most dread Sovereign, and dear Father, I am at this time come into your Presence to declare my self your Dutiful Subject and Son, in all things obedient to your Commands; which though I have ever been careful in my Behaviour never to render suspected, yet since by the false Suggestions of bad Men and crafty Flatterers, your Majesty hath been induced to suspect my Affections toward you, and to fear, that my Heart is not rightly disposed towards your Highness, I am come to rectify your Misapprehensions concerning me, and give you a convincing Proof of my Loyalty to you. My natural Relation to your Highness obliges me so strictly to take care of your Happiness and Safety, that if I knew any one Person in your Kingdom, whose Obedience were justly suspected, and of whom you deservedly stood in fear I should use my utmost Endeavours to have him punished, and as much as is possible remove those Fears and Jealousies from your Mind, which render your Life very uncomfortable and uneasy: Now then, since I have been so unfortunate, as through my imprudent Carriage, though not designedly, yet foolishly and ungratefully to raise some Suspicions in your Mind, that you are in eminent danger of your Life and Crown from me and my Practices, I here tender my Life as forfeited to your Majesty for giving you Cause to suspect me of Disloyalty, and do beseech you to take such Revenge of my Person, as may remove all Jealousie of me from your Heart, and restore you again to the Quiet and Ease of an undisturbed Mind. I have this Day by the Christian Preparation of an humble Confession, and receiving the Sacrament, fitted my self to suffer Death, and be made a just sacrifice to your Wrath; and I humbly beg of your Majesty, that you would make this Dagger (which I now give you) an Instrument of easing my Grief and your Fears, by thrusting it into my Heart; for it is as little Comfort to me to enjoy Life, while I remain under your Displeasure, and am the Cause of your Fears and Troubles, as it can be to you to have such an undutiful Son, as you are jealous of. I am, ever was, and will be your dutiful Servant and Vassal, and desire not Life longer than I am thought so by your Majesty; and if you can't entertain such Thoughts concerning me as I deserve, I desire you to rid me of that Life which must ever be a burthen to me, while I remain in those unhappy Circumstances: And if you shall vouchsafe to do it, I do here in the Presence of your Nobility, fully and freely forgive you, and will in the Presence of God and all his Angels, at the last Judgment acquit you

Prince Henry accused of Disloyalty to his Father, and his Stratagem to clear himself.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 13.



A. D. 1412. Reg. 13. *you of the Guilt of my Blood. The King hearing these Words was much moved with Affection towards his Son; and was so fully convinced of the Prince's Loyalty, that he blamed his own Credulity, not his Behaviour, confessing, that he had indeed entertained Suspitions of him, but (as he now saw) without Cause, and therefore promised him upon his Honour never to harbour any Jealousies for the future concerning him. The Prince having thus escaped the Danger he was in, desired that his Accusers might be obliged to answer their false Calumnies against him, and be punished for their Faults, though not so fully as their Crime deserved: But the King replied, 'That he must stay till the Parliament met, and then they should be judged by their Peers: Which as it satisfied the Prince, so it served to put off the Discovery of them, for being delay'd it was forgotten.*

K. Henry's Acts of Piety, and Expedition to the Holy-Land. King Henry being perfectly reconciled to his Son lived in great Satisfaction and Ease of Mind, having Peace both at Home and Abroad, and spent his Time in Acts of Charity and Piety, and in providing for the Safety and Welfare of his People. He built a College at *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonshire*, which his Son Henry afterwards endowed with certain Lands which he took from the Friar's Aliens: And because the Nation was much annoyed with Pirates, he sent Sir *John Pen-dergrace* with thirty Ships to scour the Seas, who by his Courage and Diligence did great Service to the Commons, not only by causing a free Commerce, but by taking many Prizes of Wine and Corn, by the Sale of which he brought great Plenty into the Nation. But the greatest piece of Piety of those Days was accounted to rescue *Jerusalem* out of the Hands of the Infidels; who being Enemies to Christ, contemptuously treated the Sepulcher of our Saviour, and grievously abused the Christians and Churches of that Holy City. It much troubled the King, that the Christian Princes whose Arms might have better been employed against the *Turks* and *Infidels*, were at War among themselves; and because it was foretold him, that he should die at *Jerusalem*, he hoped that he might be an Instrument of freeing it from the Oppression of the *Turks*, and was very desirous to try his Fate against them, and for this end he called a great Council at *London* to get all things ready for that Expedition, and by it it was ordered, that several Ships and Gallies should be built, and other necessary Things got ready.

Reg. 14. The English Forces which remained still in *Aquitain* after the Agreement made between the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, spent their Time in spoiling and plundering the Frontiers of the *French* Dominions, from whence they took much Prey and Prisoners, which they carried into *Burdeaux*. The *French* being angry at these Depredations and Inroads of the *English*, sent the Lord *Helie*, one of the Marshals of *France* with an Army of four thousand Men to besiege one of the Fortresses of *Guien*, which Sir *John Blunt* being Governor of, kept with three hundred Men only, who behaved themselves with such Bravery and Courage, that they drove them from the Town, took twelve Noble Men, one hundred and twenty Gentlemen, and several other Prisoners. The Marshal himself was ta-

ken and sent over into *England* to the King, who imprisoned him at *Wisbich*; but he escaped from thence a little after, and got into *France*, where he served the Duke of *Orleans* at the Battel of *Agincourt*, and was slain there.

A. D. 1412. Reg. 14. The King kept his *Christmas* this Year at *Eltham*, being very sick of a kind of Apopleck Distemper, in which by Fits he was thought to be dead; but it pleased God that he a little recovered, and passed the latter part of the *Christmas* in some Pleasure till *Candemas*, when according to his Summons the Parliament met at *Westminster*. The Design of this Session seems to have been no other, but to furnish him with Money for his Voyage into the Holy Land, which he intended to begin at the Rise of the Spring, all things being ready for it. But God prevented his Design by a Relapse into his former Distemper: For being worshipping at *St. Edward's Shrine* to take his leave in order to his Journey, he was so violently seized with another Fit of his Apoplexy, that all the Standards by thought he would have died presently; but being removed into a Chamber belonging to the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*, and laid in a Pallat before the Fire, by the Warmth of that, and the Application of proper Remedies, he at length recovered his Senses and Speech again. After he had lain some time he enquired where he was, because he perceived himself to be in a strange Place, and was told he was in a Chamber of the Abbots of *Westminster*. He then asked them whether the Chamber had any particular Name, and they said, *It was called the Jerusalem*; whereupon he said, 'That then he should die there, because he was long since told, that he should die in *Jerusalem*, and accordingly he made suitable Preparations for his Death. And first calling for the Prince, he had several Discourses with him, as his Sicknes would give him leave. He said to him, 'That he had great Fears, that after his Death his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* would contend with him for the Crown, because he is a Man of an ambitious Spirit, and daring Courage, and would reach at the highest Dignity, by which the Nation would fall into great Miseries, and when I think of this I repent me, that I ever meddled with the Kingdom. The Prince answered to these Words, 'That it was his earnest Prayers to God, that his Majesty might long continue with them to rule them both; but if God hath so ordered, that he should succeed him in the Government of this Realm, he would honour and love his Brethren above all Men, so long as they continued true and faithful Subjects; but if any of them should conspire or rebel against him, he would execute Justice upon them with as much Severity, as upon any of his other Subjects. The King hearing this Answer rejoiced greatly at his Son's Resolution and Courage, and not doubting, but that it would establish him in his Throne, he proceeded to give him certain Admonitions to be observed by him in his Regal Dignity, and said, 'My Son, when it shall please God to call me out of this World to go the way of all Flesh, to thee as my Son and Heir I shall leave my Crown and Realm, and I advise thee not to take it as an Honour to puff up thy Mind with Pride, but as a Burthen and Charge to provide for the Good and Safety of all Persons in



A.D. 1413. Reg. 14. 'in the Realm: For as the Heart in the midst  
'of the Body administers Heat and Nourish-  
'ment to the whole, so must a King in his  
'Realm provide for the Good and Safety of  
'all. Let it then be thy continual Care to  
'administer all Things well for the encourage-  
'ment of Virtue and Diligence, and the Pu-  
'nishment of Vice and Sin, and then thy Peo-  
'ple will be obedient to thee, and ready at  
'all times to assist thee: Go before thy Peo-  
'ple in true Piety and Devotion, and what  
'thou wouldest have thy Subjects be, be thou  
'first thy self, for thy Example will make thy  
'Subjects count it an Honour to be Good.  
'Fear God, and dread him above all Things.  
'Be zealous for his Worship, and discounte-  
'nance all Atheism and Profaneness. Ascribe  
'all thy Fortunate Actions to him, and let  
'him have the Praise of whatever Good be-  
'falls thee, as Victory over thy Enemies, the  
'Fidelity of thy Friends, Obedience of thy  
'Subject, Greatness of thy Power, Riches and  
'Honour, and Number of thy Children. Think  
'not thy own Desert, but God's Goodness  
'the Cause of all these Things to thee. But  
'above all things, administer Justice equally  
'and impartially; for the Wealth of thy Body  
'and Soul and of thy Kingdom depends upon  
'the due Execution of it. Defer not to do  
'Justice till to Morrow, if thou canst do it  
'to Day, least God for thy unjust Delays do  
'Justice on thee in the mean time, and take  
'thine Authority from thee. Punish Bribery  
'severely, relieve the Oppressed, zealously vin-  
'dicate the Wronged, protect the Religious,  
'and love the Virtuous: So shalt thou obtain  
'the Favour of God, and Love of thy Sub-  
'jects, and have a flourishing and prosperous  
'Reign here upon Earth, and an everlasting  
'Reward in Heaven. The King having given  
his Son this Advice dismissed him with his  
Blessing; and not long after finding himself to  
grow every Moment almost Weaker, he cau-  
sed the Crown to be set upon his Pillow, at  
his Bed's Head, that when he died, his Son  
the Prince might have it, as his right Heir.  
His Fits at length followed him very close;  
and that so severely, that he was often  
thought to be dead, and in one of them the  
Prince came and took the Crown from his  
Pillow to secure it: But he recovered again,  
and as he was accustomed in every interval  
to look for his Crown, so he again called  
for it, and asked who had got it? When the  
Prince was said to have taken it, he com-  
manded him to come before him, and with  
some Smartness said to him, 'Son, why dost  
'thou thus misuse me? To whom the Prince  
replied with an undaunted Boldness; 'Sir,  
'to me, and all Men present you seemed dead  
'in this World; wherefore I as your next  
'Heir Apparent took it as my own, and  
'not as yours; but since I claim no Right to  
'it, but from and after your Decease, there-  
'fore I restore it to you again, and God  
'Almighty give you many Days to enjoy it.  
Then the King replied. 'Well fare you with  
'it, my Son, and sighing added: 'What right  
'I had to it God knoweth. 'Well, said the  
'Prince, if you die King, I will inherit the  
'Crown, and trust I shall keep it with the  
'Sword against all my Enemies, as you have  
'done. Then said the King, *I commit all to  
God, and advise you to do well: And so turn-  
ing to the Wall, he shortly after gave up the*

Ghost on St. Cuthbert's Day, March the 20th, A.D. 1413. Reg. 14. in the Forty Six Year of his Age, when he  
had reigned Thirteen Years Five Months and  
One and Twenty Days; and being carried by  
Water to *Faversham*, his Corps was magnifi-  
cently Entombed at *Canterbury*.

He was a Person of a middle Stature, but  
well Proportioned and Compact, and had much  
greater Endowments of Mind than Body; for  
he was very Wise and Politick, exceeding  
Bold and Courageous, and yet withal very  
Merciful and Pitiful, choosing rather by saving  
the Lives of his Enemies to make them his  
Friends, than by destroying them, to rid him-  
self of his Fears. He was forced to execute  
several Persons, and that of Note, for their  
rebellious Attempts against him; but his Mer-  
cy to the Earl of *Northumberland* is a suffici-  
ent Demonstration, that not Cruelty, but Ne-  
cessity obliged him to punish his mutinous Sub-  
jects; and if they would have ever amended,  
he would have forgiven them. He indeed was  
never loved, though he was really a very good  
Prince; because the Occasions of State requir-  
ed great Taxes, and People never love to  
buy even their own Happiness dear: Besides,  
the badness of his Title to the Crown was  
never forgotten; and though *Mortimer* was  
not much regarded, yet all his Kindness could  
never patch up that Breach, so much as to  
make him be loved, as he really deserved. In  
fine, in him we have an evident Proof of the  
People's Inconstancy, whose Affections are  
fierce, but never lasting. He came in with  
their Applause, because he saved them from  
the Miseries of the former Reign; but he  
could never keep their Love, because his Trou-  
bles created them much Charge, though they  
were no other than the necessary Consequen-  
ces of yielding to their Desires; yet Fortune  
so attended all his Undertakings, that he died  
a Victor over all his Enemies Abroad and at  
Home, and laid the Foundation of his Son's  
Greatness, in whose Reign the *English* Power  
was got to its highest Pitch and Greatness.

He left a numerous Issue, viz. four Sons and  
two Daughters, but all by his first Wife the  
Lady *Mary*, the Daughter and Co-heir of  
*Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, who died  
before her Husband came to the Crown; for  
he had no Issue by his second Wife, *Joanna de  
Navar*, the Widow of *John de Mountfort*, Duke  
of *Brittain*.

His eldest Son *Henry*, whom in his Life-  
time he made Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of  
*Chester*, was appointed his Successor in the  
Throne, and accordingly reigned after him,  
and proved the Glory of our *English* Kings,  
as in his Life will appear.

His second Son *Thomas Plantagenet*, he made  
and left him Duke of *Clarence*. He married  
*Margaret*, the Daughter of *Thomas Holland*,  
Earl of *Kent*, and Widow of *John Beaufort*,  
Earl of *Pomfrait*. He was slain at *Bosny-Bridge*  
in *France* by the Duke of *Orleans*, and died  
without Children. (o)

His third Son *John* he made Duke of *Bed-  
ford*, Earl of *Richmond*, and Lord of *Kendal*.  
He had two Wives, viz. *Ann*, the Daughter  
of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Joqueline*, the  
Daughter of *Peter*, Earl of *St. Paul*, who out-  
lived him, and was afterwards married to  
*Richard Woodville*, Earl of *Rivers*, by whom  
she had one Daughter *Elizabeth* married af-  
terwards to King *Edward* the Fourth, but he

(o) He had a natural Son, called *John*, the Bastard of *Clarence*.



*A. D.* 1413. had no Issue by either of them. He shewed great Valour in the *French Wars*, and dying at *Paris* was buried at *Roan*.  
*Reg. 14.*

His fourth Son *Humphrey*, he created Duke of *Gloucester*. He was in very great Honour in his Nephew *Henry the Sixth's* Days, styling himself, *Humphrey*, by the Grace of God, Son, Brother and Uncle to Kings, Duke of *Gloucester*, *Hennalt*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord of *Freezeland*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, Protector of the Realm, and Defender of the Church of *England*. He had two Wives, but was unhappy in both of

them, the one being divorced for a Pre-contract, and the other being Infamous for Sorcery and Poisoning, but was so far fortunate as to have no Issue by them. He was found murdered in his Bed at *St. Edmunds-Bury* in *Suffolk*, and was buried at *St. Albans* in *Hertfordshire*. (p)

His two Daughters, *Blanch* and *Philippa*, he married to Foreign Princes in his Life-time, viz. *Blanch* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Philippa* to the King of *Denmark*, but both died without Issue.

(p) Neither the Duke of *Bedford*, nor the Duke of *Gloucester* were made Dukes by their Father, but by their Brother *Henry the Fifth*, in the Parliament at *Licester*, Anno 1414. *Godw. Hen. 5. p. 41.*

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*The End of King HENRY the Fourth's Reign.*

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T H E  
 Remarkable OCCURRENCES,  
 I N T H E  
*Reign of Henry the Fourth,*

Are interwoven by

*The Author in the Thread of the History : So there is nothing to be added to it in this Place, but some Account of the Illustrious Men, and the Men of Learning of his Time.*

THE most Famous Warriors were Prince Henry, the Earl of Northumberland, Henry, Lord Percy surnamed Hotspur, his Son the Earl of Westmoreland, the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Salisbury a Favourer of Wickliff's Doctrine, Sir Thomas Rokesby of York-shire, Sir Robert Umfreville Vice-Admiral, and Sir John Pendergrace.

Among the Men of Learning, the Chief, and he to whom the English-Tongue was more oblig'd than to all the Writers before him is, *Jeoffrey Chaucer*, a Man of Quality, Wit and Learning. He married *Alice*, Daughter to *Thomas Chaucer*, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons in the Second Year of King Henry the Fifth. The Daughter of this *Thomas* married the Duke of Suffolk, and by this Match as well as her Father's Descent, the Family of *Chaucer* became ally'd to the Greatest Houses in England. He was the Father of the English Poësie. And the next is *John Gower*, of the Family of the *Gowers* of Sittenham in York-shire. He was *Chaucer's* Friend and Companion, and joined with him in his Endeavours to refine our Language, and give a Turn and Harmony to the English Verse, which were unknown to their Fore-fathers. The Learned before their Time used to write always in Latin or French; but they had made the English Tongue so Musical, and it was of its self so Significant, that it became common afterwards, and most Authors communicated their Thoughts in their Native Language, which wanted nothing of the Force, and as these Two Great Poets had Polish'd it, little of the Grace of the best of the Modern Languages. Besides these there flourished in other Professions,

*Hugh Legate* of Hertfordshire, he wrote *Reflections on Boetius's Treatise de Consolatione*.

*Roger Allington*, Chancellor of Oxford, a violent Enemy of the *Wickliffs*.

*Nicholas Gorham*, a Logician, the French King's Confessor.

*Dr. Walter Disse*, Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster, and to his Dutcheß *Constance*.

*Thomas* of Malden.

*John Eclo* of Herefordshire, a Franciscan Fryer.

*Dr. Nicholas Halkingham* of Norfolk, an Excellent Divine and Philosopher, Provincial of the Gray-Fryers.

*Laurence Holbeck*, who wrote a Hebrew Dictionary.

*John Colton*, Arch-Bishop of Armagh.

*John* of Marrie in Yorkshire, a Carmelite of Doncaster.

*Richard Chefer* of Norfolk, a Divine and an Augustine-Fryer.

*John Lathbury*, a Monk of Reading.

*Nicholas Pontz*.

*Dr. Richard Scroop*, Arch-Bishop of York. He wrote a Libel against King Henry, and was beheaded for Treason.

*John Wrotham*, Warden of the Carmelites in Calis.

*John Colebie*, a Monk of Norwich.

*William Scroop*, a zealous *Wickliffist*, he died in Prison. He was a Man of singular Piety and Learning.

*Reginald Langham*, a Monk of Norwich.

*Altonus Dominicanus*.

*Thomas Palmer*, Warden of the Black-Fryers in London.

*Boston* of Burry, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church.

*Thomas Peverell*, Bishop of Worcester.

*William Holm*, a Monk and a Phylician.

*John Botterel*, a Logician.

*Dr. Nicholas Baiard*, Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

*John Price*, of Lilleshull in the West of England.

*William Norton*, a Franciscan Fryer of Coventry.

*Nicholas Riston*, who lamenting the Schism in the Church, occasion'd by the Antipopes, wrote a Treatise on that Subject, called, *De tollendo Schismate*.

*John Walter*, an Excellent Mathematician. He was bred at Winchester-School.

*Thomas* of New-market, Bishop of Carlisle.

*William Angur*, a Franciscan Fryer of Bridgewater.

*Peter Russell*, Provincial of the Gray-Fryers.

*John Langton*, a Carmelite-Fryer.

*Robert Wantham*, a Monk of Cernly in Dorsetshire. He wrote a Book in Verse of the Original and Signification of Words.

*Richard Falshamb*, a Monk of Norwich.

*William Norton*, a Fryer of Coventry.

*Hugh Suth*, a Black-Fryer, and a great Preacher.

*Robert Wimbledein*, a Famous Preacher.

In this King's Reign, the French Historian, *John Froissard* lived, and we have given him a Place here, because he resided sometime in England, and is very Particular in some Parts of our English History.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
H E N R Y V.

A. D.  
1413.  
Reg. 1.  
Henry the  
Fifth's Pa-  
rentage  
and Suc-  
cession.

**H**ENRY, surnamed of *Monmouth*, the Chief Town of the Shire of the same Name in *Wales*, and standing on the Banks of the River *Wye*, because he was born there, when his Father was Duke of *Hereford*, and resided in those Parts, entred upon the Throne of *England* after his Father King *Henry the Fourth's* Death, as his lawful Heir, and so by the Ancient Custome of the Nation, his Successor to his Crown and Dignity, the same Day that he died, viz. *March 20.* and was the next Day proclaim'd King by the Name of *Henry V.* He had given evident Proofs of his Love and Respect to Virtue and Learning, while he was at *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Uncle, Cardinal *Beaufort*, then Chancellor of that University, in shewing a particular Favour to those that appear'd most Eminent for both, of whom he afterwards made *Thomas Rudburn*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, and *John Carpenter*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and of his unparallel'd Courage and Conduct in the Battel of *Shrewsbury*, and in the War which he maintain'd against *Owen Glendour* the Famous *Welsh* Rebel, whom he so often routed that he durst not shew himself against him, but lurking in Mountains and Woods perish'd with Hunger, for which he was receiv'd into the Regal Authority with an universal Joy and Desire, and like the *Roman* Emperor *Titus*, as the Delight of all Mankind. The Liberties which a little before his Father's Death, in times of Peace, he had allow'd himself, had brought no small Blemish upon his former good Inclinations and brave Actions, the Extravagancies of himself and Companions being an Indication to some, that he was wholly degenerated into Lewdness and Effeminacy; but as if all Men had foreseen, what after indeed came to pass, that the Change of his Condition would work as great an Alteration in the Manners of so Noble and Generous a Mind, and being become their King would be a New Man, they welcom'd him to the Throne with full Consent and Liking, interpreting his former Looseness, as nothing else but such a piece of Experience as *Solomon* thought fit to make of the Pleasures of the World, which he indulged himself in for a small time, that he might with the greater Aversion subscribe them with this Motto, *Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*, as he did indeed, and much sooner than that wiser Man.

The Na-  
tion's Sub-  
mission to  
K. Henry  
and his  
Corona-  
tion.

The Nation being thus furnish'd with a King of such mighty Hopes, and though they had lost a good Father, yet believing themselves happier under his braver Son, began to give him

more than usual Testimonies of their hearty Submission and Respect to him within three Days after he was made King; for the Nobles and Commons by an unpresidented Zeal came to pay him their Homage and swear Allegiance to him, which was before neither required nor payed till after the Coronation. The King gave them his hearty Thanks for their Good-will towards him, and exhorted them to continue their forward Endeavours for the Publick Prosperity, but would by no means accept of their Tenders till he was Crown'd, and had taken upon himself as serious Obligations to be a good King, as he could lawfully desire should be laid upon them to be Loyal Subjects: Saying, *That he earnestly prayed that God would not suffer him to be Crowned, or admit him to the Government of the Nation, but as he should rule well for his Glory, and the Good and Prosperity of his Subjects; which if God did foresee that he should not do, he desired he would rather take him to his Mercy, than permit him to live and reign.* This generous and virtuous Answer much raised their Admiration of their New King, and was a greater Obligation of their Love and Loyalty, than the most solemn Oaths could be, while they saw him more æmulous to be a good King, than to have them good Subjects: And that he might give his People all the Assurances of his real Intentions of ruling well he hasten'd his Coronation, which was celebrated with all the usual Solemnities upon *Apr. 9.* by *Thomas Arundel*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and immediately after it he began such a Reformation both of himself and Court, as would be the surest Foundation of an happy Reign; for first summoning his old Companions and Servants together, who had been both his Associates and the Promoters of his former irregular Courses, he gave them such Rewards as was due for their former Services: Telling them, *That if they would reform their Manners, as he had begun, and was resolved to hold on, they might continue in their Places, and should upon that Account be the more in his Favour, but if any of them would still persist in their Evil Actions, he forbade them his Court, and charged them upon pain of Death not to come within Ten Miles of any Place where he resided.* (a) Having thus freed himself of his Vices, he provided himself of all things that might become a Virtuous King and Good Governour. He chose himself a Council of all the Gravest and Wisest Men of his Nobility, and made such Lawyers his Judges, as were as Eminent for their Integrity, as Knowledge. He sent out his Injuncti-

A. D.  
1413.  
Reg. 1.

His Coun-  
cil and ci-  
vil Offi-  
cers.

(a) He renounced their Company, gave them liberal Gifts and dismiss'd them. *Godwin's Life of Hen. 5. p. 1.*



A. D. 1413. Reg. 1. ons to the Clergy, commanding them as they tender'd his Displeasure, not only to preach the Word of God diligently and sincerely to the People, but to be Examples of Piety and Holiness themselves, and into such Preferments as were in his Disposal at that Time, he put such Persons as were recommended to him by their Merit. The inferiour Magistrates he selected with great Care, as being the main Instruments of a Regular Government; employing such only as he knew to be Men of Loyal Principles, competent Knowledge in the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and of great Probity and Sobriety, who might be a Curb and Restraint to the People in the Commission of those Crimes which were too much practised in those Times, and threatned God's Judgments upon the Nation, viz. Common Swearing, Whoredom, Drunkenness and Perjury which he was resolved, as much as in him lay to root out, but was sensible, that nothing but good Magistrates could do it; for the best Laws will never be well executed, when the Officers, whose Place it is to see it done, are themselves the Notorious Violaters of them.

His Piety to King Richard's Body, and Charity to his Soul.

The King having thus provided for the Happiness of the Nation, began to shew his Disposition to Piety by a signal Act of Charity, as it was esteem'd in those Days to the Body of King Richard, to which it is said, he looked upon himself to be obliged upon this Account. His Father King Henry the Fourth, being in his Sickness touched in Conscience for the Sins he had been guilty of in deposing King Richard and consenting to his Death, had sent a solemn Embassy to the Pope to be pardoned for them, and in order to Absolution had been enjoyn'd this Penance. That since he had deprived King Richard of his bodily Life and earthly Honour, he should by the continual Prayers of the Church cause his Soul to live for ever in heavenly Glory. This easie purchase of Pardon for two such great Sins his Father would certainly have made, had he not been prevented by Death; but leaving it unperform'd, this King made all possible haste to execute it, supposing, that his Father's Soul could not be at rest till the Penance enjoyn'd was finish'd. Wherefore soon after Easter he caused the Body of King Richard to be removed from its more ignoble Interment in the Church of the Fryer's Preachers at Langley in Hertfordshire, and being brought up to London, buried it by his Beloved Queen Ann, in the Abbey-Church of Westminster with very great Solemnity and Expence, where he founded a frequent Memorial for him, providing that every Week a *Dirige* should be sung for his Soul, and the next Day a *Requiem*; which being ended, he order'd Eleven Shillings to be given to the Poor in Pence, and further appointed, that upon his Anniversary after the Mass of *Requiem* twenty Pounds should be distributed to the Poor in Pence; for which, and the Maintenance of Four Wax Tapers to burn upon his Tomb, Day and Night, he gave a certain Portion of Land to perpetuate them for ever: And that the Guilt of these his Father's Sins might not cleave to him, he is said to have undergone a strict Penance himself, and founded Three Religious Houses, viz. 1. Of Cistercian Monks at Shene. 2. Of Nuns of St. Bridget, which he called *Sion*, and, 3. An House of Observants, which he called *Bethlehem*, both at Richmond.

Three Weeks after Easter, (b) the King assembled his Parliament at Westminster, and several good Laws of common Concern were then made, viz. concerning the Elections of Burgesses and Knights for the Parliament. Against such as forged or published false Deeds. Against Irish Beggars. About the Measures, that the King's Purveyors should buy Corn by, with other Things of less Importance. But the Convocation of the Clergy, which according to the usual Custome of those Times always sat with the Parliament, being conven'd in St. Paul's Church was more Active. The Arch-Bishop, Thomas Arundel, being sensible how zealous the King was for the Church, thought this the fittest Opportunity to root out those Heretical Doctrines which had been indeed often attempted, but to so little purpose, that they still spread and got Ground, because that his Youth and Natural Courage concurring with his Religious Inclination would more earnestly engage him in a Work by which he might merit at once both the Favour of God and his People. Wherefore the Arch-Bishop having, by Twelve Inquisitors sent out the Year before, made a full Collection of the Principal Doctrines and Opinions maintain'd by the Lollards, which he reduced into (c) two hundred, forty six Heads; and having discover'd who were the Chief Maintainers and Upholders of them, and by which means the said Opinions had been lately so much propagated in many parts of the Nation, and more especially in the Diocesses of London, Rochester and Hereford, represented the same to the Convocation, and desiring their serious Consultation by what Methods the said Doctrines and their Fauters might be suppressed; he put them upon many Debates about it, and at length drew them to these Resolutions and Decrees, viz. 'That it would not be possible to extirpate the Doctrines of Wickliff, unless certain Great Men, who were the professed Abettors and Maintainers of them were remov'd out of the Way. That Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, being the Chief of them, and the Person who had sent several Preachers into the Diocesses of London, Rochester and Hereford to propagate the said Heretical Doctrines, should be first dealt withal, and accordingly it was concluded: That without delay Process should be issued out against him as a most pernicious Heretick. But because the said Lord was in Favour with the King for his Conduct and Valour, it was advis'd, That the King himself should be acquainted with their Designs, and the Just Occasion of it, that having obtain'd his Leave their Proceedings might be more Successful and Inoffensive. This Counsel was approv'd, and order'd to be follow'd, and then the Convocation after it had ordain'd St. George's Day to be celebrated and kept as of the manner of keeping such a Feast. See Mr. Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, pag. 513. *Duplex Festum Majus*, i. e. A greater double Feast broke up. The Arch-Bishop endeavour'd to have rais'd St. Dunstan's Day to an equal Holiness, but could not obtain it.

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who had appear'd particularly Zealous in the Convocation against the Hereticks of those Times, did not abate his Heat when it was ended, but immediately went to the King with heavy Complaints against the Lord Cobham, as an Arch-Heretick and Enemy of the Church, and desir'd his Per-

A. D. 1413. Reg. 1. First Parliament, and the Acts of it, with the Acts of the Convocation.

Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham's Accusation of Herey, Imprisonment, Examination and Condemnation, with his Escape into Wales

(b) On the Fifteenth of May, 1413.

(c) These two hundred forty six Articles were drawn up by Inquisitors at Oxford, to be Exhibited against Sir John Oldcastle. Bates Hist. of Lord Cobham's Trial, p. 13.



A. D. 1413. Reg. 1. mission to proceed against him according to the late Decree made by his Clergy, and according to the Laws of the Land against Hereticks. The King observing the Arch-Bishop's Fury, and being cooler himself reply'd, 'That tho' he had a particular Desire to uphold and maintain the Church both in its Doctrine and Order, and was sensible that Unity was the Life of Christianity, because it keeps up that Love which is the fulfilling of the Law; yet he thought that the most prudent Course to reduce the Erroneous, was by mild Perswasions and convincing Arguments; for if the Truth were on their Side, it would prevail by its own Strength in the End, which if it could be done, it would be much better than to make use of those Engines, which have been for the most part used to subdue and destroy the Truth, and seldom do any Service to the Church further than to work dissembled Union and Conversion: And therefore advised the Arch-Bishop to use all gentle Methods to reform and reduce him, promising, that he would himself treat with the Lord Cobham about his Opinions, and if he could not reclaim him, would leave him to the Church and Law. The Arch-Bishop departed with this Answer, and the King sent soon after for the Lord Cobham, and having related to him the Charge of Heresy, which the Arch-Bishop had brought against him, admonish'd him forthwith to renounce his Opinions and submit himself to the Church and Obedience of the Arch-Bishop. The Lord Cobham thank'd him for his Kindness and Favour, but return'd him an Answer. 'That by the Law of God he owed Obedience to no Person on Earth but himself, who was his natural Prince, and God's Vice-gerent, and to his lawful Commands he would readily submit at all Times, but as for the Pope and his Hierarchy he owed them neither Sute nor Service, and therefore would pay them none, because he knew him to be the Antichrist, and Them the Abomination standing in the Holy Place, by the Description given them in Scripture. This resolute Reply something offend'd the King, so that he dismiss'd him without any further Discourse or Perswasion, and the Lord Cobham departed to his Castle of Cooling in Kent, which having obtained by the Marriage of an Heiress of the Lord Cobham's, he became a Baron, and had upon that Account his usual Residence there. The Arch-Bishop having waited some time for the Effect of the King's Promise, went again to Court to receive the Account of it, and finding the King displeased at the ill Success of his treating with the Lord Cobham, had full Authority given him to cite, examine and punish him according to the Canons of the Church, which he did not defer to put immediately in Execution: For having assembl'd a Council of his Clergy, and fram'd divers Articles of Heresy against him, he sent his Somner to cite him to answer personally before him to such Accusations as should be proved against him. The Somner not daring to deliver his Summons to the Lord, because he was reputed a Person of great Fierceness and Courage, returned again without doing his Message, and the Arch-Bishop was forced to hire (d) one Butler to set up a Peremptory Citation upon the Doors of Rochester Church, (e) strictly charging him to appear before him, on September the 11th following at Leeds. The Lord Cobham was not at all care-

ful to obey his Summons; but fearing lest the Arch-Bishop should engage the King against him, and draw him to join his Power to gratify their Malice and Fury, which otherwise he valued not, he drew up the Sum of his Faith in Writing under several Heads, according to the Sense of the Apostle's Creed, and presented 'em to the King, hoping by satisfying him in the Orthodox Declaration of his Opinion to obtain his Protection and Favour: But contrary to his Expectation he found him so much prepossessed by the Arch-Bishop, that he would not look upon it, but deliver'd it to the Arch-Bishop, and his other Accusers, causing him to be again cited to answer his Charge before them; and because he would not swear to submit himself in all things to the Church, the King order'd him to be Arrested in his Presence, and commanded that he should be kept a close Prisoner in the Tower of London, till he should acquit himself of the Crimes laid against him, or be otherwise released by order of Law. The Lord Cobham used all means to deliver himself, alledging, that the Arch-Bishop was his avow'd Enemy, and therefore in Reason and Equity ought not to be his Judge, that he had appeal'd to the Pope for Justice, and shew'd his Appeal ready drawn up with all due Reverence to the King: But this incensing the King much more, he protested, That he was willing to undergo any Punishment that could by the Law of God be inflicted on him, but could not be contented to have his cruel Enemies his Judges; yet if the King saw fit he would justify himself by Combat, either personally against any Man living, Christian or Heathen, the King and his Council only excepted, or with an hundred Knights or Esquires on each side, that his Faith is Sound and Orthodox. But all these Offers nothing avail'd, the King would have him appear before the Arch-Bishop at a Day and Place then appointed, and so he was kept in Prison in the mean time. The Day being come for the Lord Cobham's Answer, which was September the 23d, Sir Rob. Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower brought him to St. Paul's Church, where the Arch-Bishop with Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, and Henry Bullingbrook, Bishop of Winchester, sat in a Consistory in the Chapter-house to examine him, and there left him to them: But little was done at this Time, because he deliver'd in to them a short Paper of his Opinion about the Holy Sacrament, Images, Penance and Pilgrimages, which tho' not Satisfactory to them, yet he would then give no other Answer upon those Points, and so he had further Time given him for a more distinct Answer, which was till September the 25th. On that Day he was examined again in the Hall of the Black-Fryers within Ludgate; and because he asserted, That in the Sacrament of the Altar there was, after Consecration both the Body of Christ and Bread, after the same manner as in the Person of Christ the Divinity was united with the Humanity. That the Pope and his Prelates are Antichrist, and not the true Church of God. That Saints are not to be Worshipped, nor to be sought to by Pilgrimages. That Images cannot be an Object of Worship; and would not be induced to alter or change his Opinion in these Points, he was condemn'd as an obstinate Heretick by the Arch-Bishop, who having Excommunicated him, deliver'd him over to the Secular Power to be

(d) John Butler, Door-keeper of the King's Chamber.

(e) Butler went to him and Summon'd him personally to appear before the Arch-Bishop. Sir John answered, He owed the Priests no Submission, and would not seem to approve of their Practices by obeying his Summons. The Arch-Bishop afterwards proceeded another way, by affixing the Citation on several Church Doors. Ibid.



*D. A.* put to Death, and he was again remanded to the Tower only to wait for his Fatal Day; but he fortunately escaped by the Assistance of his Friends, or Negligence of his Keepers, getting out of his Prison by Stealth, and flying into Wales, where he remained from the Feast of St. Simon and Jude almost four Years.

*Normich burnt.* About this Time a very terrible Fire happen'd in the City of *Normich*, which burnt down a great part of that City, and the House of the Fryers-Preachers, with others two Fryers being consumed in the Flames.

*A. D.* The King kept his Christmas at his Mannor of *Eltham* in *Kent*, about seven Miles distant from *London*; and while he was in the midst of his Plenty and Delights on Twelfth-Day, an information was brought him of a Conspiracy laid by Sir *John Oldcastle* Lord *Cobham* and his Party, who assembling in *St. Giles's-Fields* to the Number of 20 or 25000 Men, intending to surprize his Person and kill him with his Brothers, that they might secure the open Profession of their Religion, which he was so Zealous to destroy. The King, tho' if he had allowed himself time to consider might easily have seen the Forgery; because if the Lord *Cobham* had been indeed resolved to revenge himself upon the King and Clergy for the late Wrongs done to him (which it was evident his Conscience would not suffer him to do) yet he being an Expert Commander would not have chosen *St. Giles's-Fields* for a Rendezvous for his Army, which was then a Thicket overgrown with Trees and Bushes, and so most unfit for that Business; but being amused with the sudden News believed the Truth of it; and having sent an Order to the Mayor of *London* Sir *William Cromer* to keep the City-Gates close shut, and let no Persons go out but such as he was well assured of their Loyalty to him, and to seize all suspected Persons, which the Mayor carefully did, and apprehended Seven Persons in one *Burgal* a Carpenter's House in *Bishops-gate-street*, who being sent to the King at *Eltham*, either by Perswasion or through Fear confessed that they had conspired with Sir *John Oldcastle* to fight against him and his Lords in *St. Giles's-Fields* in *Holborn*: Then the King went himself at Midnight, with a considerable Force which he had gathered out of *Westminster* and the adjoining Parts, into *St. Giles's-Fields*, and there finding a certain Number of Men met, viz. about 80, he fell upon them, and having slain some of them without Resistance he took about 60 Prisoners, of whom the Chief were Sir *Roger Aston*, Kt. a Person of no great account for Wealth or Power, one (f) *John Beverly* a Preacher, *John Brown* an Esquire, and one *Murby* a rich Maltster. This Meeting seems to have been nothing else but a Religious Assembly for the Worship of God; which because the *Lollards* could no where safely enjoy for fear of their Adversaries, who were grown very Watchful and Insulting by reason of the King's Favour, they were forced like the first Christians in Persecution to celebrate in the Night in Woods and Thickets; but the Clergy having got Information of their Intendment improv'd it into a Plot, which was easily made credible, because the Party was numerous about *London*, and met in great Numbers, and that many times armed, not to create any Disturbance, but to defend themselves against the Injuries of the Papists: In which Posture the King taking them looked upon them

as a rebellious Assembly, and because some of them confessed they came to meet the Lord *Cobham* (tho' tis certain he was not there) he dealt with the Chief of them as Rebels; for being tried at *Westminster* and condemn'd for High Treason thirty of them were hang'd, and seven burnt and hang'd in *St. Giles's-Fields*, January 12. following: *John Beverly* the Priest, *Burgal* the Carpenter, and two others were hang'd, Jan. 19. and Sir *Roger Aston* was hang'd, Feb. 10. and buried under the Gallows he was executed on: And so this imaginary Plot was suppressed.

*Thomas Arundel*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a strenuous Champion for the Papal Church, and a bitter Enemy of the supposed Hereticks died Feb. 20. It is said, that as he was pronouncing the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation upon the Lord *Cobham*, he was stricken with a forenefs in his Throat and at the Roots of his Tongue, which notwithstanding all Medicines that could be used so inflamed those Parts that he could swallow neither Meat nor Drink, and so he was starved to Death. This lamentable End was then thought a just Judgment upon him, not only for his Severity to the *Lollards*, many of whom, being generally accounted a well-meaning and good People, he condemn'd, and caused to be burnt for Heresie; but because he had made a Canon the Year before in a Synod held at *Rocheſter* against the Lord *Cobham*, forbidding the Translation of the Scripture into the *English* Tongue, and the Preaching the Gospel by the *Lollards*. He sat eighteen Years in that See, and was succeeded by *Henry Chicheley*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, whom the Monks of *Canterbury* had elected into his room, but he would not accept it till he had the Pope's Consent and Confirmation. He was as zealous a Persecutor of the *Lollards* as his Predecessour, and sat 25 Years in that See.

King *Henry* having an Account of the miserable Imprisonment of *Henry Peircy* the Son of the late Lord *Peircy*, surnam'd *Hotspur*, and Heir of the Earldom of *Northumberland* much pity'd his Condition and resolv'd to redeem him: And tho' by the Treason and Rebellion of his Father and Grandfather, his Honour and Estate was justly forfeited to the Crown; yet because he was an Infant and was no ways accessary to his Ancestor's Crimes, the King in Mercy purpos'd to restore him to his Birth-right, tho' in Justice he might have kept him out of it. This young Nobleman had been very unjustly dealt with by the *Scots*: For whereas his Grandfather had carried him to them when he fled thither after the Rebellion of Arch-Bishop *Scroop*, and entrusted him with them to secure him, and educate him, they made him a Prisoner by way of Reprisal, because their young King *James* had been many Years kept a Prisoner in *England*, and would not release him till the King was restored. But King *Henry* found out another Exchange for him, viz. by returning the Duke of *Albany's* Son (g) who was taken by the *English* at *Halidown*-fight, and so he obtained him and restored him to his Honour, Dignity and Estate, tho' they had been given some time before to *John*, Duke of *Bedford* the King's Brother, by which Act of Mercy he gain'd much Love and Respect from his Nobility, and an equal Admiration from all his People.

On the last Day of April the Parliament by the King's Summons and Order met at *Leicester*

*A. D.* 1414. Reg. 1.

Arch-Bishop *Arundel's* Death, and the Election of his Successor.

*K. Henry* restored *H. Peircy* to the Earldom of *Northumberland*, and the Lands thereunto belonging.

Reg. 2.

Second Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

(f) Sir *John Beverly*.  
(g) The Earl of *Fife*.



A. D. 1414. Reg. 2. and settled many Things of great Concern to the Nation, and for the Honour of the King, tho' it prov'd very severe and fatal to the *Lollards*, as will appear in the brief Account of the chief Acts of it. The first Act of this Parliament was a very Pious one for the due Management of Hospitals, ordering, That the Bishops of the Diocesse should by the King's Commission inquire into the Revenues and other Endowments belonging to such Houses as have been erected and endowed for the Relief of the Poor, and correct and reform what they find amiss according to the Laws of the Church. Other Acts also of great Use were made for the keeping of Servants and Labourers within their own Counties. That Justices of *Quorum* be resident in the Counties where they are appointed to serve by the King's Commission, and that the Quarter-Sessions for the Peace be kept in the same Week quarterly throughout *England*. That it shall be High-Treason to rob or slay any Persons, either in the Ports or passing upon the Seas, having the King's Letters of Truce and safe Conduct, by which Act also Conservators of Truce in every Port both of *England* and *Wales* were appointed. That Justices of the Peace and Sheriffs should be diligent to suppress all unlawful Routs and Riotous Assemblies under the Penalty of an hundred Pound Forfeiture for every Omission. But those Matters which were carried on and manag'd with the greatest Heat and Zeal were, 1. The Act against the *Lollards*, and 2. The Petition about the Revenues of Religious Persons. The first of these was procured chiefly by the Clergy, who taking advantage of the King's Displeasure against the *Lollards* for their supposed Rebellion lately raised against him, willingly caused it to be Enacted. 'That whereas divers of his Majesty's Leige-People as well by those of the Sect of Heretic, called *Lollards*, as by others of their Confederation, Excitation and Abetment have been made to annul and subvert the Christian Faith and Law of God within the Realm of *England*, and destroy the King himself, the Estates of the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, and also all manner of Policy and the Laws of the Land: Therefore our Lord the King to the Honour of God, in Conservation and Fortification of the Christian Faith, and also in Salvation of his Royal Estate, and of the Estate of all his Realm, willing to provide a more open and due Punishment against the Malice of such Hereticks and *Lollards* than hath been had or used in that Case heretofore; so that for the fear of the same Laws and Punishments, such Heresies and *Lollardies* may the rather cease in time to come; hath by the Advice and Assent, and at the Prayers of the Commons Ordain'd and Establish'd, That the Chancellor, Treasurer, Judges of both Benches, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and other Officers that have, or hereafter shall have Government of our People, do make Oath in taking their Offices to extend their whole Pain and Diligence to put out, cease and destroy all manner of Errors and Heresies, commonly call'd *Lollardies* within all Places where in they exercise their Offices with all their Power, and assist, favour and maintain the Ordinaries and their Commissaries in doing the same as oft as they shall be thereunto required, their reasonable Costs and Charges being paid by them. This Act as it shews how ill an Opinion the King had of the *Lollards* whom he knew only by the Misrepresentations of their inveterate Enemies, so it raised

a very sharp Persecution against them, in which many were burnt, many for fear fled into foreign Parts to secure their Lives, and others through a more unmanly Cowardize denied and abjured the Truth: This with other Acts of Parliament being pass'd, the Houses came to raise the King some Money, which being the first he had ever had, they were willing to do the more largely, and for that End put up a fresh Petition to the King (as they had before done to his Father) to this Effect, 'That forasmuch as the Temporal Revenues which had been devoutly given to Religious Persons, but were disorderly consumed and spent as well to the dishonour of God and Religion as the Prejudice of the Religious Persons themselves, might be much better employed for the safety and securing the Realm and relief of the Poor (as by a particular Computation in the same manner as it was given in to the King's Father they made it appear) they besought the King to take the said Revenues into his Hands, and to employ them for his own and the Nations Advantage. This Petition though put up and promoted by such Persons as bore some Affection to the *Lollards*, and hated the Clergy for the Cruelty they had used so lately against the Lord *Cobham*; yet being done by some or most of the same Persons who had concurred in the Act made this Session against them, was not suspected of Revenge by the King, but as if it had proceeded from the good Affection they bore to him, and the present Necessities of the Nation, he began to listen to it and shew a Compliance with that strong Party in both Houses which appear'd Zealous for it, insomuch that (as *Hall* saith) the Fat Abbots began to sweat, the Proud Priors to frown, the Poor Fryers to curse, and the silly Nuns to weep, least their *Babel* should now utterly be demolish'd: But their Sins were not yet full. The Clergy laid their Heads together, and entred into deep Consultations how to save themselves: The Houses of the Fryers Aliens which were 110, they were contented to part with to secure the Rest, and accordingly they were given to the King with all their Rents and Revenues; but least this small Morfel should sharpen his Appetite to a greater Prey, it was contrived, that *Henry Chicheley*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, a Person of great Eloquence and Policy should set on Foot the King's Title to the Crown of *France*, and by all the Cogent Flowers of Rhetorick endeavour to inflame the King's Youthful Affections with Desires of attaining that Kingdom, as well to immortalize his Courage as recover his Right, which he did in a full Parliament in this Method and to this Effect. 'That King *Henry* being a Prince so well qualified both for his Piety, Courage, and wise Conduct to govern not only one part of a small Island but the whole World, if an universal Monarchy can be ever settled upon one Person, it would be a great shame if the *English* should suffer his Power and Rule to be confin'd within narrower Limits than Nature and Providence had given him; especially since nothing can be supposed to oblige him to it, whose Courage was always forward to attempt any just Enterprize, but their backwardness to assist him with Men and Money for that End: That though indeed King *Henry* ruled only *England* and *Ireland* at present, yet the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, and the Countries of *Anjou*, *Gascoigne*, and *Maine* in *France* did by Ancient Inheritance belong to the Crown of *England*, and the whole Kingdom of *France* was really and truly

A. D. 1414. Reg. 2. The Commons Petition the King to seize the Temporalities of the Monks.

Arch-Bp. Chicheley's Speech, encouraging King Henry to a War with France.



A. D. 1414. Reg. 2. truly his, as Heir to K. Edward the Third his Great-Grandfather, whose Mother Queen Isabel after the Death of her Three Brothers, Lewis Hutyn, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, who all died without Issue, was the only lawful Heir of the Kingdom of France, and left her Title to her Son Edward, from whom King Henry is lineally descended: That tho' Philip de Valois had possessed himself of that Kingdom, upon a pretended fundamental Law, call'd the Salick-Law, by which it was enacted, That in *terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant*, Let not Women succeed in the Government of the Salick-Land; yet it is evident from the Original Constitution of the said Law by Charles the Great, and the common Custom of France it self in reference to the Succession of the Crown, that the said Law hath been unjustly made use of, and pleaded to bar the Kings of England from their Inheritance; for as to the making of it our Histories shew, that it was fram'd by Charles the Great when he conquer'd the Parts of Germany between the Rivers Elbe and Sala, where having observ'd the Women to be very Lewd and Voluptuous, and consequently unfit to govern, he made the Law, That in these Countries no Woman should rule; which could in no wise include France, as is pretended it doth but falsely, as the Course of Succession to the Crown of France doth prove. For Pepin, King of France, who deposed Chilperick, claim'd the Kingdom as his Right by Inheritance, because he was descended of the Lady Blithilda, Daughter of King Clothair; and Hugh Capet who held the Crown in Prejudice of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, the only Heir-male of Charles the Great, made his Claim good by proving his Descent from the Emperour Lewis the Son of Charles the Great by the Lady Lingard, which Pleas could have no tolerable Grounds, nor would they have been admitted, had the Salick-Law as is pretended been in Force from the Time of their first King Pharamond. But that which renders this Argument most plain is the Case of St. Lewis, who being dissatisfied in Conscience about his Right to the Crown, because the Succession was a little confused and intricate, and being ready to resign what he fear'd he had no good Title to, he was shew'd, that he was lineally descended of the Lady Ermengard, Daughter and Heir to Charles, Duke of Lorraine, the sole Heir-male of Charles the Great, and was satisfied in the Justice of his Title, which he could not have been if the Salick-Law had been known and in force at that time in France; and since the Title of the succeeding Kings to this Day is deriv'd from the said Lewis of whom they all come, the Kings of England will have at least as good a Title as any of them could challenge, and so consequently is the lawful Heir of France as being from the Elder Family tho' by a Female Branch, and the Salick Law is but a Trick set on Foot to debar the Kings of England of their Right: That if the Salick-Law were indeed of that Antiquity and Use in France as is pretended, yet it ought not to be observed in any Christian Commonwealth, because it is directly contrary to a Law of God (which no humane Law or Custom may contradict) and that allows the Woman to inherit her Father's Possessions in case of a Defect in the Male-Line, as is evident from the Case of the Daughters of Zelophehad, upon which God commanded, That if a Man died without Heirs-male his Daughters shall inherit, and by this Law the

Daughter of Sheshan, 1 Chron. 2. 34. obtained her Father's Inheritance, and held it to the Captivity. Wherefore it was not without good Reason that Ottoman the great French Lawyer call'd the Salick-Law an unjust Ordinance: That God himself had seem'd to declare in favour of the English Title to the Crown of France by the great Success he had given to Edward the Third and his Son the Black-Prince in endeavouring to recover their undoubted Right to it by Arms, who were so Victorious, that they in a few Years conquer'd the greatest part of France, took King John Prisoner, and braved his Successor Charles the Fifth at the Gates of Paris without Resistance; and though God for the Just Punishment of our Sins took away both those Victorious Princes (who if they had lived, doubtless had long since decided this Quarrel, and subjected the whole Realm of France to the English Crown) and so given France a Breathing time, yet their Title still remained; and though it was not claim'd by King Henry the Fourth by reason of his Troubles at Home, yet his Father having left him a quiet Possession of his Crown had as it were prepared all things for his Son to recover it. Wherefore he concluded with an earnest Exhortation to the King not to sit down in Sluggishness and Ease, but to achieve the Conquest of so Noble a Nation, whereby he would not only recover his Right and enlarge his Dominions, but get himself immortal Honour, assuring him, That the Clergy would assist him with such a Supply of Money for that End as no King before him had ever received, and did not doubt but the Laity would willingly contribute their Proportion. This Oration of the Arch-Bishop, tho' unexpected by the King and Parliament, yet being well studied and ordered by him had the desired Effect, for the whole House were convinced thereby of King Henry's just Title to the Crown of France, and immediately resolv'd to give him their utmost Assistance to the Recovery of it, and the King himself inflam'd with the Desires of Victory, could think upon nothing else but Armies and Laurels. The Bill against the Clergy was wholly laid aside, and a Subsidy of 300000 Marks given him from the Laity to carry on a vigorous War against the King of France; and so the Parliament broke up and this Session was ended.

While this Parliament was sitting, and the intended Recovery of France was debated hotly among them, there came over Embassadors from France, being sent to the King by the two great Factions of the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and solicited him earnestly, but severally, to assist them against their Adversaries, promising him (as was said) more than was in their Power to perform: The King gave them no other Answer at present but this. That he would shortly send over his Embassadors into France and signifie his Resolutions to both of them, because he waited to see what would be the Result of the present Debates, and accordingly would manage his Affairs and pursue his Advantage. As soon therefore as the Parliament was broke up, and his Expedition into France resolv'd on, and all eager Preparations for it determin'd, he sent a solemn Embassy into France by the Duke of Exeter, the Arch-Bishop of Dublin, the Lord Gray, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of Norwich with 500 Horse to King Charles the Sixth, to require of him in a peaceable manner (for the avoiding the Effusion of Christian Blood) to surrender the Kingdom of France and all the

A. D. 1414. Reg. 2.

K. Henry's Embassy to the King of France, to require his Kingdom.



A. D. 1414. Reg. 2. Appertenance to him as the lawful and undoubted Heir of it, which if he would do quietly, King Henry would then take the Lady Katharine his Daughter to Wife, and endow her with all the Duchies belonging to the Crown of France; but if King Charles refused to grant his just Demands, he would enter France with Fire and Sword to recover his Right from him or lose his Life. The French King hearing their Demands entertain'd them with Contempt, telling them in Scorn, *That their Business required Deliberation*, desir'd time, and sent them away without an Answer. The Dauphin was not content with such Modest Reflections, but knowing something of King Henry's effeminate course of Life while he was Prince, sent him a Tun of Tennis-Balls, scornfully intimating, That he was fitter for a Game at Tennis than a Warlike Expedition, and knew better how to bandy a Ball than shoot a Bullet, and that they must be as soft as himself who valued the Menaces of so unwarlike a Prince. King Henry not a little enraged at these Returns of his Embassy, said, 'That as light as they made of his Demands, he'd make the French know that he deserv'd the Respect of a Prince from them, and tho' they had sent him Tennis-Balls, he would send among them such Balls as the strongest Walls of France should not be able to withstand: And so with all the Zeal and Haste imaginable prepared for his Expedition into France; for having gathered up the 300000 Marks granted him the last Parliament, he rais'd a very puissant Army, and hired a great Number of Ships out of Zealand, Holland and Freizland to join with his own Fleet to carry over his Army: He also call'd a great Council at London about Michaelmas, in which he caus'd it to be ordain'd, that no French Men nor other Strangers should be promoted in the Church without his License for the future, and all such as did enjoy any Preferments already, should find Sureties not to disclose the Secrets of the Realm, nor assist the King's Enemies with Money, which Edict was at the same time confirm'd by a Canon of the Convocation sitting in St. Paul's to elect certain Persons to be sent to the General Council appointed to meet at Constans in Germany by the Emperor Sigismund to heal the Schism then in the Church. (b)

The French prepare to defend their Coasts against K. Henry, and excite the Scots against him.

The Preparations made in England against the French were not unknown to them, and the Dauphin who then had the Government of the Realm under his Father, call'd a Council of the Dukes of Alençon and Berry, with other great Lords to consult about the properest Methods of opposing the King of England, and by their Advice an Army was rais'd to lie on the Coasts, and the Maritime Garrisons strongly fortified against any Invasion. But the main Thing they depended upon was the Assistance of the King of Scots, who by their Instigation and Help was drawn to invade the English Borders with such a powerful Army as would, they hoped, hinder their Expedition into France. And indeed the Scots appear'd at first so Formidable, that it begat a Dispute in the King's Council, whether Scotland or France should first be subdu'd. The Earl of Westmerland, who then was made Lord Warden of the Marches of Scotland, mov'd the King to go first against Scotland, alledging, that it would facilitate his Conquest over France to

subdue that Nation first according to the old Proverb, *Who so will France win, must with Scotland first begin*. But the King's Uncle Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, a wise and learned Man, affirm'd and urg'd the contrary, That it would be the most certain way to subdue Scotland to conquer France first, because it was by the Policy and Money of the French that the Scots were able so well to defend and maintain themselves. Take away France and the Scots will fall of course. Besides the present Factions of Burgundy and Orleans would be so great an Advantage to the King in gaining that Nation, that it would be very impolitick to omit this Juncture to invade France. These and other Arguments of like Nature were so prevalent with the whole Assembly that it was resolv'd, that the King should go on with the War against France, and that Sir Robert Umfrevile with a small Body of Men, and with the Forces of the Bordering Counties should be sent to defend the Nation from the IncurSIONS of the Scots. This Valiant Commander soon after his arrival, viz. upon St. Mary Magdalen's Day, July 22. came to an Engagement with them, and was so fortunate that he routed their whole Army, and took 360 of them Prisoners with great Spoil, and got safe into Roxborough-Castle, of which he was Governour. The News of this Success against the Scots much amaz'd the French, and taught them how little the Aid of the Scots was to be trusted to: Whereupon they altered their Methods, and sent over an Embassy to King Henry by the Earl of Vendosme, William, Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishop of Lisieux, the Lords Ippe and Braquemont, the King's Secretary, and many others, who being accompany'd with 350 Horse-Men as Attendants arriv'd at Callis a little after Christmas, and landed within a few Days at Dover.

A. D. 1414. Reg. 2.

The Scots beaten at Getering.

King Henry being very earnest and diligent to make all possible Preparations for his design'd Expedition into France, took his Journey early this Spring to see in what Condition and Readiness his Fleet and Transport Ships were which lay at Southampton, and give such necessary Orders as were requir'd for his Proceedings; but in his Passage News was brought him, that a Pompous Embassy from the French King was landed at Dover and hastening towards him, which caus'd the King to desist from his Journey a while and retreat to Winchester to receive them and give them a speedy Audience, tho' without a prophetick Foresight it was easie to guess at their Business, that they now were afraid of him they so lately scorn'd and derided. As soon as they arriv'd they were admitted to the King, and the Arch-Bishop of Bourges in an Eloquent Speech having shew'd the Barbarous Cruelties of War and the Advantages of Peace, especially between such two neighbouring Nations as England and France, dissuad'd the King from his intended Design, and promised him from his Master many profitable Conditions if he would dismiss his Army, viz. That his Master the French King would give him in Marriage the Lady Katharine, and for her Dowry several Countries in France, with a large Sum of Money. (i) The King gave them no Answer to their Proposals presently; but having for several Days feasted them Royally at his own Table, he at length order'd the Arch-Bishop of

A. D. 1415.

An Embassy from France to K. Henry to put off the War.

(b) The Clergy chose the Bishop of Bath and the Bishop of Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of Worcester, and Robert Halam, Bishop of Salisbury afterwards Cardinal. The King appointed the Bishop of St. Davids, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Fitzbugh, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Richard Rockford and John Honyngham to be his Commissioners.

(i) 850000 Crowns.



A. D. 1415. Reg. 2. Canterbury to answer their Proposals in this Manner. 'That the Dutchie of Aquitain and Anjou with several Seignories and Dominions did of right belong to his Master the King of England, as they had formerly done to his Royal Progenitors; and though he was fully intended to recover them by force, as he did not doubt but he should be able to do thro' the Divine Assistance, which he could not doubt of in so just a Cause; yet for Peace sake, and to avoid the Loss of so many Lives as would probably perish in the Quarrel, he was contented to dismiss his Army and give over his intended Expedition, if their Master would restore them to him by a Marriage with the Lady Katharine, if not he would enter France with all his Force, and destroying the People and Towns with Blood, Fire and Sword never desist till he had recover'd them, which were his Ancient Right and Patrimony. The King himself was present, and as soon as the Arch-Bishop had ended his Speech assented to it, and (k) promised upon the Word of a Prince, that he would perform it to the uttermost. The Arch-Bishop of Bourges an high and lofty Prelate heard all this with Impatience, and as soon as the King had done speaking, without Consideration, what or to whom he spake, burst out in his Passion and reply'd. 'That his Majesty the most Christian King, who was the most Renowned, Mighty and Excellent Prince of Europe without Competition both in Blood, Power and Preheminence, did not offer those Things which he had propounded out of fear of King Henry or his Nation, but merely out of a Compassion to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, and since his Proposals tho' very Advantageous were despised, God and his good Subjects would soon put an end to the Quarrel, which was supported with so much Equity and Right, and then desir'd his Passport to depart. King Henry with a Princely Gravity and Mildness told the Angry Prelate, 'That he valu'd not his Bravadoes, and as he was satisfied in his Right, which they themselves could not be ignorant of, so he doubted not but through God's help he should find means to recover it; if his Master had many Subjects to assist him, he doubted not but to find their Equals in Number and Courage among his own, by whose help he would make the highest Crown in France to stoop, and proudest Mitre to kneel; and giving him his Letters of safe Conduct, bid him go tell his Master, 'That within three Months he would enter France as into his lawful Patrimony, and by God's Assistance take that by dint of Sword which he unjustly detain'd from him: And so sent him away. (l)

Reg. 3. The War with France being now unmovably determin'd, K. Henry who was already in great forwardness for it, doubled his Diligence to have all Things ready within the Three Months, ap-

pointed to the French Embassadors, and accordingly gave out strict Orders to his Captains and Commanders to meet him every ways equipp'd at Southampton on June 24. and so pass immediately into France. (m) In the mean time he set all Things in order against his Departure out of the Realm, that his Absence might not create any Disturbance among his Subjects, and for that End he appointed his Mother-in-Law, Joan de Navar, (n) a Woman of great Prudence and Judgment in National Affairs, to be Regent in his Absence with the Advice of his Privy-Council; The Earl of Westmerland, the Lords Scroop and Greystock, and Sir Robert Umfreville, with some other Valiant Captains he appointed to keep the Frontiers of the Nation against the Scots who had engag'd in the French Assistance, and would certainly be very troublesome as soon as they heard he was gone, and therefore he sent them with a sufficient Strength to prevent their Incurfions. On June 18. the King left London, and began his Journey to Southampton where his Army was to meet him on the 24th, and accordingly did; all Things being ready, and all Persons cheerfully attending the King's Motions and Desires, with all speed possible to pass into France. But before they could take Ship a sudden Accident put a stop to all for a while. The French King who could not fairly oppose Henry's Courage, brib'd some of his Favourites to take away his Life by base Treachery, but the Conspiracy and its Actors were fortunately discovered to him before the time for its Execution was come, by this Means and on this Occasion. Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Brother to the Duke of York, Henry, Lord Scroop, the High-Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Grey, (o) a Privy-Counsellor, three Persons most in Favour with the King, and almost constantly in his Company, having received of the King of France a Million of Gold, had promised him to kill King Henry in his Voyage to France, or if they could not do that, to deliver him into his Power, and that they might make their treacherous Design to look the more plausibly, they discover'd it to the Earl of March, Edmund Mortimer, pretending that it was out of a real desire of restoring him to his Right that they had taken up such desperate Resolutions; and tho' they expected not his Concurrence, yet they must exact an Oath of Secrecy from him for their own Security, in a Matter of so great Danger to themselves, as well as of Importance to him. The Earl of March either not very desirous of the Crown when so worthy a Prince himself and so great a Friend to him was in Possession, or else suspecting that this Conspiracy arose from other Causes than what was pretended, refused at first to swear to them, but when they were very importunate with him to do it before they parted, he at length consented upon Condition they would allow him an Hour to consider of it (p) which they granted. The Earl of March having thus got his Liberty to

A. D. 1415. Reg. 3.

A Plot against the King's Life discovered, and the Conspirators Executed.

(k) This Speech was made by the Bishop of Winchester; and when he had done, to shew it was the King's Sentiments, he bad the French Embassadors see 'twas all written down on a Paper and Sealed with his Majesty's Seal. Goodwin, pag. 60.

(l) This Arrogant Prelate upbraided King Henry in his Speech with the Badness of his Title even to the Crown of England; and he said, The Crown you wear appertains to the true Heirs of the Deceased Richard, and while they are alive 'tis with them and not you that our Royal Master should have made a Treaty.

(m) From Southampton he sent Antelope his Pursuivant at Arms with a Letter to the French King, dated at that Place on the Sea, to shew he must expect no more Messages from him: In it he demanded the Restoration of the Provinces in France belonging to the Crown of England, and offered still to marry his Daughter, otherwise he would recover them by Arms. The French King answered, If that was his Mind, he would be prepared to receive him, and as to the Marriage he thought it a strange way of Courtship to address his Mistress covered with the Blood of her Father's Subjects.

(n) Joan of Navar was made Queen Regent, and John, Duke of Bedford, Protector and Lord Lieutenant of England.

(o) Of Northumberland.

(p) He desir'd time to consider of it, and they gave him till the next Morning. Goodwin, pag. 65.



A. D. 1415. King and discover'd the whole Plot as they had related to him, advising him to provide for his own Safety. The King, though much surprized at the Baseness of his Friends, yet did not so much distrust the Discovery as to neglect himself, but causing them to be apprehended brought them to an Examination before himself, and Nobles present with him. They denied not the Accusation which was taken so lately from their own Mouths, but confessed themselves guilty of the whole Plot. (q) The King much amazed at their detestable Treason told them, 'That he could not but with horror think upon this their Execrable Fact, which not only tended to the Destruction of his own Person, and the Nobles his followers, but to the Ruin of the whole Nation, of which they were so unnatural Sons as to betray it to their Enemies by this Treason: That as to himself he desired no Revenge; but as he was the Supreme Governour of the Nation he took himself oblig'd to inflict the Punishment upon them which they had deserved, for the safety of his Dear Friends and the Preservation of the whole Nation: And thereupon wishing them an hearty Repentance for their Offences and Mercy from God, he commanded that they should be Executed, which being accordingly perform'd the Earl's Head was permitted to be buried with his Body, but the Lord Scroop's Head was sent to York, and Sir Thomas Gray's to New-Castle to be Spectacles of Terror to all Beholders. (r)

K. Henry proceeds in his Expedition, and lands in France.

The King having thus punished those Conspirators promised himself security, and began to put forward his Expedition, but least any Remnants of this Treason should prove afterwards fatal to him, or prejudicial to his Proceedings, he called his Nobles to him, and having represented to them the Glory of this Achievement against France, and how much he depended upon their Fidelity and Courage, told them, 'That the Treason, which by God's Mercy he had so lately escaped, would make him value their Loyalty to him the more if they persisted in their Duty, and he would not be forgetful to reward it, and in Confidence of their Firmness to him he was resolv'd to proceed in his Design. The Nobles hearing these Words which favoured of a little Distrust, fell down on their Knees, and promised faithfully to serve and obey him, and rather die than suffer him to fall into the Hands of his Enemies: With this Encouragement the King put an end to those Delays which had given the French hopes that their Plot against his Life had been Successful, and went on board with his Nobles and Soldiers, August 11. to sail into France. His whole Army was but 6000 Spears and 24000 Foot, besides Gunners, Engineers, Artificers and Labourers, and his Navy consisted of 1000, (or as others say 1500) Ships, with which he landed safe on August 15. at Caux, a Town situate at the Mouth of the Seine in Normandy; for his Arrival struck the Inhabitants with such Terror that they made no Resistance. The King at his first landing fell down on his Knees, and with much Devotion besought God to favour his Cause according to the Justice of it, and give him Success against his Enemies as the E-

quity of his Enterprize deserved it, and that he might preserve a due Order in his Army he put out a Proclamation, forbidding his Soldiers upon pain of Death to take any thing out of any Church or Monastery, to abuse any Priest, Women or unarmed Persons, or raise any Quarrels with any Man to the disquieting either of the Country or Army. These things being done, the King sensible that Delays would bring Inconveniencies, proceeded to put all things in order for Action, and to encourage his Captains and Leaders he conferred the Order of Knighthood upon several of them, and disposed of the Banners and Standards to such Men as he knew to be of greatest Strength and Courage. The next Day he sent forth his Spies to take a view of Harfleur, an important Haven in Normandy, which would be a commodious Passage for the English into France upon all Occasions if it could be gained; and having received the Account of it set forward with his whole Army towards it, being three Leagues distant from Caux, and sat down before it August 17. The Town was well fortified, and a strong Garrison put into it to defend it; for besides the Inhabitants the French King had placed in it 400 Men of Arms under the Command of the Lord de Tenteuil, chief Captain of the Town, the Lords Blanville, Haqueville, and others very expert Warriours who made a very brave and gallant Resistance, being as desirous of an Ominous Beginning in preserving, as the English were in conquering the Town. The Siege was carried on by the Care and Conduct of Ham-fry, Duke of Gloucester, (s) who by Mines, battering the Walls with his Engines and Ordinance, and by continual Assaults sought to reduce it soon into his Power; but the Inhabitants and Garrison by stopping the Course of the River which so swell'd that it became dangerous to the King's Camp, and by Countermineing secured themselves for a while; that though they lost many, and their Town was much endamaged, yet they kept themselves out of their Enemies Hands. The King of France thinking to relieve them sent a Force down to Candebec-Castle, which was but a little distance from Harfleur, but it proved no help either to that Town or the Country about, for the English spoil'd the Villages, forrag'd the Countries, and brought much Prey to Harfleur, and the Town being reduced to very great Streights capitulated with the King of England, that if it were not relieved by the Dauphin or King within a certain time limited they would resign the Keys into his Hands, thirty of the Chief Persons being delivered to the King's Mercy, and the rest to be suffered to go whether they pleased, yet without Arms or Goods, and twelve Persons were delivered to the English as Hostages for the Performance of this Agreement. The Besieged immediately dispatched their Messengers to the Dauphin to come down to their Relief, but he returned them Answer, That he was not able to give them any Succour: Whereupon, at the Time appointed Sir Lionel Braquemont, Governour of the Town came, and on his Knees delivered up the Keys to the King, and yielded up himself with other Lords and chief Persons to the Number of thirty to the King's Mercy, September the 22d, and so all the rest, as

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Harfleur besieged, and surrendered to King Henry.

(q) Before the King discovered that he knew of the Conspiracy he ask'd the Conspirators themselves, what those deserv'd that could be guilty of such a Treason. They merited, said the Traytors, to expire in horrid Torments so deserv others from the like Crimes. Then the King examin'd them, and they confessed their conspiring to destroy him.

(r) The Earl of Cambridge and Sir Tho. Gray were beheaded, and the Lord Scroop was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd.

(s) The King manag'd the Siege in Person: He had his head Quarters at Gravelle, and next him the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Godw. p. 68.



A. D. 1415. Reg. 3. well Soldiers as Inhabitants were suffered to depart unarm'd. (r) The King having return'd God Thanks in St. Martin's Church made his Uncle Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, Governor of the Town, and gave the Prey to the Soldiers whom he left in Garrison, and Peopl'd it with English, whom he invited thither by giving all such Families as would go over their Dwellings and their Childrens after them for nothing, which so many accepted, that the Town was well Peopl'd with English in a short Space.

K. Henry's Army being sickly, he leaves Harfleur and went to Winter in Callis. King Henry having obtain'd his wished-for Success in taking Harfleur would have pursu'd his Victory and proceeded to take other Towns which would not have dared to stand out, but that he was sensible of the Condition of his Army, which by lying so long in the Field was grown very sickly, and many died of the Bloody-flux, of whom some were Persons of Note, as Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, the Bishop of Norwich, Lords Beaumont, Molins and Barnell, and others, and of the Common Soldiers above 2000. The Duke of Clarence, Earls of Marshal and Arundel were so dangerously ill of the same Distemper that he was forced to let them return into England to recover their Health, and many that remained were infected and Weak. This State of the Army with the Consideration that the Winter was coming on, made him take up Resolutions of passing immediately to Callis without further Action to recruit and rest his Army in the Winter there; but because the Dauphin was hovering about with some small Forces, he thought it convenient to offer him some Propositions of Agreement, or to decide the Quarrel with him by single Combat, (u) offering to stay eight Days for him about Harfleur, which if he refused, it would be a means to prevent his Attempt upon them in their Passage, but the Dauphin giving him no answer either way, the King began his March without delay to Callis, lest the Bridges should be broken down, and so they must encounter many Difficulties to get thither, but could not be time enough to avoid it; for the French King having Intelligence of his Success before Harfleur, and his Design to Winter his Army at Callis, gathered a considerable Body of Men and sent them down under the Command of the Dauphin and Duke of Aquitaine to obstruct their Passage, who broke down the Bridges, destroying the Forrage in the Field, and carried all the Provisions into the Walled Towns whether the People betook themselves also for safety. King Henry either not knowing what was done by the French, or else seeing it necessary to persist in his Design, kept on his March intending to pass the Some at Blandre-quef, the Ford which King Edward the Third had waded over with his Army to the Battel of Crissy, but found it staked and made impassable; whereupon he march'd up the River further and resolved to ascend up to the very Fountains of it if they could not get over before. The usual Bridges and Passages over it he tried, but found them either destroy'd or so strongly guarded that he dare not force his Way with so weak an Army: For these Reasons he passed by Port-Remy, Amiens, Corby and Bowes, but at

length through the Negligence of the Garrison at St. Quintins he found a safe Passage near Perons. In this tedious Journey they encounter'd many Difficulties, partly thro' want of Victuals, and partly from the Assaults of the Enemies from their Garrisons; for tho' the King's great Justice in restraining his Army from Pillaging, and in hanging one that had stoln a Pix out of a Church, procured him great Love from the People of the Country through which his Army passed, and made them venture to sell 'em Provisions contrary to their own King's Prohibition; yet the small Supply that came that Way was not sufficient for so great a Number to subsist upon. The Garrisons also at Em and Corbay assaulted them Weak and Weary, and tho' the former was repulsed back with the Loss of a valiant Captain, (x) Lancelot Peirce, yet the other came upon them with so much Advantage, that they won the Standard of that part of the King's Forces which was commanded by the Earl of Stafford, (y) but were so bravely opposed, that the Standard was again recovered by a valiant Gentleman John Bromley, of Bromley in the County of Stafford, Esquire, and the French driven into the Town. The Earl of Stafford like a Worthy Commander, sensible of the Brave Action in regaining his Standard, whose Loss would have been so great a Disgrace to him, gave the Valiant Gentleman for a Reward forty Pound a Year out of his Mannors and Lands in Staffordshire, and by a Deed settled it upon him for Life.

King Henry having thus gotten over the Some King of France resolves to fight K. Henry and his Army, and send him a Defiance. was resolved to keep on his direct way to Callis, not attempting any thing by Arms, unless where it should be necessary for their Defence, because his Army was much lessened by Sickness since he left Harfleur, and the Remainder was harassed and weakened by their long Marches and scanty Provisions, and so he went on softly and warily. But the King of France being very angry that the English had gotten over those Difficulties which he thought insuperable, and were in a fair way to get safe to their intended Rest, called a great Council of his Nobility at Roan, of whom the Dauphin and Duke of Brittain were Chief, to consult how to proceed further against the English, and it being at length determined to engage them to a pitch'd Battel, Mountjoy, King at Arms, was sent to King Henry to defie him, and demand Battel on the Thursday following, and for that End an Army under the Constable, the Lord de Albret, and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon was sent down to block up their Way. King Henry receiv'd the Herald very kindly, but not being willing to hazard his Army, which was unfit to fight, return'd this Answer. 'That he would keep his direct Road to Callis without any Disturbance to any Man, and if they should hinder his Passage it should be at their Peril, he and his Army would endeavour to make their Way, and leave the Issue to God. It is said by some, that King Henry was so fearful of an Overthrow, when he saw the French on all sides swarming about him, that he offer'd to resign Harfleur, and restore all Damages done to it, if they would suffer him to pass undisturbed to Callis, but the French sure of Victory

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rejected

(r) He made all the Soldiers Prisoners of War, but suffered them to depart on their Paroles to render themselves at Callis in the Winter, and pay their Ransom which they did.

(u) He sent him this Challenge on the 16th of September while he lay before Harfleur, which City was not taken till a Week afterwards.

(x) This Lancelot Peirce challeng'd any English Man to fight him. His Challenge was immediately accepted, and the English Man killed him; but before he died he gave his Adversary a Wound that sent him out of the World soon after him.

(y) Sir Hugh Stafford, Lord Bourchier.



A. D. 1415. Reg. 3. rejected his Proposals, as the French Historians relate, but ours deny the Story, as unbecoming Henry's great Spirit. After this Answer King Henry kept on his Way to a Village called Forceville, and so by Cheve, Bonyers, and Bangy to Agincourt, October the 22d, in the County of St. Paul, where he had a certain Information that the French Army, which was six or ten times bigger than the English, the former being 60000 or more, and the latter but 15000 (z) and those half starved and tired with Travel, and many of them Sick and Diseased, was ranged in order of Battel ready to fall on him if he lay still, or block up all Ways if he pressed forward. King Henry seeing the Battel unavoidable made the best Preparation so short a time would give him leave, and knowing that the Strength of the French consisted in their Horse, he ordered his Men to get every one a sharp Stake shod at both ends with Iron, which being fixed in the Ground leaning forward might keep of the Horse from rushing in upon his Foot. (a) The Night before the Battel was to begin, King Henry having engaged them to stand up manfully in their own Defence and rather die than yield, they spent in Prayer and Confession, but the French as secure of the Victory, passed it in Jollity and Mirth, Drinking and Gaming, in talking of the Victory they should have, and parting the Prisoners. The next Day which was St. Crispine's Feast, October the 25th, the Battel began about Ten a Clock. King Henry being sensible of the Advantage which the French had of him by their Multitude, pitch'd with the Town on his Back, and a River on the one side, and thick Hedges on the other of his Army that the French might not surround them, the Stakes being fixed on the Front of the Army to keep off the Horse. The Vanguard he put under the Command of the Duke of York who desired that Service; the main Body was led by the King himself, and the Rere-Guard by the Duke of Exeter. The French Army was led by the Flower of the Nobility of the Nation. The Vanguard was led by the Lord Albret, Constable of France, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Ew and Richmond, the Marshal Bouciquault, the Lord Dampier, Admiral of France, with other Captains. The main Body by the Dukes of Barr and Alençon, the Earls of Nevers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges and Grant-pree, and the Rereward by the Earls of Marle, Damp-martin, Falconbrig and Lord Louway. The Earl of Vendosme commanded one of the Wings, and Sir Guichard Dolphin the other. The Signal for the Battel being sounded, the French rushed forward upon the English with their Horse (b) and the English as they drew towards them overshadowed them with Clouds of Arrows, which by their fall wounded their Men and disorder'd their Horse,

The Battel of Agincourt, with the Success and Consequents of it.

who in their Confusion not observing the Stakes fell upon them and were pierced with them to Death. The Dukes of Brabant and Alençon broke in upon the English with a small Party but were slain, the Duke of Alençon and two of his Servants being slain by King Henry's own Hand. (c) The Battel was hot and furious, and lasted three Hours, but at length the Victory fell to the English, who by their Courage had slain, taken or put to flight the whole French Army. In the Flight the Rere-guard of the French, which got off almost entire, set upon the King's Camp which was but slenderly guarded and pillaged it, taking the King's Crown, and a rich Sword set with Diamonds, and other precious Stones, which they carried in Triumph as if the Victory had been theirs. King Henry hearing a great cry in the Camp supposed that the French had been gotten together in a Body again, and seeing the King of Sicil (d) come in with some fresh Troops began to fear the Loss of his new-gotten Victory, and immediately gave order to slay all the Prisoners except some of the greatest Quality, least they joining with the Enemy should prove their Destruction, which was accordingly done, but this fear soon vanished, for the King of Sicil drew off and would not fight after he saw the French Army routed, and so the King caused a Retreat to be sounded about four a Clock in the Afternoon, and the Soldiers having plundered the Slain and Wounded retreated with the King to the Village they lay in the Night before, and refreshed themselves well with the Provisions of the French Camp. The King himself sensible of the greatness of the Victory, which nothing but the Divine Power joining with such small Forces could have effected, called his Army together, and caused his Prelates and Chaplains in the most solemn Manner to give Thanks to God for it, singing this Psalm, When Israel came out of Egypt, and making every one to kneel on the Earth when they came to these Words, Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy Name give the Praise, and then adding Te Deum and other Anthems, gave most devout Thanks and Praise to God. This Victory was obtain'd with little or no Loss to the English, for they lost only the Duke of York, Earl of Suffolk, with two or three Gentlemen more, and 26 Soldiers, or as the French Historians themselves relate, (e) 3 or 400. But the French lost 10000, among whom were the Lord Albret, the Constable, the Dukes of Barr, Brabant and Alençon, the Marshal, Admiral, and Master of the Horse, with 11 Counts and 18 great Lords, besides a great Number of Esquires and Gentlemen, and 1500 Prisoners; (f) among whom were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Ew and Richmond, Count de Vendosme, Son of the late Duke of Bretagne by

A. D. 1415. Reg. 3.

A Party of French plunder the English Camp.

The Slain on both sides.

(z) Harding, an English Historian who was present at the Battel says, King Henry's Army consisted of no more than 9000 Men. Walsingham reports, that they were but 8000. And the French Historians do not pretend that they were above 25000. Whereas the same Authors, as well English as French agree, that the Constable's Army consisted of 150, or at least 140000 Men. Enguerant Monstrelet affirms, the Horse were 150000.

(a) King Henry sent out Captain David Gam, Commander of a Company of Welsh Men to view the Enemy, who when he returned said. May it please you my Leige, There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken Prisoners, and enough to run away. Dr. Parnel's Chron.

(b) Sir Thomas Erpingham and the English Archers began the Charge.

(c) He was going to surrender himself Prisoner to King Henry, but before the King could take his Gage, he was killed by his Guards. Monstrelet

(d) The Succour, were brought by the Duke of Bretagne and the Marechal Louvigny. Fenin.

(e) The French Historians, Monstrelet and de Fenin say the contrary, the former, that the English lost 1700 Men, the latter 4 or 500, which is most likely. Caxton affirms, there were but 26 English Soldiers killed, and Walsingham says not many more, viz. the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, four Knights, one Esquire and twenty eight common Soldiers. Of the French, Le Fevre, who was in the Battel, writes, that 10000 were killed, of which 100 were Princes and 7000 Nobles.

(f) The Prisoners according to Juvenal des Ursins were 14000, and all Authors agree, that they were as many as the Number of the English Army.

the



A. D. 1415. Reg. 3. the Q. Regent of England, (g) and many other Persons of Quality. The next Day after the Victory the French King sent *Montjoy* with four Herald's more to desire leave to bury the Dead and to have the Number of the Prisoners, which the King readily granted. But the French themselves had made them a miserable Spectacle, by stripping them of all their Cloaths, which the English had not meddled with, (for they took only Money and rich Things) and leaving them all Naked. This odious Spectacle so moved the Earl of *Charilois*, Son to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he buried 5800 in one piece of Ground at his own Charge, because their Friends not knowing them neglected their Burial. The Bishop of *Esquines* a little after made the Ground into a Church-Yard in respect to the Bodies of so many Persons laid there.

K. Henry goes to Calis, and Duke of Burgundy punisheth the French who plunder'd the English Camp. The Fight being thus fortunately ended in favour of the English, King Henry having ordered the Slain to be decently buried went to see the Damage of his Camp, which tho' being considerable yet not to be recover'd, he resolv'd to proceed with all Expedition in his Journey to *Calis* without any further Care about it. But the Duke of *Burgundy* would not so pass it over, and considering that the Party who had plundered the English Camp, had cowardly deserted the Army in danger, and by pillaging the English for their own Private Gain had been the Cause that their Braver Brethren who were taken Captive in the Fight had been kill'd in cool Blood, he determin'd to punish the chief Commanders of them very severely; but his Son the Earl of *Charilois* being made their Friend by the Rich Present of King Henry's Sword, so effectually interceded with his Father that they were all spared. King Henry after two Days march arrived at *Calis*, carrying with him the Bodies of the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Suffolk* to be interred in England, and immediately dispatched a Messenger over into England to the Queen Regent with the News of this Signal Victory, which filled the Nation with an universal Joy; for the *Te Deum* was not only sung in all Churches of the Nation, but a mighty Procession of the Queen, Nobility and Clergy, Mayor, Aldermen and Companies of *London* was celebrated with extraordinary Solemnity and Devotion from *St. Pauls* to *Westminster*, where they all made a great Oblation at *St. Edward's Shrine*, and then returned in Triumph. The King himself remain'd at *Calis* a while intending to have pursued this Victory closely had the Season permitted him, but it proving very wet and unfit for Warlike Enterprizes, he thought it convenient to look after his Affairs in England, and taking Ship *November* the 16th, he arrived at *Dover*, *November* the 23d, having had a very troublesome and dangerous Passage. He brought with him his Chief French Prisoners, and was received with Processions and Triumphal Joy by his Nobles and other Subjects; and being by them conducted towards *London*, was met by the Mayor, Aldermen and Clergy of that City with like Processions, (h) and Attestations of Joy at *St. Thomas of Waterings*: But the King himself seem'd very little taken with these outward Ceremonies, and forbade that any Songs or Ballads should be made of this Victory, because

it was solely from God, and he would have him have all the Honour of it. The Citizens made the King a Present of 1000 *l.* in Gold in two Basons of equal Value, which the King receiv'd of them with a cheerful Resentment of their Love and Respect to him, and so retreated to his Palace at *Westminster*, where he made it his first Care to bury the Bodies of the Duke of *York* at *Fodringhey* in *Northamptonshire*, and of the Earl of *Suffolk* at *Embsay* in *Oxfordshire*; (i) their Exequies being devoutly perform'd by the Arch-Bishops and most of the Bishops in *St. Paul's Church* by the King's Order. But the good Fortune of this Battel was not more joyfully received by the English Court and People than the bad Fate of it was lamented by the French, for the King and his Court were under heavy Perplexities, and the Dauphin of *Viennois* the Heir of the Crown took it so grievously, that he soon after died of mere Sorrow. Great Care was also taken to chose new Officers into the Places of such as were either slain, or had behaved themselves so, as by their Cowardize to be unworthy of future Employment: All which shew'd under what Fears and Distractions the French were in after this Victory; which though they thought to recover by fresh Forces and Officers, yet it was such a Terror to them that they never dar'd to attempt any thing considerable after.

The King being in England, the Earl of *Dorset*, Governour of *Harfleur* having a strong Body of Men under his Command, viz. 3000 English Men made an Inroad into *Normandy* almost as far as *Roan* where the King of France and his Court than lay, and got a great Booty of Money, Prisoners and Cattle; but it being heard at *Roan* the Earl of *Arminack* was sent to pursue him with 5000 Horse, who being newly made Constable was mighty desirous to gain himself Reputation by this Exploit, and thereupon followed them very hotly till he had overtaken them. The English unable to resist so strong a Force, were forced to withdraw into an Orchard well fenced with Ditches and Banks for their Security with the Loss of 300 of their Men and all their Prey. The French withdrew to *Villemont*, an adjoining Village that Night, and in the Morning pursued the English again as far as the Sand of *Cheif de Caux*, where setting upon them at a Disadvantage by reason of an Hill that hinder'd them from assisting each other, the English fell so fiercely upon them that they routed them wholly, and so got safely to *Harfleur*. The Constable was much blamed for his Rashness and Unskilfulness in this Exploit, and lost more Honour by his last ill Conduct than he got by his first good Fortune, and the English became more terrible for their Courage and Hardiness.

This Year the Order of the Church-Service Divers was changed throughout England from the Use of *St. Paul* to the Use of *Sarum*. On *Candlemas-Day* seven Dolphins were discovered playing in the River *Thames*, and four of them were taken.

The King on *Munday, March* the 16th summon'd his Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, and though he requir'd no Taxes in so great a War, yet he thought it necessary to summon his Great Council to settle Things well in his Absence, which he did by making several Benefi-

A. D. 1415. Reg. 3.

A. D. 1416.

The Earl of Dorset's Fight with the Earl of Arminack, Constable of France.

Divers Accidents.

Third Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

(g) The Famous Marshal *Boucicault* who had done great Things in Italy and the East was taken Prisoner in this Battel, and being carried to England died there two or three Years after.

(h) In this Procession *Stow* says, the Priests brought forth the Relicks of seventy Saints.

(i) The Mannor of *Embsay* came to the Family of *Suffolk* by the Marriage of this Earl's Son, afterward created Duke of *Suffolk*, to *Alice*, Daughter of *Thomas Chaucer*, Esq; Son of *Jeffrey Chaucer* the Poet. *Holinshed*, pag. 1236.



A. D. 1416. That a certain base Money, called *Gally-half-pence* brought hither from *Genoa*, and vented to the Damage of the People, should not be hereafter used in any lawful Payment in *England*; That all *Brettons* who were not Naturaliz'd and made Free of this Nation should immediately depart out of it upon pain of Death, because the Duke of *Bretagne* was confederate with the King of *France* against him; That all Provisions, Licenses, Acceptations or Pardons sent into *England* by the Pope to disturb or deprive any Person who is in the actual and legal Possession of any Benefice, shall be *ipso facto* void, and the Persons that shall bring any such Provisions, and by them molest or disturb any Incumbent shall suffer and incur the Punishments contain'd in the Statutes of Provisors; to be inflicted by Process of *Premunire facias*; That the Clipping, Washing and Filing of the Current Money of the Land shall be adjudged Treason, and they who shall so Clip, File or Wash the said Coin shall suffer as Traytors: And lastly. That Justices of the Peace shall Award a *Capias* to apprehend all such Persons, and imprison them to be tried by the Judges of Assize who should have Power to hear and determine all such Matters: And then was the Parliament Prorogued because of the Emperour's coming.

In the beginning of *May*, *Sigismund* the Emperour, Cousin-German to King *Henry*, and a very Wife and Learned Prince, came into *England* out of a pious Design to make Peace between the King's of *England* and *France*. He had been before in *France* and brought over with him the Arch-Bishop of *Rhemes*, an Agent for his Master the *French* King, who seem'd forward to conclude it. He was received at *Calis* honourably by the Earl of *Warwick* who was Governour there, and conveyed over to *Dover* in 30 great Ships. The King having Intelligence of his coming sent the Duke of *Gloucester* with a large Train of the Nobility to receive and entertain him, yet ordering them to meet him on the Shore with their drawn Swords, and to demand of him the Cause and Reason of his coming, whether it were as a Mediator of Peace only, and the King's Friend, or as an Emperour to claim *England* as a part of his Kingdom, if as the latter to resist his Entrance, but if as the former to give him a kind Welcome? Which they exactly performed entring into the Water with their drawn Swords in their Hands. The Emperour with a Smile mildly replied. *That he came as the King's Friend and to make a Peace*, and was then honourably conducted to Shore by 'em, and from thence to *London*. The King met him in Person at *Black-beath*, *May* the 7th, and carried him through *London* to *Westminster*, where he was lodged in the King's Palace. *Albert*, Duke of *Holland* came also about the same Time but staid not long. The Emperour was very earnest with the King for a Peace, and his Perswasions had almost wrought the King to a Compliance, but the *French* not giving over their Acts of Hostility while they knew Peace was in Agitation, but first falling upon the *English* about *Roan*, and then laying close Siege to *Harsleur* both by Sea and Land, so incensed the King of *England*, who by their Actions judged that they designed only to amuse him with Proposals of Peace till they could by Force reduce their Country, that he would not hearken to any fur-

ther mention of it, but recalled his Ambassadors the Bishop of *Norwich* and Sir *Thomas Erpingham* out of *France*, resolving to prosecute the War with the utmost Vigour; whereupon the Emperour gave over further pressing the Peace between *France* and the King, and entred into a firm League with K. *Henry* himself to this Effect, viz. That the Emperour and King of *England* their Heirs and Successors would be Friends and Confederates to each other against all Persons whatsoever (the Church of *Rome* and Pope for the Time being only excepted). 2. That neither they nor their Heirs or Successors should be in any Council or other Place where either of them his Heirs or Successors should sustain any Damage in their Lands, Goods, Honour or Person. 3. That if either of them their Heirs or Successors should know of any Damage or Loss that was like to befall or happen to each other, they should give each other as speedy Information of it as they could conveniently. 4. That either of them their Heirs and Successors would use all lawful Means possible to advance the Honour and Interest of each other. 5. That neither of them would permit their Subjects to levy War against each other, and that it shall be lawful for the Subjects of both Nations to Traffick and Merchandize with each other without any Impediments. 6. That neither of 'em would wittingly receive and harbour, much less defend any Rebels or Traytors to them, but either resign them up to the injur'd Prince or drive 'em out of their Realm. 7. That neither of them should begin a War with any other Person but such as they now were at War with, without the Consent and Advice of each other, unless it were in case of necessary Defence of themselves or their Subjects and Dominions. Lastly, That it should be lawful for both of them to prosecute the War against *France* to recover their Rights so as should to them seem Expedient, and that they would afford each other Assistance in so doing. These Conditions and Agreements were sealed (k) *October* the 19th, 1416 and the Emperour having stay'd almost seven Months in *England* at the King's Charge, and being made a Knight of the Garter departed Home, and King *Henry* accompany'd him to *Calis* partly in Honour to him, and partly to look into the State of his Affairs on that side, where having taken his leave of the Emperour, and renew'd a League with the Duke of *Burgundy* for his Provinces of *Flanders* and *Artois* to continue to the *Michaelmas* Twelve-month following: He returned again into *England* to meet his Parliament, which had been adjourn'd till this Time for the Emperour's coming.

While the Emperour yet remain'd in *England* King *Henry* sent his Navy under the Command of his Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford* to raise the Siege of *Harfleur*, which was secured and carried on by Sea by the *French* Fleet under the Command of the Viscount of *Narbon*, who was assisted by six large *Genoa* Gallies and several Carricks. The Duke zealous for the Honour of the King and Nation immediately pass'd over to *Harfleur*, and engaging with the *French* Navy, after a sharp Fight obtain'd a signal Victory, taking three *Genoa* Carricks, and in them the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Prisoner, the rest being all sunk or driven shatter'd into *Brittain*. The Earl of *Arminack*, Constable of *France*, who maintained the Siege by Land seeing the *English* Masters

(k) They were sealed *August* the 15th, and confirmed in Parliament, *October* the 19th. The Emperour return'd to *Callis*, and was not accompanied, but follow'd by King *Henry*, who Embark'd at *Sandwich*, *September* the 4th, and arrived at *Callis* the same Day, the Emperour waiting on the Shore for his Landing.



A. D. 1416. at Sea, by which means the Besieged would have such Relief both of Men and Provision as would render it almost impossible to take it, immediately raised the Siege and marched to *Paris*. The News of this speedy Deliverance of *Harfleur* being brought into *England* was astonishing to the Emperour, who heard of the Success of the *English* Fleet before he could have imagin'd them there, and with Admiration said to the King; 'Happy is the Nation who hath so good a King, but much more happier the King who hath such Valiant and Obedient Subjects.'

Fourth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

King *Henry* being return'd from *Callis* met his Parliament at *Westminster*, and having shew'd his Lords and Commons by his Chancellor, *Henry Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, that tho' for the ease and quiet of his Subjects he had waved the pursuit of his Conquests which God had so Successfully begun, and condescended to disadvantageous Terms of Peace, yet the *French* had rejected all; and therefore since he could not give over the War with Honour, he hoped that they would give him such Supplies of Money as were Necessary for so great an Undertaking, which he did not doubt but would bring in greater Advantages to the Nation in a short time. The Parliament readily assented to his reasonable Desires, and having obtain'd his Assent to some Acts of Importance; 1. For punishing Masters who give greater Wages to Servants than is allow'd by Statute. 2. For confining Merchant-Strangers to certain Places of Residence in the Port-Towns. And 3. About granting Letters of Marque or Reprisal to Persons that have been wrong'd by any Foreigners who are at Peace with the King; they gave him a liberal Supply of Money, a Fifteenth of the Laity, and two Tenths of the Clergy. After this Gift of Money the King appointed his Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, to be Regent of the Nation in his Absence, and made *Thomas Beaufort*, Earl of *Dorset*, in Consideration of his many faithful Services, Duke of *Exeter*, allowing him a Thousand Pound a Year out of his Treasury, and giving him Forty Pound a Year out of his Free-farm Rents in and about the City of *Exeter*, and the Parliament confirm'd both to him, and was soon after dissolved and sent into their Countries. In the Time of this Session of Parliament a Beggar was hang'd for a barbarous Cruelty which he had used in dismembring Children.

A. D. 1417. The King kept his Christmas at *Killingworth-Castle* in *Warwickshire*, where while he remain'd multitudes of Lampoons were scatter'd up and down the Nation against the Church-men, but especially in Noble-Men's Houses and in great Towns, as *St. Albans*, *Northampton* and *Reading*. The King was very much displeased at it, being sensible that the next way to bring Religion itself into Contempt and Disuse was to render the Ministers Contemptible, both which Things were equally abominable to him: Wherefore he used all Means to apprehend the Authors and Dispersers of them, and was so Zealous to vindicate their Reputation, that he was call'd, *The Prince of Priests*: But the Clergy were so generally hated, that they found none so much their Friends as to discover their malicious Enemies, that they might receive their condign Punishment, neither for Love to the King nor hopes of Reward.

K. Henry II. Expedition into France.

After Christmas the King set himself with all Diligence to make Preparations for his Second

Expedition into *France*, lifting great Numbers of Soldiers, who being invited by the Success of the last Year offered themselves willingly to his Service, and hiring several Ships to Transport his Troops over into *France*. In the Spring he had gotten an Army of 25527 brave and lusty Men, and fifteen hundred Ships, but found his Charge so far to exceed the Supplies given him the last Parliament, that he was forced to borrow great Sums of Money to go on with his Design; for the Bishop of *Winchester* lent him Twenty Thousand Pound, for which he pawn'd his Crown to him, and the City of *London* lent him Ten Thousand Marks more, for which the King left them his Jewels as a Pledge. With this Money he put all Things in readiness for his Passage into *France* as soon as the Weather and Seas should favour him. These great Preparations in *England* being known in *France*, the *French* King endeavour'd to hinder his Passage by hiring many Ships and Carricks of *Genoa*, which being join'd to his own Navy, might not only infest the *English* Coasts, but keep the King of *England* and his Army from Landing in his Dominions; but the King of *England* was neither so hasty nor careless as to neglect this Danger, and though he was oblig'd to stay a little the longer, yet he took care to remove this Obstacle by sending his Fleet under the Command of *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington* (1) to scour the Narrow Seas of all *French* Vessels, who accordingly did his Business so effectually, by taking some and sinking others, that the King waiting ready at *Southampton* for the first Opportunity of sailing over safely, took Shipping, and sailing from *Portsmouth* July the 28th, landed in *Normandy* August the 1st, at *Beville*, and immediately upon the Shore made Forty Eight Knights, of the most valiant and best of his Captains, that he might encourage them by these Marks of Favour to greater Boldness in the future Attempts. The News of the Arrival of the *English* was no sooner spread in *Normandy*, but all the People were affrighted, and fled either into the Wall'd Towns and Castles, or got them into *Bretagne*, leaving the Country open to the Will and Power of the Invaders, who having so much room left, soon made themselves Masters of the Towns and Cities.

A. D. 1417. Reg. 4.

Reg. 5.

Earl of Huntington clears the Seas for his Passage.

Several Castles and Towns taken by the English.

And the first Thing that the King undertook, after he had been at *Harfleur* and taken Notice of the Condition of it, was the Siege of *Tonque-Castle*, a Place not so Important in itself; (m) but because the King would not leave it behind him to annoy or infest his Army when it should be busied about any thing greater. The Duke of *Gloucester* managed the Siege with one part of the Army, and took it August the 9th, by Resignation. He made Sir *Robert Kirkby* Captain of it. The Earl of *Salisbury* while this was a doing besieged the Town and Castle of *Ambervil-lers*, and with like Success became Master of it. The King gave him the Lordship of the Town and Territories adjoining, and to his Heirs; which Gift, tho' the first of that Nature, much raised the Hopes of the Nobles, and made them dare great Things in confidence, that from such a Beneficent King the bravest Attempts should have the greatest Rewards. The Army being a little flushed with these Victories the King resolved upon a greater Enterprize, which was the Siege of *Caen*, one of the strongest and best Towns in *Normandy*, and in his March destroyed and plundered all the Villages in the Country leading up to it. The Town was well provided

(1) Son to the Duke of *Exeter*, who was beheaded at *Cirester* for the Duke of *Aumari*'s Plot.  
(m) 'Twas a very strong Castle in those Days. *Godw.* pag. 155.



*A. D.* 1417. *Reg. 5.* with Men, Ammunition and Provision, because they expected nothing less except they would tamely submit. In the Suburbs of *Caen* were several Goodly Churches and Monastries, which the King was very unwilling should be destroyed, not only for Piety sake, but because they might be a Refuge for his Army, and therefore he sent his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* to prevent the Destruction of them from the Inhabitants, who according to the usual Methods of those Times would set them on Fire upon the Approach of the Enemy, that they might not be an Harbour to them. The Duke of *Clarence* made all possible haste with a 1000 Men to save them, but before he could get thither the Citizens had set them on Fire, yet by his Diligence he saved the Abby-Church of *St. Stephens* and one Nunnery. The King with the whole Army came before the Town, *August* the 17th, and began the Siege of it, casting up high Banks and making deep Trenches to keep the Besieged from falling out upon them; several Assaults he made against it, but to his own Loss, wherefore he resolved to trust to his Mines, and therefore set all his Pioneers to Work, by whom he so undermined the Walls, that they stood upon a few Posts only, ready to fall when there was Occasion. The Besieged he kept always awake with continual Alarms, that being weakened with much Watching they might be unable to make any considerable Resistance. When all Things were ready for a general Assault, he sent an Herald to them to offer them Mercy if they would resign their Town; but they having Promises of Relief rejected all Proposals of Peace, and so the King storm'd the Place and took it by Force, *September* the 8th, slaying all Persons that were in Arms against him. All the Arms that were in the Town he commanded to be brought into the Market-place, and all the Chief Magistrates he summoned to the Senate-House, and, such as had been most Stubborn and Inflexible in resisting him, he caused to be put to Death, and the rest he fined. The Fury of the Soldiers in plundering, insulting and cruelly killing their Enemies, upon such Success, he so far restrained by his Care and Prudence, that he was not thought a more Fortunate than Wise Commander; yet he took such Care to reward every one's Labour and Valour in the Siege by giving them a Share in the Plunder, that they were better contented with the King's Liberality than if they had been left to Carve for themselves. The Castle still held out after the Town was taken; but because they perceived that no Relief came according as they were promised, and it was impossible for them to hold out long without it against so great an Army, they yielded, *September* the 20th, upon a Capitulation, that the Captain and Soldiers might safely depart whether they pleased. King *Henry* Peopled the Town with *English*. The Example of this City was so terrifying, that Fourteen other smaller Towns and Castles immediately resigned to *K. Henry*, and upon their taking an Oath of Fidelity to him he continued the Captains in their Offices, and suffer'd the Inhabitants to enjoy their Lands and Estates in as large or more ample manner as they had enjoyed them at any time before. *Caen* being then orderly settled under *English* Officers, viz. *Sir Gilbert Umphreville*, who was made Captain of the Town, *Sir John Popham*, Bailiff, and *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, Captain of the Castle, the King pursued his Victories, taking *Coursy-Castle*, *Argenton*, *Alanzon*, and *Sees* with little or no Opposition, and appointing *English* Captains over 'em, and then he returned to *Caen*, where he put in

*Caen*, a Chief Town in *Normandy* besieged and taken by Storm.

The Castle of *Caen* surrendered.

Execution his Proclamation which he had before put out, commanding all the Inhabitants of *Normandy* who were fled from their Habitations, to return again by a certain Day perfix'd, or else he would give their Lands to his Soldiers; whereupon he conferred on the Duke of *Clarence* the Viscounties of *Ange*, *Orb*, and *Fontenz*, with all the other Lands of such as did not return according to his Command. While the King was thus busied himself with part of his Army, the other parts whom he had sent out under his several Commanders with equal Success enlarged his Conquests: For the Earl of *Warwick*, and Lord *Talbot* took the Strong Castle of *Dampfront*, The Duke of *Clarence* took *Courton*, *Barry*, *Bechelovin*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Crevener*, *Anvilliers* and *Fresny*. The Duke of *Gloucester*, with the Earl of *March*, and Lord *Grey* of *Codnor* took the whole Island of *Constantine*, except *Cherburg*, and placed *English* Captains in them.

While the *English* thus carried on their Victories, the Kingdom of *France* was unable to put any stop to the impetuous Current. The King himself was not fit to attempt any thing of that Nature through his Indisposition of Mind, being afflicted with long and frequent Fits of a Frenzy, which made him not able to govern, much less to act in such Difficulties and Dangers. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who at that time was by the Queen's means constituted the Regent of the Kingdom in hatred to her Son *Charles* the Dauphin, was engaged so much upon her Account to execute a Female Revenge upon the Dauphin, that he could not attend to the more necessary War against *Henry*, who sought the Conquest of them both; though it may be thought, that if the Duke of *Burgundy* had been at Liberty, he would have made but a very feeble Resistance against the King of *England*, with whom he was in League for the Preservation of his own Countries in *Flanders* and *Artois*. The Dauphin, *Charles* was the only Person really solicitous for the Good of his Country, and was willing to have run the utmost Hazards to have rescued it from the Power of the Invader; but he had neither Friends nor Money to go on with his Design, till the Count *De Arminack* had advised him to seize upon his Mother's Jewels, Plate and Money, by which indeed he was enabled to raise some Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom, but thro' his Mother's Malice he was compell'd to make use of them another way, viz. to chastise her Fury and *Burgundy's* Folly, who to gain her Favour was forced to be the Instrument of her Revenge. While these Civil Broils were carried on by the *French*, King *Henry* was very diligent to improve this Advantage, and with wonderful Celerity run over *Normandy*, and laid such a Foundation for the Conquest of *France*, that the most hearty Union and strongest Forces could hardly have prevented it.

But though the *French* themselves thro' their Civil Discords did nothing against the *English*, yet they instigated their Old Friends the *Scots* to invade *England*, and that so powerfully as to draw the King himself, if it were possible, out of *France*; for they entred with a strong Army, and besieged the Castles of *Barwick* and *Roxborough*. And that they might have either the Assistance of the *English* themselves, or meet with a more faint Opposition, they brought along with them a Person whom they pretended to be *King Richard*, but to little Purpose; for though the Earl of *Westmerland*, who was the Lord Warden of the *Marches*, was not then at Hand to defend the Borders, yet the Gentry of the *Northern* Parts were Active to raise the Forces of the Countries,

*A. D.* 1417. *Reg. 5.*

The State of *France* in this War.

*Scots* invade *England* with a strong Army.



A. D. 1417. Reg. 5. Countries, and the Duke of Exeter who had lately levy'd fresh Recruits for the King's Army in France, was then in those Parts at Bridlington on a Pilgrimage, and caus'd his Forces to be march'd thither; so that they made an Army of an 100000 Men, who were mustered on *Baw-moor* in order to go against the Scots. The Arch-Bishop himself, though unfit to ride, yet to encourage the Soldiers march'd with them, being carried in a Chariot: But the Scots hearing of the Greatness of the English Army, which in the King's Absence they thought impossible to be raised, departed in a Fright, and dar'd not stay their Approach, leaving the Sieges unperfect which they had begun.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes. About the Feast of St. Andrew, John, Duke of Bedford, then Regent of the Nation in the King's Absence, did by his Order call a Parliament at Westminster to represent to them the Charge of the War, and obtain further Supplies for carrying it on, which he obtain'd with no Difficulty, viz. a Fifteenth of the Laity and Tenth of the Clergy. Few or no Acts pass'd this Session: But the Tryal and Condemnation of the Lord Cobham made it as Remarkable as others, which was after this manner. The Lord Cobham having for four Years space shifted from Place to Place to secure himself from his Enemies, but being for the most part in Wales, was at length discovered to the Lord Powis to be in a part of his Barony, call'd *Powisland*. This Peer, a zealous Patriot of the Church, knowing how acceptable a piece of Service it would be to the King, as well as a Reward to himself, sent a certain Number of Men to seize and apprehend him, but it proved so desperate an Attempt, that they ran great Danger of their Lives; for the said Lord who had been always bred up in War, and a Person of undaunted Courage stood upon his own Defence, and dangerously Wounded several of the Aggressors, but being over-powered and disabled by several Wounds he had receiv'd in the Contest, he was at length taken, and being carried up to London by the Lord Powis, was imprison'd in the Tower for his Tryal: With him were taken several Books which seem'd to reflect some Disgrace on the Way of Worship then in Use, viz. Mass-Books with the Faces of the Saints and Heads scraped out, and their Names blotted out of the Litany, which were delivered to the Arch-Bishop, and by his Means exposed to the Sight of the Auditors at the Sermons of St. Paul's Cross by the Preachers, who aggravated the Guilt of the Fact, and accused him and his Party of doing Injury to the Saints in Heaven. The People being thus wrought upon to think his Death deserved, he was at length brought before the Parliament to be examin'd and try'd; and the former Sentence against him being read, which he did not much Oppose, he was condemn'd to be hang'd and burnt, hanging in St. Giles's Fields, which Sentence he accordingly suffered upon Christmas Day. The Lord Powis who had been the chief Instrument in his Apprehension, had the particular Thanks of the Houses given him for his Pains, and the Parliament took effectual Care to put all former Statutes against the Lollards in Execution. The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in his Convocation then sitting made an Ecclesiastical Constitution, That all Suffragan-Bishops and their Arch-Deacons should twice a Year make a diligent Inquisition after all Persons suspected of Heresy; and for the most certain discovery of all such Persons,

The Lord Cobham's Condemnation and Death.

A. D. 1418. who had been the chief Instrument in his Apprehension, had the particular Thanks of the Houses given him for his Pains, and the Parliament took effectual Care to put all former Statutes against the Lollards in Execution. The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in his Convocation then sitting made an Ecclesiastical Constitution, That all Suffragan-Bishops and their Arch-Deacons should twice a Year make a diligent Inquisition after all Persons suspected of Heresy; and for the most certain discovery of all such Persons,

their Favourers and Books, he ordered, that they should Swear two or three Persons in every Parish to give a distinct Information, if any such Persons inhabited in their Parishes; thus hoping to crush the whole Sect, now the Head and Leader of them was taken off. But yet notwithstanding this Zeal shewed for the Doctrine of the Church, it is Remarkable, that the same Parliament stood up very manfully against the Encroachments of the Pope: For whereas Pope Martin V. had sent over into England to require a Tenth of the Clergy to carry on the War against the Bohemian Hereticks, they made an Act, That the Church and all Estates of the Realm of England should enjoy their Ancient Liberties, which were not Repealed nor Repealable by the Common-Law, by which they chiefly intended to exclude the Pope's Jurisdiction.

In the time of the Regency of the Duke of Bedford, Queen Joan was accused of a Contrivance with her Confessor Fryer Randolph, to put the King to Death by Sorcery, and was thereupon apprehended with her Confessor, and she was first Imprison'd in the Castle of Leeds, and after in the Castle of Pemsley, and he in the Tower of London, where while he lay he happen'd to fall into an hot Dispute with the Chaplain of St. Peter's Church in the said Tower, and coming to Blows was slain by him. The Queen was not long after brought to her Tryal, was found innocent of the Crime laid to her Charge, and was thereupon released from her Confinement. (n)

While these Things were transacting in England, the King was busied about the Siege of the Town and Castle of Falaise, which he had begun in the beginning of November. The Town made a brave Resistance, but being reduced to great Straits for want of Provision, they desired to Capitulate the 20th of December, and agreed, that they would resign the Town to the King upon the 2d of January if they had no Relief from their King or the Dauphin, to which K. Henry assented, and accordingly the Town was delivered up to him upon these Articles.

I. That all the Strangers that were in the Town should be left to the King's Mercy, and the English to his Justice to be punished for their Treason in fighting against their King, as they deserved.

II. That all the English Prisoners in the Town should be set at Liberty without any Ransom, acquitted from the Oaths made to them whose Prisoners they were.

III. That no Goods should be carry'd out of the Town, but the Soldiers should depart without any Damage to their Horses or Arms.

IV. That none of the Inhabitants of the Town should receive the Persons or Goods of any within the Castle, nor give any Relief in Victuals or Ammunition to them.

All which Articles were observed, and the King took Possession of the Town: But the Castle still held out; and tho' the King used all the Arts of War to reduce it, yet it kept him out a Month longer and then beat a Parley, Feb. 2. and came to Conditions of Resignation on Feb. 16. following, if they had no Relief come to them before that time from their King, Dauphin, or Earl of Arminack, which not receiving the Castle was put into the King's Hands by Sir Oliver Manny, Governour of the Castle, and all the Persons in it resigned themselves to the King's

A. D. 1418. Reg. 5.

Queen Joan accused of Treason.

Falaise besieged, and surrendered to King Henry upon certain Articles.

(n) She was Convicted, and forfeited all her Lands and Goods by Parliament. She was also continu'd in Imprisonment the Term of Ten Years; After that Randolph was kill'd.



A. D. 1418. Reg. 5. Mercy, who had promised them not to dam-  
 nify them in Life or Goods, and accordingly they  
 were all dismissed and sent away free, only Sir  
*Oliver Manny* was detain'd till the Castle was  
 repair'd at his Charge. *Falaise* being thus con-  
 quered the King divided his Army into three  
 Parts, and sent them out under the Conduct of  
 the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Clarence*, and the Earl  
 of *Warwick*, to take the lesser Towns in his Way  
 to a greater Attempt which he design'd shortly  
 to Enterprize, which was the Siege of *Roan*, the  
 Chief City of *Normandy*, with which all the  
 Country must be his.

Reg. 6. On *Easter Day* in the Afternoon in *St. Dun-*  
*stan's Church* in the *East* in Sermon time hap-  
 pen'd such a terrible Example of Female Pride  
 as no History can match. The Ladies of the  
 Lord *Strange* and Sir *John Trussel*, two Women  
 of high Spirits and implacable Hatred one to  
 another, met at the Sermon, and being in the  
 same Pew vied so eagerly for Superiority (tho'  
 in that Place Humility had been the greatest  
 Sign of Gentility) that thro' their rude Beha-  
 viour one to another they caused their Husbands  
 to engage in their Quarrel, and draw their  
 Swords to revenge the Disgrace done to each  
 others Wife. The Congregation was much al-  
 arm'd at this impious Fray, and several Persons  
 who were much troubled at the unseasonable  
 Disturbance of the Publick Devotion of that  
 Day, in which most of the People had receiv'd  
 the Sacrament, bestirred themselves much to ap-  
 pease their Fury and part them, but all in vain.  
 These incensed Gentlemen would not hearken  
 to any Advice, but looked upon them who  
 sought to pacify them as their Enemies, and  
 wounded several of them, and killed one *Thomas*  
*Petwarden* a Fishmonger, dwelling at *Sprat's Key*.  
 But at length they were both seized for this Fact  
 and imprison'd in the Counter in the *Poultry*. The  
 Arch-Bishop having an Account of this Notori-  
 ous Misdemeanour, excommunicated the Offen-  
 ders both in *St. Paul's Church*, and in all the o-  
 ther Parish-Churches of *London*, and suspended  
 the Church wherein it was done from all Holy  
 Services as defiled with Blood, and that a due  
 Penance might be inflicted upon the Authors of  
 it, sat in *St. Magnus Church*, April the 21st, up-  
 on an Inquisition to examine who were the Per-  
 sons chiefly concern'd in it. The Lord *Strange*  
 and his Wife upon full hearing were prov'd the  
 Delinquents, and for this Prophane Act injoy-  
 ned this following Penance, viz. That on *May*  
 the 1st, all their Servants should go before the  
 Parson of *St. Dunstan's* in their Shirts from *St.*  
*Paul's* to his Church, the Lord and Lady follow-  
 ing him, the former bare-headed, and the lat-  
 ter bare-footed, *Renald Kenwood* the Arch-Dea-  
 con of *London* following them: That at the Con-  
 secration of the Church (which they had Pro-  
 phaned and polluted) the Lady should fill all  
 the Vessels with Water, and offer an Ornament  
 of Ten Pound Value to the Altar, and her Hus-  
 band a Pix of Five Pound Value, which being  
 done accordingly by way of a Satisfactory Pe-  
 nance they were absolved. The Murder of *Tho-*  
*mas Petwarden* in this Examination seems not to  
 have been regarded, because there was no Prose-  
 cutor; for the Lord *Strange* had made his Widow  
 a large Satisfaction, and so escaped the Punish-  
 ment of his Crime.

About this Time the general Council of *Con-*  
*stance* broke up having sat three Years: In it the  
 three Antipopes were all deposed, and *Otho Ce-*

*lonna* was chosen Pope by the Name of *Martin V.*  
*Richard Clifford*, Bishop of *London* (o) was first  
 nominated for Pope by the Committee appoin-  
 ted by the Council for the Election; for as all  
 the English Clergy were reputed among the most  
 Eminent for Learning, so none was thought fit-  
 ter for Pope than one of them. But the Bishop  
 named, through Modesty and other Considerati-  
 ons, put off the Dignity to the Person who was  
 first named by him and after chosen. The Prior  
 of *St. John* supported the Triple Crown at his  
 Instalment and Coronation. By this Council  
*Wickliff's Books* were condemn'd for Heretical;  
*John Huss*, and *Jerom of Prague* (tho' they had  
 the Emperour *Sigismund's Letters* of safe Con-  
 duct) were accused, condemn'd and burnt for  
 Heresie, notwithstanding the many Petitions  
 sent by the *Bohemians* to the Council to beg their  
 Lives, and they were much lamented by them.  
*St. Bridgit* was Canoniz'd, and *England* account-  
 ed one of the Five chief Nations of *Europe* and  
 reckon'd before *Spain*.

*Normandy* being almost all come into the Pow-  
 er of the English, the Lawful Proprietors of it,  
 the King resolv'd upon the Compleat Conquest  
 of that whole Country, and thereupon sent the  
 Duke of *Gloucester* to besiege *Cherburg* a conside-  
 rable Port and a strong Town in the Isle of *Con-*  
*stantine*, while his Recruits which he had sent  
 for into *England* of 15000 Men could arrive, with  
 which he intended to Besiege *Roan*. *Cherburg* be-  
 ing very well provided for a Siege which they  
 expected made a strong and valiant Resistance;  
 and tho' the English by their Batteries, frequent  
 Assaults, Mines and other Warlike Devices an-  
 noy'd the Besieged, and sought an Entrance in-  
 to it, yet they made such a good Defence, that  
 they kept them out, till at length they were for-  
 ced by Famine more than the Sword to Condi-  
 tion to deliver up the Town to the King of *Eng-*  
*land* if no Relief was sent to them within Sixty  
 Days, which they did not doubt of, because the  
*Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy*, who had hither-  
 to spent that Time and Force one against ano-  
 ther, which should have been employ'd against  
 the Invading Enemy, were made Friends by the  
 Intercession of the Pope and Cardinals, and were  
 at Liberty to mind the Nation's Interest better:  
 But their Hopes and well-grounded Expectati-  
 ons proved in vain, and they were obliged to  
 surrender their Town and Castle the last Day  
 of *November* to the Duke, who made the Lord  
*Gray of Codnor* the King's Lieutenant there, but  
 dying soon after, Sir *Walter Hungerford* succeed-  
 ed him. While these Things were doing at  
*Cherburg* the King receiv'd his Recruits out of  
*England*, and soon after set forward to Besiege  
*Roan*, taking some smaller Fortresses in his Way,  
 viz. *Louviers*, and *Pont de Larche*, which stand-  
 ing on each side the *Seine* was with some Diffi-  
 culty encompassed: But the King by an ingeni-  
 ous Device of Wicker-boats laid over the River  
 begirt it so closely that they were forced to  
 surrender it within Fifteen Days. (p) From  
 hence the King with all his Forces march'd to  
*Roan*, and sat down before it, July the 30th. The  
 Citizens, who had long expected this woful Day,  
 had made as strong a Provision as was possible,  
 for they had train'd 15000 of their Body in  
 Arms, and had got a 1000 choice Soldiers from  
 the Duke of *Burgundy*; they had laid into the  
 Town Ten Months Provision, and burnt the  
 Suburbs that they might not be an Harbour or  
 Relief to their Enemies. The King of *England*

A. D.  
 1418.  
 Reg. 6.

*Cherburg*  
 besieged  
 and ta-  
 ken.

*Roan* be-  
 sieg'd, and  
 after a  
 long Siege  
 surren-  
 dered.

(o) The Bishop of *Winchester*, *Henry Beaufort* was nominated before him. *Godw. p. 147.*  
 (p) The Siege lasted Three Weeks. *Monstrelet.*

being



A. D. 1418. being come before the Town summon'd the Inhabitants to surrender the Keys to him by Wind-  
Reg. 6. for the Herald; but they gave him this resolute Answer, *That they had received none of him, and therefore would deliver up none to him,* and thereupon made a brisk Sally out of the Town upon the King's Forces, but were driven back again with the Loss of thirty of their Men. The King after this made many Assaults upon the Town, but to little or no Purpose; for the Citizens were very Numerous, being above 200000 Men, and behav'd themselves with so much Boldness and Valour (for they had sworn never to resign the City to the *English* so long as they could hold their Swords in their Hands) that the Besiegers could get no Advantage of them; wherefore it was thought the most prudent Course to block up all Avenues into the City and starve them, which their great Number made them liable to the sooner, and to that end the *English* Navy which was made up of 100 Sail of Ships, was brought up the *Seine* to hinder all Relief by Water, and certain Ships sent by the King of *Portugal* to assist the King were laid at the *Seien's* Mouth to prevent all access up the River to them. The Lord (q) *Kilmahin* also came out of *Ireland* with 1600 *Irish* Men well Arm'd and Disciplin'd to help the King in this Siege, and they were very Serviceable to the *English* in the Blockade; for by the Help of these Men he kept the City so closely Besieg'd, that there were no Avenues possible to it. While the King lay idle and without Action about the Town, he sent the Earl of *Warwick* to summons *Candebeec*, and Fourteen other Fortresses which lay at a small Distance round about, to surrender to him, but they answer'd him, *That they would follow the Fate of Roan, and would resign quietly if that City were taken without Relief*, which the King was contented to yield to, because he could not well spare sufficient Forces to subdue them from *Roan*, and so much the rather, because the Duke of *Burgundy* had promised the Inhabitants to raise the Siege. This made the King not only to keep his Army together, but to cast up a Trench round about it, and fill it with Spikes that the *French* might not Surprize them or remove the Siege. The Duke of *Burgundy* either not able to attempt so great a Matter, or else despairing of Success did not undertake it, but only sent his Soldiers to annoy the *English* Conquests at *Kilbeuf*, *Eureux* and *Laviers*, where they were with no great Difficulty repulsed by the *English* Garrisons. About *December*, which was full four Months after the Siege was begun, the City of *Roan* began to be much pressed for Victuals, and put out of their Gates many useless People who consumed their Provisions, but did no good in the Defence of the Place, and they miserably perished under the Walls, because the King of *England* would not suffer them to pass through the Army, yet in honour to Christ he gave them Relief upon the Day of his Nativity. The Inhabitants of the Town, notwithstanding this Ease of their useless Brethren, yet underwent by *Christmas* so great a want of Corn and other Food, that they were forced to eat Dogs, Cats, Horses, Rats and Mice, and drink Vinegar; yet they held out so long, that there died above 50000 of Famine, and had not at last yielded had there been any possibility of Relief; but being sorely Oppressed with Famine they came to a Parley upon *New-Years-Day*, and after several Meetings for Eight Days together, nothing being concluded, the People of the Town were

so enrag'd with the Governour and Burgeses, because they did not yield to the King of *England's* Demands, that they threatned to slay 'em and deliver up the City to his Mercy unless they did it speedily: Whereupon they desiring another Meeting, it was fully agreed and accorded,

I. That the City and Castle of *Roan* should be deliver'd up to the King of *England*, at any time after *Jan. 19.* if no Relief came to them before, upon his Demand.

II. That all the Captains and People whatsoever, being and dwelling within the said Town and Castle, should be left entirely to the Mercy of the said King.

III. That they should pay to the said King 300000 Scutes of Gold, of which every two Scutes should be worth an *English* Noble.

IV. That every Soldier and Stranger being in the said Town or Castle, should swear upon the Evangelists before their Departure, not to bear Arms against the King of *England* in any Place whatsoever before the First of *January* next ensuing.

V. That the Inhabitants of the Town should receive the Poor People lying in the Ditches about it to their Habitations, and allow 'em sufficient Provision till *Jan. 19.*

These Articles with others of less Importance were sealed, *Jan. 16.* and on the 20th the King entred the City in a most Triumphant manner. The Clergy of the City with Forty Crosses, and Burgers meeting him to welcome him, by whom he was conducted to the Cathedral Church of our Lady to give solemn Thanks for the Conquest of it. Then the King went to the Castle to receive the Homages of the Burgeses, and having made Proclamation, that all Persons that would swear Allegiance to him should enjoy their Lands and Estates, many submitted to him, and he confirm'd all their Liberties and Properties and Priviledges to them. The Captain of the Town *Alain Blanchart* was beheaded, the Garrison was pillag'd and put out of the Town. *Guy de Boutellier*, Captain-General of the City-Forces submitted to King *Henry*, and had his Estate restor'd, and a Place given him under the Duke of *Gloucester*. Thus was *Roan* again in the Power of the *English*, after the *French* had been Masters of it 215 Years, and King *Henry* having re-edified the Castle and Walls, and built another strong Tower to keep the Towns-men in their Obedience, made it the Chief Chamber in *Normandy*, and order'd his Treasury, Mint and Exchequer to be settled there at the Suit of the Bishops and Abbots.

After the Surrender of *Roan* the several Castles which had agreed to resign upon that Surrender, yielded themselves up to King *Henry*, and he sent out his Captains to take in others, as *Castle-Galliard*, *Vernon*, *Nantes*, *Baudmout*, and many others, the King himself remaining still at *Roan*. The Duke of *Burgundy* (who rul'd all under the King of *France* and was upon that account hated by the *Dauphin*, tho' the outward Signs of Enmity were laid aside) seeing the Current of King *Henry's* Fortune to be irresistible, desir'd a Conference with him to establish a Peace between the Two Realms, and accordingly a Meeting for them was appointed at *Melan* and agreed on; but it prov'd nothing but a complimentary Enterview, for they came to no Conclusion, because the Demands of the King of *England* were thought too unreasonable to be comply'd with, whereupon they parted with some Heat: King *Henry* telling the Duke, *That*

A. D. 1419. Reg. 6. *Roan* surrendered upon Articles.

Other Places taken, and some Overtures of Peace made by the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Dauphin*.

(q) The Prio of *Kilmahin*.



A. D. 1419. he would have his Demands or he would drive them all out of France: And the Duke replying, That

Reg. 6. he should be weary of it first, and thereupon entertain'd Resolutions to come to a Reconciliation

with the *Dauphin*, that by their united Forces they might put some stop to his Victories. This Meeting inflam'd K. Henry's Courage, and with fresh Vigour he prosecuted the War, for he immediately surpriz'd *Ponthoife* and got the Town without Resistance; for the Captain *Lisle Adam* fled with all the Inhabitants, the *English* having scal'd the Walls and let in 3000 upon them before they could be provided to oppose them. The News of this Conquest being carried to *Paris* so terrify'd the King, Queen, and Duke of *Burgundy* that they fled from *Paris* to *Troyes* in *Champagne*, leaving that City under the Command of the Count de *St. Paul*, and the Chancellor *Eustace de Laitre*. About *Candlemas* the King left *Roan* and went to *Eureux*, where the *Dauphin* profered him a Meeting at *Dreux* to make a Peace, but disappointed the King, so that in great Displeasure he return'd to *Eureux*, and sent

Reg. 7. out the Earl of *Warwick* to besiege *La Roch-guion*, which being taken Apr. 6. the King gave the Command of it to Sir *Guy Butler*, the Duke of *Exeter* to *Castle-Galliard*, and the Duke of *Gloucester* to *Tvery*, which he obtain'd with the Castle, May 13. The Duke of *Clarence* won *Gisors*, and the Earl of *Huntington* burnt *Friaux*, *Bretenil*, *Clermont* and the Castle of *Vendueil*, by all which Conquests the *English* over-ran all the Country about *Chartres*, and brought the *French* into great Distress, which was to all considering Men among 'em the more Insupportable, because there appear'd no Hopes of Recovery.

K. Henry aims to get *Paris*.

King Henry having now made great Progress into the Country began to cast his Eye upon *Paris*, which being the Metropolis of the Nation would be a certain Means to gain the whole, if he could become Master of it, and to that end sent out his Army under the Duke of *Clarence* to subdue the little Towns that lay in his Passage, as *St. Germans-en-Lay*, *Meulan*, *Montjoy*, and many others, by which having clear'd his Way he sent the Duke of *Clarence* to take a View of that City, and tho' he spent Two Days in surveying the Walls of it, yet none appear'd against him they were all so terrified at the Approach of the *English*. But the more Prudent and Grave Persons seeing their Danger, and considering that the Fate of *France* depended upon the Welfare of that City, entred into a Consultation how to secure themselves and save their Nation: And since a Peace had lately been proclaim'd between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy* in their City and *Amiens*, they endeavoured by all means to draw them to unite their Forces that they might rescue the Kingdom from the Power of the Conquerour; for tho' the *English* had under their Valiant King got no small part of their Country, yet it was chiefly thro' the civil Dissentions of the Heads and Governours of their Nation. They were still strong enough to recover all if they could bring their Leadeers to an hearty Union, which they thought it no hard matter to do by uniting their Two Heads together: And to this End by much Labour and Intercession wth those two great Persons they brought them to an Interview at *Monstreusur-fault-yonne*. The *Dauphin* here not forgetting the Wrongs which he had had from the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose present Greatness was built upon his Ruins, and was thought as well by others as himself to tend much to his Disreputation, believ'd this a seasonable Time to vindicate his own Title and Right to the Crown. He

The *French* endeavour to unite the *Dauphin* and *Burgundy* to save *Paris*.

reproach'd him for usurping that Authority which was properly belonging to himself, charging him with breach of Promise in not withdrawing his Garrisons agreed upon to be remov'd by their League of Amity, and continuing the Civil War. The Duke knowing this no seasonable Time for Justification, least it should make a Breach, humbled himself on his Knees to the *Dauphin*, and made a modest Excuse for his Actions, hoping to pacifie him by a mild Answer and so unite for the Nation's Good; but while he remain'd on his Knees his Sword entangling in his Legs, he laid his Hand upon it to remove it, which the *Dauphin's* Followers observing immediately cry'd out, *Do you draw your Sword against the Dauphin?* At which Words *Tanneguy de Chatel*, a Knight in great Favour with the *Dauphin* struck him with his Battle-Ax and cut off his Chin, and others encourag'd by his Example fell upon him with their Swords and kill'd him. This Fact made the Breach wider than before, and the *Dauphin* got himself a more zealous and furious Party of Enemies than ever, for the Queen was enraged for the Loss of her Favourite, and the Earl of *Charlois* of his Father, who being encourag'd to revenge his Death by her, was resolv'd by all means to prosecute so bloody and barbarous a Murther, which was the more Odious to all Men, because it was committed under the sacred shew of Friendship, and so it tended much to the Damage of the Publick, which the Duke neglected his Guard to unite for the Defence of.

While the Union between the Duke of *Burgundy* and *Dauphin* was thus driving on, King Henry was very Active to compleat his Conquests, and strengthen himself against their Conjoyn'd Forces, like a Wise Prince providing against the utmost Danger which could be suspected; for after he had taken several other Towns, as *Veulquissin*, *Chaumont*, *Neufle* and *Dangu*, he put strong Garrisons into them, and put them under the Command of such of his Captains as he knew most faithful to himself, most æmulous of the *English* Honour, and most courageous in the most daring Attempts. *Normandy* which was now wholly under his Power unless *Mount St. Michael*, he was as careful to keep in their Obedience by putting their chief Towns into his best Friends Hands, viz. he made the Lord *Bourchier* his Lieutenant at *Deep*, the Earl of *Warwick* at *Aumarl*, Sir *John Gedding* at *Cherburg*, and others of like Fidelity in other Principal Towns. The King himself kept his Christmas at *Roan*, having a stout Army about him ready to oppose any Accidents or sudden Assaults. But when he saw that the desir'd Union between the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Burgundy* was quite broken by the Murther of the latter, he then began to be secure against any present Resistance, and sent out part of his Army under the Earl of *Salisbury* to besiege *Tresny*, which resisted them courageously, but was at length surrendred up to him for the King's Use; the Earls of *Marshal* and *Huntington*, Sir *John Green-Cornwal*, Sir *Philip Leech*, and divers others to subdue the Country of *Maine*, where the *Dauphin* had a Garrison at *Mens*, and a strong Force in the adjoining Territories: With these the *English* were encountred briskly, but after a sharp Battel became Conquerours, with the Slaughter of 5000 *French* Men, and taking 200 Prisoners, among whom was the *Marshal de Rou*, and divers other Persons of Eminency. The greatest part also of the Country came into their Power.

These Successes following upon the former soon brought the Queen and Young Duke of

A. D. 1419. Reg. 7.

The Duke of Burgundy dy'd.

K. Henry provides against the French Union.

A. D. 1420.

Maine subdued by the English.



A. D. 1420. Reg. 7. Queen of France and Duke of Burgundy resolve to make a Peace with K. Henry.

Burgundy to a Resolution in their Design, which was to revenge themselves upon the Dauphin for the Murther of the Old Duke of Burgundy his Father. Fortune had made Henry so much her unchangeable Favourite, that they judg'd it in vain to oppose the Current of his Victories. It seem'd to them to be an immutable Decree of the Fates, that France must be subject to him; and therefore they thought it much better to submit upon the best Terms they could make, than spin out a little Time and come under the Conquerour's Will; for by this means the King might perhaps hold his Crown for Life (which was as much as he need desire, the Dauphin being so undutiful and unworthy to Inherit) and the Blood of Thousands of People be sav'd which otherwise must necessarily perish in the Quarrel. Wherefore it was fully resolv'd and agreed upon by the Queen, Duke, and all their Party, who were then at Troyes in Champaign, that Ambassadors should be sent to the King of England to treat about a Peace for the good of both Sides, and Preservation of the Kingdom, which was accordingly done presently: But King Henry being often before deluded with the French Men's pretended Offers of Peace, would give no heed to their Proposals, as being intended only to stop the Current of his Arms, which he would by no means suffer to be interrupted, and therefore sent them away without an Answer according to their Desires, and went on in his Conquests, which scarce a Day passed but he something enlarg'd, and he never accepted but with a very thankful Heart to God the Giver of them. The Return of the French Ambassadors was very unacceptable at Troyes; but understanding that the former delusive Tender made by the Dauphin and the Old Duke of Burgundy were the Cause of the King's Distrust, and not any Averseness in himself either from his Vain-glory or Success, they dispatch'd the same Ambassadors back again to assure K. Henry of the Queen and Duke of Burgundy's real Intentions, and their Willingness to come to a Peace as Honourable and Advantageous to him, as they desir'd it shuld be Safe to them. King Henry, hearing this, was not willing to be thought Implacable and Cruel; and tho' he came over into France to gain his Inheritance by Conquest, yet 'twould be much better to obtain it peaceably if it were possible, especially since the Continuance of the Quarrel would cause the Effusion of so much Christian Blood on both Sides, began to listen to their Proposals, and sending the Earl of Warwick and Bishop of Rochester to the Duke of Burgundy to be better ascertain'd in Matters, after Two or Three times passing backward and forward, and much Intercession made by the Bishop of Arras, and other Persons of Quality, they at length came to an Agreement on certain Articles upon Condition, That the French King and his Parliament or Assembly of Estates would assent to them, which could not be much doubted of since all Things at Court were managed by the Queen, the Duke of Burgundy and his Friends: However for Form sake K. Henry sent a solemn Embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, sufficiently Authorized to treat and conclude of all Matters then under Debate, who was to conduct 'em to Troyes in Champaign, where the French King then was, to procure his Confirmation of them. The Persons employ'd in this great Affair were the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Fanhope, the Lord Fitz-hugh,

Sir John Robfert, and Sir Philip Hall, who arriv'd at Troyes, March 11. in the Company of the Duke of Burgundy, and after a few Days entering into Consultation with the French Ministers, it was agreed and concluded between them, that King Henry should come to Troyes and marry the Lady Katherine, and after the Celebration of the Marriage a firm Peace, already concluded, and finish'd upon certain Articles, should then be seal'd and fully ratified by both Kings, and all the Nobles of the Realm of France, and other Estates, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and also the Cities and Commonalties, Citizens and Burgesses that were at that Time subject to the French, the King should take their Corporal Oath for the due and true Observation of them.

The Model of the Treaty being thus drawn up in the full Sense and Purport of it, tho' not reduced to Form, the Ambassadors for the King of England return'd again to their Master, leaving only Sir John Robfert behind to attend on the Princess Katherine, and gave him a full Account of what had passed, and how far they had gone in the Peace; with which King Henry, who was then at Roan, was so well contented, that he immediately gave Order for a speedy Preparation for his going to Troyes; and all Things being ready, he began his Journey, May 8. He was accompany'd with his Brothers the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Huntington, Ew, Tankervil and Longevil, with (r) 15000 Men of War. He went from Roan to Ponthoise, and by St. Dennis to Charenton, where he pass'd the Bridge over the Seine, but left a strong Detachment under the Command of Sir William Gascoigne to keep the Passage. Then entering Brie in Champaigne he besieg'd and took the Town of Crispy, which was kept against him by the Dauphin's Party, hanging the Chief Governour, and carrying some others of the Principal Men Prisoners with him. From hence he pass'd by Provins and Nogent to Troyes. He was met by the Duke of Burgundy, and a great Number of the Nobility Two Leagues from the Town, and by them conducted to his Lodgings prepar'd for his Reception. He arriv'd, May 18. and after Two or Three Days rest to refresh himself he, went to visit the French King and Queen and Princess Katherine, and within few Days being affianced to the Princess Katherine in St. Peter's Church, the Agreement before concluded by his Ambassadors was alter'd in many Particulars, and then sign'd and fully ratified, both Kings swearing upon the Holy Evangelists inviolably to observe and keep all the Conditions and Covenants therein Specified and Concluded. After this the Duke of Burgundy and the Nobles present took an Oath to King Henry, who by the Articles sign'd was to have the Regency of France during the King's Life, and after him to enjoy the Sovereign Power of that Kingdom absolutely for himself and Heirs, in this Form.

Ego Philippus Burgundie Dux, &c. which is thus render'd into English: I Philip, Duke of Burgundy do swear upon the Holy Evangelists, for myself and my Heirs, to Henry, King of England, and Regent of France (s) under King Charles, that We will humbly and faithfully obey King Henry in all Things which concern the Crown and Civil Government of France, and after the Death of King Charles our present Sovereign will be faithful and obedient Subjects to the said King Henry and his Successors for ever; nor will we receive or quietly submit to any other King of France but King Henry and

A. D. 1420. Reg. 7.

Reg. 8.

K. Henry goes to Troyes to marry the Lady Katherine.

Peace concluded between K. Henry and the French King.

(r) Others say 1600. Godw. pag. 264.

(s) His Title was Regent and Heir of France. Ibid. 269.

his



*A. D.* his lawful Heirs; Neither will we be aiding, or enter into Council with, or consent to any Persons or Things, whereby the said King Henry or his Successors may have Damage in Life or Member; but if any such Design come to our Knowledge, we will endeavour either by Letters or Messengers to discover the same to them, that they may most effectually provide against it. The same Oath did all the Bishops and Peers of France then present take to King Henry, and then upon the Third (†) of June, being the Munday after Trinity-Sunday, the Marriage between King Henry and the Princess Katherine was solemniz'd and compleated, and King Henry thereupon declar'd and proclaim'd Regent and Heir to the Crown France. After these Things King Henry entertain'd the King, Queen, and all the Peers of France which had sworn Allegiance to him, and attended his Nuptials, at a Magnificent Banquet, and at the Table declar'd, That as it had been the main Subject of his Labours and Endeavours to unite the Kingdoms of France and England under One Government, which now by God's Providence he had effected, so it should be his daily Care to rule them both with that Justice, and in that Order as may make them the Happiest Monarchy upon Earth: And tho' I am an English Man born, yet much French Blood runs in my Veins, which with that fresh Alliance that I have to you by Marriage so inclines my Affections to you, that you may assure your selves of an equal Share of my Favours and Love as my natural Subjects of England; and so long as you defend my Right by your Aid and Assistance, you shall never fail of that Love and Defence which may be expected from your King, who like a Father of your Country will cherish and protect you as his Children. When the Banquet was ended the Kings and Queens tarry'd a few Days at Troyes, and then took their Journey to Paris, where they were receiv'd with outward Demonstrations of Joy and Welcome, and the English were entertain'd with Feastings by the Parisians.

*K. Henry Feasts the French King and Peers, and promises his Care and Favour to them, as to his Subjects of England.*

*The Articles of Peace between K. Henry and the French King at large.*

Peace being thus settled in both the Kingdoms of France and England to the general Satisfaction of the Subjects of both, it was thought necessary by K. Henry that Copies of the Treaty thus made should be fairly Written, and being sent into every City and Market-Town in both Kingdoms be proclaim'd and openly publish'd to all Persons; which Articles, because they shew not only how honourable a Conclusion K. Henry made of the War, and how very careful he was to satisfy his People in important Matters of State, but also the Right and Title which the Kings of England then had and still have to the Crown of France, it is convenient to set them down all particularly in the Form that King Henry sent them into England, and in which they were Publish'd in London, June 23. 1420.

Henry by the Grace of God King of England, Heir and Regent of France, and Lord of Ireland, to all Christian People, and all Our Loving Subjects.

WE being desirous to have it kept in perpetual Remembrance, do hereby Notice, Publish and Declare, That altho' there have been many Treaties of Peace between the Most Excellent Prince Charles, the present King of France, Our Father and Us, without any Good Effect; yet We considering the great Harms and Damages that have redounded, not only to the Subjects of both Realms of France and England, but to the Holy Church by the long Wars

and Divisions between them, have at length made and concluded a Peace with our said Father in Manner and Form following, viz.

*A. D.* 1420.  
*Reg. 8.*

I. That since by the Marriage of our dearly belov'd Queen Katherine, the above-mention'd Charles, King of France, and his Queen Isabel are made Our Father and Mother, We will honour them as Our Father and Mother above all Kings and Princesses of the World.

II. That We will not disturb or disseize, but quietly suffer the said King and Queen Our Father and Mother to enjoy and hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of France, with all the Rents and Profits, Dignities and Prerogatives belonging to the same during their Natural Lives.

III. That the Lady Katherine Our Queen shall have and enjoy such a Dower in England as the Queens of England in Times past were wont to receive, viz. Forty Thousand Scutes yearly, of which every Two shall be in Value an English Noble.

IV. That the Annual Payment of the said Forty Thousand Scutes shall be secur'd to our said Queen Katherine by the Laws and Customs of the Realm, that it may be constantly and duly paid to her after Our Death, if Our said Queen shall over-live Us.

V. That Our said Queen Katherine, if she survive Us, shall immediately after Our Death, have and receive for her Dower out of the Kingdom of France the Sum of Twenty Thousand Franks yearly, of and from the Lands and Lordships that Blanch, Wife to Philip, the Grandfather of King Charles did hold and enjoy.

VI. That during the Life of King Charles, King Henry shall not assume the Title of King of France, and that the French King shall in Writings entitle him, Our Thrice Noble Son Henry, King of England, and Heir of France.

VII. That after the Death of K. Charles Our said Father, the Crown and Realm of France with all the Rights and Appurtenances thereof shall come, descend, and remain to Us and Our Heirs for ever.

VIII. That his Queen Isabel Our Mother, in case she shall survive him, shall keep her Estate and Title, and all such Rights and Revenues, as Blanch the Wife of Philip Our Grandfather enjoy'd and held.

IX. That since Our said Father is unable thro' Sicknefs and various Distempers of Body to attend to the Government of his said Realm of France, the Management and Disposal of all publick Matters and Affairs in the said Realm shall be invested in Us, with the Advice and Council of such of the Peers of France as we shall think meet to consult with, to whom it shall be Lawful for Us to join some of the English Nobility, if thought convenient.

X. That the said King Henry as Regent of France, will labour and endeavour diligently and faithfully to manage the Government of the Realm of France in such manner, as shall make most for the Honour of God, the Establishment of Divine Worship, the Prosperity of Our said Father and Mother, and common good of the People.

XI. That we will by Our Power cause that the Court of Parliament in France, shall retain and keep their accusom'd Sovereignty and Authority, in all Places subject to Our said Father Charles now King of France.

XII. That we according to Our Power will Protect and Defend, all and every of the Peers,

Nobles,

(†) The 30th of May. Ibid. 270.



A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. Nobles, Cities, Towns, Bodies Corporate, and Single Persons, now, or in Time to come subject to the King of *France* in all their Rights, Customs, Priviledges, Freedoms and Franchises belonging and due to them in all manner of Places subject to Our Father the King of *France*.

XIII. That We will diligently and carefully provide that Justice be administred, and equally distributed to all Persons impartially in the said Realm of *France*, according to the Rights, Laws and Customs of the said Realm, and that We will preserve Our said Subjects in Tranquillity and Peace, and defend them to the utmost of Our Power from the Violence and Oppression of all their Enemies.

XIV. That We will according to the best of Our Skill and Judgment prefer no other Persons to the Administration of Justice, or Offices of Trust in the Government, but such as are able and skilful in the Laws of the Realm, and of undoubted Integrity, that all Persons may receive impartial Justice from them.

XV. That We will with all Our Might endeavour, as soon as conveniently may be, to reduce to the Obedience of Our said Father, all Cities, Towns, Castles, Places, Countries and Persons within the Realm of *France*, as are now Disobedient and Rebels to Our said Father, siding with the *Dauphin* and Earl of *Arminack*.

XVI. That for the more effectual Accomplishment of this Our Design, it is Accorded and Agreed, That all the Nobles and other Estates of the Realm of *France*, as well Temporal as Spiritual, which are at this Day Obedient to Our said Father, shall take this Oath following to Us.

1. That they shall all, and every One of them, in their several Places and Degrees, be Subject and Obedient to Us, having the Rule and Government of the Realm in all Our lawful Commands, and Impositions for the Common Profit.

2. That all the Peers and Nobles of the Realm of *France*, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as also the Citizens, Burgesses and Commons, shall and will keep and observe whatsoever concerneth them in their Degrees, in the Treaty made between Our Father and Us.

3. That, from and after the Death of Our said Father King *Charles*, they will receive Us or Our Heirs, as their Sovereign and the very King of *France*, and that they will not be in Counsel with, nor consent to, or help any that shall conspire against Us, our Throne or Dignity, but if they know of any such Persons shall oppose it according to their Powers, and discover it as soon as they can to Us, that we may prevent it.

4. That all manner of Conquests that shall be made upon the said Rebels and disobedient Persons (except it be in the Dutchy of *Normandy*) shall be for the Profit of Our said Father *Charles*, but that all manner of Lands and Lordships of Persons who have sworn, or shall swear to obey Our said Father and Us, and keep the Articles of this present League, shall be restor'd to the said Persons again in all our Conquests.

XVII. That all Ecclesiastical Persons who are Benefic'd in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, or in any other Places subject to our Father the King of *France*, who shall favour the Party of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and swear to keep this present Treaty, shall peaceably enjoy their Benefices and Preferments in Holy Church, as well in *Normandy* as elsewhere.

XVIII. That all manner of Churches, Universities, Studies General, and all Colleges of Studies, and other Colleges of Holy Church, be-

ing in Places subject to our Father, or in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, shall enjoy their Rights and Possessions, Rents, Prerogatives, Liberties and Franchises belonging or due to them in any wise in the said Realm of *France*, saving the Rights of the Crown.

XIX. That when it shall please God that We come to the Crown of *France*, then the Dutchy of *Normandy* and all other Places conquer'd by Us shall be annex'd to the Monarchy of *France*, and pay their Obedience and Submission to the Kings thereof.

XX. That Recompence shall be made by our said Father, or by Us, when We shall by God's Grace arrive at the Crown of *France*, if it be not made in our said Father's Life-time to all such Persons as obey him, and favour the Party of the Duke of *Burgundy*, for the Lands, Lordships, Rents and Possessions taken from them by Conquest, either in the Dutchy of *Normandy* or elsewhere, and if the said Lands, Lordships, Rents or Possessions belonging to such Persons in the said Dutchy and other Places be not restor'd by Us, they shall have lawful Power to enter upon them without further Delay.

XXI. That during our Father's Life in all Places subject to him, all Letters of Common Justice, and all Grants of Offices, Gifts, Pardons, Remissions and Priviledges shall be given out, and written in the Name of our Father, and if it be necessary in any Case to do otherwise, and write any Letters or Grants in our own Name, we shall take care to add our Father's Name, and our selves as Regent of *France*.

XXII. That We will not lay any Taxes or Impositions upon the Subjects of our Father without reasonable and necessary Causes, and for the Common Good of the Realm of *France* according to the Laws and Customs of the said Realm.

XXIII. That We will cause, that by the Assent of the Parliament of both Realms it shall be ordain'd and enacted, That from the Time that We or our Heirs shall obtain the Crown of *France*, both the Crowns of *England* and *France* shall be united under one Person, that is to say, From and after the Decease of our said Father to Us, and from and after our Death, to our Heirs successively, and that both Realms shall be govern'd not severally under divers Kings, but under the same Person, which for the Time shall be King of both Realms, reserving nevertheless to either of the said Kingdoms their Rights, Usages, Customs, Liberties and Laws, and not making either Kingdom subject in any wise to the Rights or Customs of the other.

XXIV. That We will from henceforth take effectual Care, that all, and all manner of Dissentions, Hatred, Rancours, Envy and Wars between the Realms of *England* and *France* and the People of the said Realms shall cease, and a perpetual Friendship and Concord be establish'd between the said Realms.

XXV. That the Two Nations being united in Common Friendship, shall help and assist each other against all Men that shall attempt any Harms or Wrongs against them, or any of them with all their Forces, Counsels and Assistance.

XXVI. That both the said Nations shall freely converse and Traffick together, with all manner of Merchandize, paying the usual Customs in the said Nations.

XXVII. That all the Confederates and Allies both of our Father the King of *France* and his Realm, and also our Confederates of our Realm of *England* shall, within Eight Months after the Publick Declaration of this Peace, declare by

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8.



A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. their Letters, that they desire to come under the Articles of the said Treaty, saving nevertheless their Obedience to either of the said Crowns, and the Rights and Revenues to Us and our Subjects, and our Father and his Subjects, against all his and our Allies and Confederates.

XXVIII. That neither our Father, nor our Brother the Duke of *Burgundy* shall begin or make any Treaty, Peace, or Accord with *Charles*, who calls himself the *Dauphin* of *Vienna*, but by the Counsel and Assent of all, and each of Us Three, or of the Three States of either of the said Realms above-nam'd.

XXIX. That We with the Assent of our said Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, and other the Nobles and Peers of the Kingdom of *France*, who ought to be consulted with in that Case, shall Constitute and Appoint, for the Governance of our said Father, such Persons as shall be most suitable to the State and Degree of our said Father, and will be careful to promote the Worship of God, Honour of our said Father, and Good of the Commonwealth.

XXX. That all manner of Persons, both Nobles and Gentlemen who give any Attendance, or shall hold any Office about our said Father, shall be such as have been born in the Realm of *France*, or Places thereunto belonging, wise, true and able to do him Service, and that our said Father shall reside in the Places subject to him, and no where else.

XXXI. That We for the Things aforeaid, and every One of them will give our Assent by our Letters Patents seal'd with our Seal unto our said Father with the Approbation and Confirmation of Us, and all other of our Blood-Royal, and of all the Cities and Towns obedient to Us; and our said Father shall do the like to Us for himself, Peers and all other his Subjects under his Obedience.

Given at Troyes (u) the 30th Day of May, 1420.

Sign'd, Seal'd, Concluded and Agreed between the said Two Kings in the Presence of Queen *Isabel*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the French King's Council, the Prince of *Orange*, Seignior *Chastellux*, Marshal of *France*, with many others of the Chief Nobility both of *England* and *France*, both the King's with the Queen taking a Solemn Oath upon the Holy Evangelists for the Observation of them, and the Duke of *Burgundy* and the other Nobility, swearing Homage to K. *Henry*, as the Regent of *France* (in the Form above-mention'd).

The Peace receiv'd in *England* with Joy.

The News of this Peace in *England* was entertain'd with an universal Joy, and a solemn Procession was Celebrated at *London*, at which a Sermon was Preach'd at *St. Paul's Cross*, in which the Preacher shew'd the Advantageous Effects of the King's Marriage, and the Peace which has ensu'd upon it. That the King had obtain'd the Kingdom of *France* with equal Honour, as if he had won it all by the Sword, but with less Expence of Blood and Treasure to the *English*: That tho' indeed he was at present but Regent of *France* under his Father-in-law King *Charles*, yet he was to bear the Arms of *France* with the *English*, and exercised the Authority of a King tho' he had only the Name, and was declar'd Heir apparent of the Crown, which was as much as K. *Henry*, who is a Pious Prince, could reasonably desire, having marry'd the

Daughter of the French King, whom to Depose wholly would have been as Dishonourable to himself as Barbarous to his Father, and therefore could not decently be done.

Besides the League made between K. *Henry* and the French King, and whole Body of the Realm of *France*, there was also a Private League made between King *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy* to this Effect, and under these Articles.

I. That the Duke of *Burgundy* should to the utmost of his Power procure, that the Peace lately concluded between King *Henry* and King *Charles* should be observ'd and kept in all its Covenants and Articles. In consideration of which one of King *Henry*'s Brothers should marry one of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Sisters.

II. That King *Henry* should ever shew a particular Favour to the said Duke of *Burgundy* as his most dear Brother, and support him in all his Rights.

III. That the said Duke of *Burgundy* after the Decease of King *Charles* should take an Oath of Fidelity to be true to King *Henry* and his Heirs, according to the Form of the League before-mention'd, and should in all Things be a Friend to King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever.

IV. That King *Henry* should do his utmost endeavours that due Punishment be inflict'd upon the Murtherers of *John* late Duke of *Burgundy*, as well upon *Charles*, who calls himself the *Dauphin*, as upon all others that shall be found Guilty of the said Murther.

V. That if the *Dauphin* should chance to be taken either in Battel or in any Town besieg'd, or if any other chanc'd to be taken that should be found Guilty of or Privy to the Murther of the said Duke *John*, he shall not be releas'd without a just Punishment for so foul a Fact, nor without the Consent of the Two Kings of *France* and *England*, *Charles* and *Henry*, and of the Three Estates of both Realms.

VI. That in Consideration of the Fidelity and Diligence of the said Duke of *Burgundy* in settling the Peace and furthering the Marriage of King *Henry*, the said King *Henry* should labour with King *Charles* and Queen *Isabel*, that the said Duke may have an Annual Fee of Twenty Thousand Pound *Parisien* settled upon him by Patent from King *Charles*, and assign'd to him out of such Lands as border'd upon his Country, to be by him, his Lady and his Heirs-males enjoy'd for ever; and if he could not bring it to pass before King *Henry* should obtain the Crown of *France* himself, then he should cause the same to be perform'd at the receiving of his Homage.

Thus did the Duke of *Burgundy* revenge his Father's Death upon the *Dauphin*, and by his Serviceableness so advanced his own Interests with the King of *England*, that he was in Gratitude oblig'd to reward bountifully the Assistance he had lent him.

The Progress of the King of *England*'s Settlement by the Treaty was not unknown to the *Dauphin* and his Followers, who tho' they could not but be displeas'd at these Proceedings, yet neither fear'd nor faint'd, hoping for the Reverse of Fortune when all this Clue should be unravell'd and this curious Train defeated, but they were not insensible that they were in great Danger from King *Henry*'s Power, which was very terrible before, and was now grown almost Irresistible. Wherefore they call'd a General Consultation to consider, what was best to be done for their own Security in this difficult Juncture. They despair'd to do any good by Oppo-

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8.

A League between K. *Henry* and the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The *Dauphin* displeas'd at the Peace with King *Henry*.

(u) The 21st of May. Ibid. 268.



*A. D.* 1420. *Reg. 8.* sition when they were so much over-match'd in Power and could only provide for their own Safety, till Fortune should give a more favourable Opportunity of advancing their Cause. All therefore that could be resolv'd on was this, That the *Dauphin's* Life, upon which all their Hopes depended, should be in no case hazzarded, and that such Towns and Strong-holds as continu'd firm on their Side, and were most able to secure themselves and annoy their Enemies, should be better fortified, and so they would wait Fortune's Leisure, and stand only upon their Defence. The *Burgundian* Faction, who were most in Favour with King *Henry*, were equally Zealous to apprehend the *Dauphin* who had kill'd the Duke of *Burgundy's* Father, and therefore the *Dauphin's* Friends would not suffer him to go out with any Party, nor attempt any thing of Hazzard, but kept him under strong Guards to preserve him.

*K. Henry* endeavouring to subdue the *Dauphin* and his Party. King *Henry* having now arriv'd almost at the highest pitch of his Delires, had nothing to darken his Glory or Power in the least, but the *Dauphin* and his Party who were considerable for little but their Obstinacy: For their Number was small and their Strength not able to do much, save that they held out, and upon any Change or Discontent might easily increase into a formidable Body: Wherefore as soon as the Formalities and Solemnities of his Marriage were over, he set himself to reduce the *Dauphin* and his Party, and on *June* the 7th he began with the Siege of *Sens*, whither he went himself in Person with his Queen, Father and Mother, and Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy*. It was a Town of good Strength, but made a very faint Opposition; for before the *English* could make any Assaults upon it they surrendered upon Condition, That all Persons should have their Lives spared, except the Murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, if any of them should be found in the Town. From hence King *Henry* march'd to *Monterau-faut-Tonne*, and laid Siege against it. In this Town which was very strong and very firm to the *Dauphin*, was *John*, late Duke of *Burgundy* slain, and lay buried, which was the Reason that the Duke of *Burgundy* sat down with the firmer Resolution to take it, because he would enterr his Father's Body more Decently. The Town was not daunted with the Approach of King *Henry*, but resolv'd upon a vigorous Opposition, yet held out but a few Days, because the *English* having receiv'd a fresh Recruit of Soldiers out of *England* under the Command of the Duke of *Bedford*, follow'd them with continual Assaults, so that the Place was taken by Force,

The Town and Castle of *Monterau* taken.

The Duke of *Burgundy's* Body taken up and carried to *Dijon*.

*June* 23. but the Castle being well Victual'd and Mann'd would not surrender, and therefore the Siege was remov'd thither. While the Castle held out, the Duke of *Burgundy* was inform'd where his Father was buried, and thereupon commanded his Corps to be taken up, and being Embalm'd was carried to *Dijon* in his Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and there magnificently Entomb'd among his Ancestors. The Castle still stood out, and King *Henry* being willing to preserve it, sent Twenty Gentlemen whom he had taken in the Town, and who had render'd themselves Obnoxious to his Displeasure by abusing the King's Herald when he was sent to require them to yield, to perswade the Captain, whose Name was *Guily*, a valiant *French* Man, and true Friend of the *Dauphin's* to surrender, being threatned, that if they did not prevail they should be all hang'd. These Gentlemen were *Guily's* Friends, and true Men to their Country; but being in danger of Life, and seeing his Opposition to so great

Forces fruitless, begg'd of him on their Knees, that he would surrender the Castle and save their Lives and his own, which otherwise would be lost. *Guily* was deaf to their Desires; whereupon the Petitioners were all hang'd in his sight, yet he sav'd his own Life, tho' he held out the Castle long, by a Capitulation, that all should have their Lives, but such as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murther, upon the Delivery up of the Castle to him. *Monterau* being thus gain'd King *Henry* stopp'd not here, but following the Course of his Victory remov'd his Siege to *Melun*, a strong Town in the Isle of *France* which held with the *Dauphin*, and sat down before it, *July* the 13th. The Garrison which was 700 had well fortified themselves, and had very brave Commanders, viz. *Seignior Barbafon*, *Melun* being a *Gascoigne* of approv'd Valour and Conduct, *Pierre de Bourbon*, a Prince of the Blood, *Monfieur Preaux* and *Bourgeois*. At the first Approaches of the King's Army *Barbafon* call'd all his Soldiers to him with the Towns-men, who were equally concern'd to maintain the Siege, and having encourag'd them to behave themselves Valiantly against their Enemies, warn'd them all on pain of Death not to make any Motion, much less treat about surrendering the Town, or coming to any Composition or Agreement, until they had first acquainted him their Captain with it, and so set himself to the Defence of it. The King of *England* on the other side having a very strong Army commanded by his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Gloucester*, *Burgundy* and *Barr*, and being accompany'd with the Young King of *Scots*, Prince of *Orange*, his Father-in-law the *French* King, and many other great Persons, was as diligent in plying the Siege, which as it was likely to prove Difficult, so would produce a more noble Victory. The *French* Queen and her Daughter the Queen of *England*, with the Dutcheffs of *Burgundy* lay during the Siege at *Corbeil*, and made divers Visits to their Husbands and Friends who lay about the City, whom the King of *England* nobly Entertain'd in his Camp. To this Siege for the King's Assistance came the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had married Queen *Katherine's* Sister, with 700 Men well accoutred, who being retain'd in the King's Service behav'd themselves very well. King *Henry* being thus provided with an Army, sought out all means by Mines, frequent Batteries, and Assaults to win the Town, but was so valiantly Opposed and Countermin'd, that he saw small Hopes of getting it otherwise than by starving them. While he lay before the Town, it chanc'd that two of the *English* Lords began a Contention about entering a new Mine, which to decide, the King himself went in first, and meeting there with the Lord *Barbafon* fought with him over the Barriers made in the Mine by the *French* for that Purpose. The King and Lord engag'd each other with equal Courage, and having got little Advantage on either part discover'd themselves, and so parted with Admiration of each others Valour. After this the King begirt the Town in on all sides to prevent Relief, and laid a Bridge over the *Seine* to stop any Passage into it that way, and to uphold an Intercourse between the Armies on each. The Belieged made many brave Sallies, but were as bravely Repulsed though with Loss on both sides. The King of *France* himself came into the Camp of King *Henry*, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, which they ow'd him as their Natural Lord, to resign the Town to his Son the King of *England*; but they answer'd, That if he

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A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. their Letters, that they desire to come under the Articles of the said Treaty, saving nevertheless their Obedience to either of the said Crowns, and the Rights and Revenues to Us and our Subjects, and our Father and his Subjects, against all his and our Allies and Confederates.

XXVIII. That neither our Father, nor our Brother the Duke of *Burgundy* shall begin or make any Treaty, Peace, or Accord with *Charles*, who calls himself the *Dauphin* of *Vienna*, but by the Counsel and Assent of all, and each of Us Three, or of the Three States of either of the said Realms above-nam'd.

XXIX. That We with the Assent of our said Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, and other the Nobles and Peers of the Kingdom of *France*, who ought to be consulted with in that Case, shall Constitute and Appoint, for the Governance of our said Father, such Persons as shall be most suitable to the State and Degree of our said Father, and will be careful to promote the Worship of God, Honour of our said Father, and Good of the Commonwealth.

XXX. That all manner of Persons, both Nobles and Gentlemen who give any Attendance, or shall hold any Office about our said Father, shall be such as have been born in the Realm of *France*, or Places thereunto belonging, wise, true and able to do him Service, and that our said Father shall reside in the Places subject to him, and no where else.

XXXI. That We for the Things aforesaid, and every One of them will give our Assent by our Letters Patents seal'd with our Seal unto our said Father with the Approbation and Confirmation of Us, and all other of our Blood-Royal, and of all the Cities and Towns obedient to Us; and our said Father shall do the like to Us for himself, Peers and all other his Subjects under his Obedience.

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Daughter of the French King, whom to Depose wholly would have been as Dishonourable to himself as Barbarous to his Father, and therefore could not decently be done.

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III. That the said Duke of *Burgundy* after the Decease of King *Charles* should take an Oath of Fidelity to be true to King *Henry* and his Heirs, according to the Form of the League before-mention'd, and should in all Things be a Friend to King *Henry* and his Heirs for ever.

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(u) The 21st of May. Ibid. 268.



A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. sition when they were so much over-match'd in Power and could only provide for their own Safety, till Fortune should give a more favourable Opportunity of advancing their Cause. All therefore that could be resolv'd on was this, That the *Dauphin's* Life, upon which all their Hopes depended, should be in no case hazzarded, and that such Towns and Strong-holds as continu'd firm on their Side, and were most able to secure themselves and annoy their Enemies, should be better fortified, and so they would wait Fortune's Leisure, and stand only upon their Defence. The *Burgundian* Faction, who were most in Favour with King *Henry*, were equally Zealous to apprehend the *Dauphin* who had kill'd the Duke of *Burgundy's* Father, and therefore the *Dauphin's* Friends would not suffer him to go out with any Party, nor attempt any thing of Hazzard, but kept him under strong Guards to preserve him.

K. Henry endeavours to subdue the *Dauphin* and his Party. King *Henry* having now arriv'd almost at the highest pitch of his Desires, had nothing to darken his Glory or Power in the least, but the *Dauphin* and his Party who were considerable for little but their Obstinacy: For their Number was small and their Strength not able to do much, save that they held out, and upon any Change or Discontent might easily increase into a formidable Body: Wherefore as soon as the Formalities and Solemnities of his Marriage were over, he set himself to reduce the *Dauphin* and his Party, and on *June* the 7th he began with the Siege of *Sens*, whither he went himself in Person with his Queen, Father and Mother, and Dukes of *Clarence* and *Burgundy*. It was a Town of good Strength, but made a very faint Opposition; for before the *English* could make any Assaults upon it they surrendred upon Condition, That all Persons should have their Lives spared, except the Murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy*, if any of them should be found in the Town. From hence King *Henry* march'd to *Monterau-faut-Yonne*, and laid Siege against it. In this Town which was very strong and very firm to the *Dauphin*, was *John*, late Duke of *Burgundy* slain, and lay buried, which was the Reason that the Duke of *Burgundy* sat down with the firmer Resolution to take it, because he would enterr his Father's Body more Decently. The Town was not daunted with the Approach of King *Henry*, but resolv'd upon a vigorous Opposition, yet held out but a few Days, because the *English* having receiv'd a fresh Recruit of Soldiers out of *England* under the Command of the Duke of *Bedford*, follow'd them with continual Assaults, so that the Place was taken by Force, *June* 23. but the Castle being well Victual'd and Mann'd would not surrender, and therefore the Siege was remov'd thither. While the Castle held out, the Duke of *Burgundy* was inform'd where his Father was buried, and thereupon commanded his Corps to be taken up, and being Embalm'd was carried to *Dijon* in his Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and there magnificently Entomb'd among his Ancestors. The Castle still stood out, and King *Henry* being willing to preserve it, sent Twenty Gentlemen whom he had taken in the Town, and who had render'd themselves Obnoxious to his Displeasure by abusing the King's Herald when he was sent to require them to yield, to perswade the Captain, whose Name was *Guily*, a valiant *French* Man, and true Friend of the *Dauphin's* to surrender, being threatned, that if they did not prevail they should be all hang'd. These Gentlemen were *Guily's* Friends, and true Men to their Country; but being in danger of Life, and seeing his Opposition to so great

A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. Forces fruitless, begg'd of him on their Knees, that he would surrender the Castle and save their Lives and his own, which otherwise would be lost. *Guily* was deaf to their Desires; whereupon the Petitioners were all hang'd in his Sight, yet he sav'd his own Life, tho' he held out the Castle long, by a Capitulation, that all should have their Lives, but such as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murther, upon the Delivery up of the Castle to him. *Monterau* being thus gain'd King *Henry* stopp'd not here, but following the Course of his Victory remov'd his Siege to *Melun*, a strong Town in the Isle of *France* which held with the *Dauphin*, and sat down before it, *July* the 13th. The Garrison which was 700 had well fortified themselves, and had very brave Commanders, viz. Seignior *Barbafon*, *Melun* being a *Gascoigne* of approv'd Valour and Conduct, *Pierre de Bourbon*, a Prince of the Blood, *Monfieur Preaux* and *Bourgeois*. At the first Approaches of the King's Army *Barbafon* call'd all his Soldiers to him with the Towns-men, who were equally concern'd to maintain the Siege, and having encourag'd them to behave themselves Valiantly against their Enemies, warn'd them all on pain of Death not to make any Motion, much less treat about surrendering the Town, or coming to any Composition or Agreement, until they had first acquainted him their Captain with it, and so set himself to the Defence of it. The King of *England* on the other side having a very strong Army commanded by his Brothers the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Bedford* and *Gloucester*, *Burgundy* and *Barr*, and being accompany'd with the Young King of *Scots*, Prince of *Orange*, his Father-in-law the *French* King, and many other great Persons, was as diligent in plying the Siege, which as it was likely to prove Difficult, so would produce a more noble Victory. The *French* Queen and her Daughter the Queen of *England*, with the Dutcheff of *Burgundy* lay during the Siege at *Corbeil*, and made divers Visits to their Husbands and Friends who lay about the City, whom the King of *England* nobly Entertain'd in his Camp. To this Siege for the King's Assistance came the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had married Queen *Katherine's* Sister, with 700 Men well accountred, who being retain'd in the King's Service behav'd themselves very well. King *Henry* being thus provided with an Army, fought out all means by Mines, frequent Batteries, and Assaults to win the Town, but was so valiantly Opposed and Countermin'd, that he saw small Hopes of getting it otherwise than by starving them. While he lay before the Town, it chanc'd that two of the *English* Lords began a Contention about entering a new Mine, which to decide, the King himself went in first, and meeting there with the Lord *Barbafon* fought with him over the Barriers made in the Mine by the *French* for that Purpose. The King and Lord engag'd each other with equal Courage, and having got little Advantage on either part discover'd themselves, and so parted with Admiration of each others Valour. After this the King begirt the Town in on all sides to prevent Relief, and laid a Bridge over the *Seine* to stop any Passage into it that way, and to uphold an Intercourse between the Armies on each. The Besieged made many brave Sallies, but were as bravely Repulsed though with Loss on both sides. The King of *France* himself came into the Camp of King *Henry*, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, which they ow'd him as their Natural Lord, to resign the Town to his Son the King of *England*; but they answer'd, That if he



*A D.* were at Liberty, and free from King Henry's Power, who was their Enemy, they would do him the Duty of Subjects, and obey him in all Things, as their Sovereign, but being as he was, they desir'd to be excus'd, for they would never yield to the Mortal Enemy of France. But though no Humane Force nor Perswasions could prevail with stout *Barbafon's* Heart to submit to his Enemy; yet the Inflictions of Heaven, Pestilence and Famine turn'd his Resolutions, and he came to a Capitulation upon these Conditions.

*Melun* surrendred upon Conditions.

I. That the Town and Castle of *Melun* being deliver'd up to the King of *England*, both the Soldiers and Burgesses should submit themselves to his Pleasure, to be dealt with as he should think fit.

II. That all such Persons as should be found Guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murther, should suffer Death.

III. That all the rest of the Soldiers should be receiv'd to Mercy, but should remain Prisoners until they should put in sufficient Securities for their faithful Obedience for the future.

IV. That the Natives of *France* should be dismissed to their own Homes.

V. That all the Moveables and Arms in the Town should be carry'd into the Castle.

VI. That all the Prisoners that had been taken during the Siege, or before, should be set at Liberty without a Ransom, and acquitted of all Promises.

VII. That Twelve Captains and Six Burgesses should be Hostages for the Performance of these Articles.

VIII. That all the *English* and *Scots* should be deliver'd up to *K. Henry*, and left to his Mercy.

Thus was *Melun* resign'd up to King *Henry* about the midst of *November*, and most of the Besieged sent under the Conduct of the Duke of *Clarence* to *Paris*, of which the *French* King had made him Captain, and gave him Possession of the *Louvre*, *Bastile* of *St. Anthony*, *Hotel* of *Nesle*, and *Bois de Vincennes*, where he placed *English* Garrisons. Among the Prisoners which were 600 and more, was *Monsieur Barbafon*, *Pierre de Bourbon*, and *Seignior de Preaux*. King *Henry* put an *English* Garrison into *Melun*, and left it under the Command of *Pierre de Verrolt*, a valiant *French* Man, going himself by *Corbeil* where his Queen and Mother lay during the Siege, whom he took along with him to *Paris*, where they were receiv'd with Processions, and all other Magnificent Solemnities, and convey'd to their Palaces, King *Henry* and his Queen to the *Louvre*, and King *Charles* and his Queen to the *Hotel de S. Paul*, an homely mean One in comparison of the former.

The D. of *Burgundy's* Murtherers punished with Death.

The first Thing done after their Arrival at *Paris* was to put the Murtherers of the Duke of *Burgundy* to Death, of which several of the Captives were found Guilty, and were accordingly Punish'd, and among them Two Monks, *Bertrand de Chermont*, a *Gascoigne*, much in favour with King *Henry*, was also punish'd with them with Death, because he had at the King's Entrance into *Melun* convey'd away one *Amenion de Lau*, who was prov'd guilty of the same Crime. The Duke of *Burgundy* himself, and the Duke of *Clarence* had much interceded with the King to save his Life, but could not prevail; for though the King protested he had rather have lost 50000 of his Nobles, yet he resolv'd that he should suffer Death to be an Example of Terror to all those, who out of Presumption of their Prince's Favour would venture to do Things Offensive to him, and Prejudicial to the Publick: And accordingly he was Executed with them.

While the Two Kings, *Charles* and *Henry* King of *England* remain'd at *Paris*, a great Assembly of the Clergy and Nobles met in the great Hall of the *Hotel* of *St. Paul*, where a Magnificent Seat of Justice under one Cloth of State was erected for both the Kings, as Supreme Judges of all Matters which might be examin'd in this Assembly. The main Design of this Parliament being to ratifie the late Alteration made by the Marriage and Peace with King *Henry*, very few or no Laws were made, but only every Member of the Assembly was sworn severally to keep, support, maintain and defend the Treaty and Final Agreement which was lately made and concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and every Noble Man, Spiritual Governour and Temporal Ruler set their Seals to certain Instruments containing the Sum of this Engagement and Oath, which Instruments were sent to the King's Treasury of the Exchequer at *Westminster* to be safely kept, and there they still remain. The *French* King also himself, being then in perfect Health of Body, and Soundness of Mind, publickly own'd and declar'd, That the said Treaty and Agreement was made with his full and free Assent, and with Advice and Consent of all his Council of *France*, and that he for his Part would observe it, as his Heirs and Successors were obliged to do, in all its Articles and Parts; and that he did strictly require, That all his Subjects of what Degree soever, should observe it, and do nothing prejudicial to it.

To this Parliament did the Dukes of *Burgundy*, and her Son the Duke of *Burgundy* send their Advocates, *Nicholas Rollin* and a Doctor of Divinity to accuse the *Dauphin*, *Charles*, Viscount *Narbonne*, *Seignior Tanneguy*, and *Barbafon*, and Four others, of the Murther of *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and desire impartial Justice against them, which they did in a long Inveective; adding by way of Petition, That a Church might be Founded, and Furnish'd with Sacred Ornaments, and a sufficient Revenue to maintain Twelve Canons, Six Chaplains, and Six Clerks, to pray for his Soul for ever, every Canon to have Two Hundred Pound per Annum, *Paris* Money, every Chaplain a Hundred Pound, and every Clerk Fifty Pound, to be levy'd upon the Lands of the *Dauphin*, and his Associates in the Murther of the said Duke: To this Petition the Chancellor of *France* in the Behalf of *K. Charles* promised, that no endeavour should be wanting on his Part, and that all Justice should be done for them, and thereupon caused his Son to be solemnly call'd to the Marble-Table to answer the Accusations brought against him by the Name of *Charles*, Duke of *Tourenne*, and *Dauphin de Vienne*, which being done Three times, and he not appearing, he was by Arrest of the same Court of Parliament banish'd the Realm, and judg'd unworthy to succeed in any of the Seignories, as well present as to come, that belong to the Crown of *France*. But the *Dauphin* valu'd not this Sentence of his Enemies, from whom he could expect no milder, and had been sure of a more severe, if he had been in their Power; he stood upon his own Defence, trusting to God's Providence and his Sword, which he doubted not would settle him again in his Right. But Valiant *Barbafon* stood more Obnoxious to their Sentence, though less guilty, being vehemently accused for the same Murther by the Duke of *Burgundy's* Mother and Sisters, and many Circumstances produced against him tending to make him Guilty, but he so bravely defended himself against the Charge, though he freely acknowledg'd himself to be a true Servant of the *Dauphin's*, that he was in no wise thought Guilty

*A D.* 1420. Reg. 8. A Parliament met at *Paris*.

An Appeal to this Parliament about the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murther.

Signiour *Barbafon* accused of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murther, but acquitted.



A. D. 1420. Reg. 8. ty of it; yet whether he escap'd Judgment is uncertain, for tho' some say he was acquitted, others say, that King Henry in favour to the Duke of Burgundy pronounc'd him Guilty and gave Sentence on him, that he should suffer Death, which though he avoided by alledging a Military-Law, That any Man having his Brother in Arms within his Power, should not put him afterwards to Death for any Cause or Quarrel, proving himself to be the King's Brother in Arms, because he had Encounter'd with him Hand to Hand in the Mine above-mention'd, by which Law the King's Sentence was annull'd, yet he was kept Prisoner at Paris still, and after remov'd to other Places, not being able to recover his Liberty, till *Castle-Galliard* was taken by the *Dauphin* Nine Years after this.

K. Henry ruling in Paris as King. King Henry being thus Establish'd in the Government of France as well as England, passed his Christmas in great Majesty in Paris, ordering all Affairs of State as he pleas'd, and being look'd upon by all Foreign Embassadors, as well as the Native French, as their King; Charles, the French King having indeed the Name, and keeping a Court, but very Private, and as a Prince, whose Power was out of Date. All the Grandure of France was seen only in King Henry's Palace, where were many Military Shews and Pastimes daily, and all the State and Magnificence of a Court. All Commissions were given out in his Name, and he placed and displaced Officers as he pleas'd. He also made a New Coin, which he call'd a *Salute*, wherein the Arms of France and England were quarter'd. Christmas being over, the King resolv'd to leave France a while and go into England to have his Queen Crown'd; wherefore leaving Paris under the Command of his Uncle the Duke of Exeter, with a Guard of 500 Men, he went to Roan and continu'd there some Time. Hither all the Nobles of Normandy came to him to pay their Homage, and the Earl of Stafford did his Homage for his Earldom of Perch, and Arthur Duke of Brittain for the County of Tury. Here he ordain'd his Brother the Duke of Clarence to be his Lieutenant in his Absence over all France, and his Deputy in Normandy, the Earl of Salisbury; leaving Roan he came by Amiens to Calis, and taking Ship came to Dover about Candlemas, and so pass'd to London, where he was receiv'd by the Citizens with as great Joy, as if he had been an Angel from Heaven, or a Victorious Alexander, who had subjected the World to him.

A. D. 1421. K. Henry gives publick Thanks giving for his Victories in France, and Q. Katherine is Crowned. King Henry being thus safely arriv'd in England, he according to his usual Piety would not enter upon any Material Business till he had given his Subjects an Example of signal Devotion in returning God publick Thanks for the Success which he had given him in France, and therefore by his Proclamation appointed, that Processions and Solemn Thanksgivings should be kept by all his Subjects in all Cities, Towns and Villages through the whole Nation, which was accordingly perform'd with much Devotion. This Act of Piety being ended the King appointed, that all Things should be provided with convenient Speed for the Coronation of his Queen upon St. Matthias's Day approaching, February the 24th, on which she was Crown'd with great Magnificence by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, John (x) Stafford. Besides the constant Ceremonies used upon such Occasions, which were all perform'd with great Exactness; there was more than ordinary Cost and Magnificence

bestow'd in the Coronation-Dinner; for though it was in Lent, and so it consisted of Fish and Sweet-Meats chiefly; yet there was such vast Varieties of both, and such rare Devices in every Course, as were never seen upon the like Occasion. The Earl of March kneeling on the Right-hand of the Queen with the Scepter in his Hand, and the Earl-Marshal on the Left-hand, the Duke of Gloucester waiting bare-headed and over-seeing the Management of the whole Feast, made it one of the most splendid Banquets that was ever known in England. As soon as the Coronation was ended, the Queen return'd to her Palace at Westminster, where she remain'd till Palm-Sunday, when she remov'd to Windsor to meet the King, and keep her Easter there with him.

In the Interval between the Coronation and Easter, the King took a Royal Progress through several Parts of the Nation, to see in what State his Affairs were, and rectifie any just Matters of Complaint, which his People in his Absence might have receiv'd from his Officers and Justices. In his Journey he omitted no Opportunity of paying his Devotion to the Shrines of several Saints; so making it a Pilgrimage, as beneficial to himself (as he then imagin'd) as he intended it for his People. Many grievous Complaints with Petitions for Redress were presented to him against his Justices for the Mal-administration of their Office, which the King received with much Willingness and Cheerfulness from the meanest Persons; all Abuses immediately reform'd, not sparing the greatest of his Ministers whom he found Guilty of Misdemeanours in their Places; telling them, 'That since they had no respect to his Honour, which was wounded by their Unjustice and Partiality, he had no reason to shew them any Favour, but punish them the more severely, because for the sake of a little Gain or Friendship, they had robb'd him of what he most valu'd, his People's Love and Affections. These Affairs detain'd him longer in the farther Parts of the Nation, than he intended to have staid; and therefore not being able to reach Windsor to keep his Easter as he had intended, he sent for his Queen to Leicester, and there kept his Easter with her.

While these Things pass'd in England, the Duke of Clarence who had the Supreme Government of France having summon'd all the Garrisons of Normandy to meet him at a Town call'd Buchy, from thence began an Invasion in Anjou, and ravag'd the Country as far as Angiers, burning and plundering the Villages and Towns as he went along; but having an Information, that the Duke of Alençon was come into those Parts with a considerable Body of Men of the Dauphin's Party, and that the Scots in a Body of about 700 (y) Men were coming to joyn with them under the Command of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and John, Earl of Buchan, he return'd back to a Town call'd Beaufort, intending to give the Duke of Alençon Battel before the Scots could come to him. Being on his March he took one Andrew Forgusa a Lombard and a Spy, who pretending he was fled from the French Camp, gave the Duke of Clarence an Account, that the French were but a small Party and might easily be vanquish'd by his Forces which were much greater, but this he said to encourage him to engage him rashly, and ruin himself and Army, as he did: For the Duke of Clarence being hasty and

A. D. 1421. Reg. 8.

K. Henry takes a Progress into some parts of the Nation.

Reg. 9. The Duke of Clarence invades Anjou, and is slain.

(x) John Stafford was at this Time Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Henry Chicheley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.  
(y) Seven Thousand Scots. lib. 308.



A. D. 1421. Reg. 9. credulous put forward and set upon them tho' much more Powerful than his *English*, and after a sharp Battel was himself slain by one *John Swinton* (2) a *Scotch* Man (for the *Scots* had joyn'd them before the Duke of *Clarence* could get up) as also the Earl of *Rime*, and the Lords *Grey* and *Ross* with 1500 *English*. The Earl of *Huntington*, *Somerset* and *Perche*, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, with several other Persons of Note, as well as common Soldiers, were taken Prisoners, and the Victory fell to the *French*. But yet it cost them many Lives, for they lost 1200 Men. The Earl of *Salisbury*, (a) the Bastard Son of the Duke of *Clarence* had Intelligence of this Defeat of the *English*, and made all the haste he could to recover the Loss receiv'd, but he came too late to do any Service, only the *French* being fled at his Approach left the Dead at his Disposal, and so he sent the Duke's Body to *Roan* in order to be convey'd into *England*, and buried many of the Slain. The Earl of *Buchan* who was a chief Leader in this Battel was made Constable of *France* for this Action by the *Dauphin*, and the Earl of *Alençon* immediately besieg'd the Town of the same Name. The Earl of *Salisbury* endeavour'd what he could to raise the Siege, but lost 300 Men in the Successless Attempt, not being strong enough to relieve it, tho' the *Dauphinists* had not the Fortune to obtain it. The King was still in his Progress, and had left *Leicester* to go to *York*; in the Way to which Place having visited the Shrine of *John of Beverley* he heard of the News of his Brother's Death, which he receiv'd with abundance of Sorrow, and resolv'd to revenge it severely upon the *French*. He sent the Earl of *Mortaign* into his Place for the Present, intending as soon as he could settle Affairs in *England* and provide Things necessary for his Expedition, to go over again into *France* and prosecute his Victory in the Conquest of the *Dauphin*.

K. Henry  
very sorry  
for his  
Brother's  
Death.

Sixth Par-  
liament,  
its Acts  
and  
Taxes.

About the beginning of *May* a Parliament met at *Westminster* in order to the King's intended Expedition into *France*, and in it the King having given them an Account of his Victories in *France* desir'd their Assistance for the further Prosecution of them. The Laity return'd him Answer, That the Commons were so impoverish'd with the long continuance of Taxes, that they were unable to lend him any considerable Supplies, yet they open'd their Purfes before the Session was up. The King having in this Parliament pass'd some Statutes of Benefit to the Publick, and particularly an Act commanding, That no Gold should be Current in ordinary Payment but by Weight, according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*; for the Coin being then much abused by *Walters*, *Clippers*, and *Counterfeiters* of Money, was a great Hindrance to Commerce, and a Damage to the Subject, which was by this Statute in a great measure prevented. For this Act and some others of like Nature the House granted a Fifteenth of the Laity, and the Clergy being at the same time met in Convocation in *St. Paul's*, gave him Two Tenths. The King accepted the Assistance of his Subjects; but being too little to support so great a Charge, he borrow'd (b)

20000 *l.* of his Uncle the Rich Bishop of *Winchester*, giving him his Crown in Pawn for it, and with this he prepar'd for his Third Expedition into *France*. And having settled the Regency of the Kingdom in the Hands of the Duke of *Bedford* his Brother, and provided his Queen with a well-attended Court, with whom he left a strong Army of 30000 to defend the Nation against the Invasion of the *Scots*, who had engag'd in the *Dauphin's* Interest, and would therefore be Troublesom in his Absence, he with a fresh Army of 4000 Horse, and 24000 Foot, began his Journey into *France*, and taking Ship at *Dover* landed at *Calis* about the beginning of *June*, having the King of *Scots* with him to allure the *Scots* from the *Dauphin's* Part, either by Promises of Rewards, or Menaces of Punishment.

K. Henry being landed in *France* in this Third Expedition would not enter upon any Action till he had pay'd the Dutiful Honour of a Visit to his Father and Mother the King and Queen of *France*, who lay then at *Bois de St. Vincennes* near *Paris*, and therefore took his direct way towards that Place. At *Montreuil* in the Road the Duke of *Burgundy* met him with a Petition from the Bastard of *Thian*, who valiantly had held out Three Weeks the Siege of *Chartres* against all the *Dauphin's* Forces, and began to be straiten'd so much, that he could not hold out longer. The King after some Consultation with the Duke thought it necessary to raise the Siege, and having made him Commander of his Armies, sent him to relieve it speedily, the King proceeding in his Journey but slowly, till he could see the Success of this Attempt. (c) The Duke of *Burgundy* by moderate Marches proceeded towards *Chartres*, and being arriv'd at *Monte* the *Dauphinists* discover'd his Approach, and had an Information of the Strength of his Army, which being too great to encounter, they rais'd the Siege and retreated to *Tours* in *Touraine*. The Duke of *Burgundy* having thus reliev'd *Chartres* he return'd to the King, who sent him with a good Force into *Picardy* against Sir *Jaques de Harcourt*, who annoy'd the King's Conquests there. In the mean time the King went on to *Paris* to pay his design'd Visit, and was honourably receiv'd and entertain'd by the King and Queen of *France*. In his Passage he took a small Fort call'd *La Ferte*, (d) which being commanded by the Bastard of *Bellay* surrendered unto him upon Summons, but was as easily lost as taken, for *Boursiers*, a *Picard* to whom the King gave the Command of it, betray'd it to the *Dauphin*. Great Invitations he had at *Paris* to pass his Time in Pleasures, every Person being Ambitious to please him with the most grateful Delights; but his Mind was wholly engag'd on the Glory of Conquest, which seem'd a little eclipsed by the small Advantages the *Dauphin* had gotten by taking *Bonneval*, *Galendon*, and some other Places; he could not be at Ease, till his Forces were employ'd for the Recovery of them, and utter Suppression of the *Dauphin's* Party if it were possible: Wherefore having rais'd a small Addition of *French* Forces to his Army he

A. D.  
1421.  
Reg. 9.  
K. Henry's  
Third  
Expedition  
into  
France.

K. Henry  
arrives in  
France,  
and sends  
the Duke  
of Burgundy  
to raise  
the Siege  
of Chartres.

K. Henry  
visits the  
King and  
Queen of  
France at  
Paris.

(2) *John Swinton* gave him the first Wound, but the Earl of *Buchan* killed him. *Ibid.* 309.

(a) The Earl of *Salisbury* was of the Family of *Mounsacuse*, and not the Duke of *Clarence's* Bastard; that Duke left a natural Son, whose Name was *John*, and he was commonly called the Bastard of *Clarence*. *Holinhead*, 1233.

(b) His Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* had lent 20000 *l.* for it once before, and it seems the Pawn was settled at that Sum, which is scarce the Value of one of the Jewels of the Imperial Crown of *England* at this Day.

(c) The Duke of *Burgundy* was ill of a Fever when the King came to *Montreuil*, from whence they went to *Pontieu*, *Montenay*, *St. Riquier*, *La Ferte*, which Places King *Henry* took, and then return'd to *Montreuil*, where he dismissed the Duke of *Burgundy* upon his Promise of returning suddenly to the Army. He march'd himself to relieve *Chartres*, and when he arrived at *Monte*, dispatched away Messengers to the Duke of *Burgundy* to joyn him with his Forces. *Enguerant Monte*.

(d) The King took this Fort before he rais'd the Siege of *Chartres*. *Ibid.*

march'd



A. D. 1421. Reg. 9. march'd himself towards the *Loire* to fight the *Dauphin*, who had given it out, That he would try the Fortune of a Field-Battel with *K. Henry*; but the *Dauphin's* Courage fail'd when he saw the Greatness and Boldness of *K. Henry's* Forces, and he withdrew towards *Bourges*, where he continu'd without giving *King Henry* any Molestation and Hindrance in his Victories, for which Quietness he was Nick-nam'd, *The King of Berry*. (e) *King Henry* having no Opposition to his Arms, proceeded with all Expedition to reduce all Places to his Obedience, and sitting down before *Dreux* (f) himself; he sent the Earl of *Dorset* and Lord *Clifford* with 1200 Horse and Foot against the *Dauphinists*, who ravag'd the Countries about *Paris*, and before his Arrival had put the Duke of *Exeter* in *Paris* to great Straits for Provision, but they soon left the Neighbourhood of that on the Approach of the King's Forces. *Dreux* endur'd an Assault or two, but the Inhabitants and Garrison being timorous of a Storm desir'd a Parley, in which they promised to surrender the Town upon *August* the 20th, if no Relief came in the mean time, which was accordingly done, and 800 of the *Dauphin's* Men were permitted to depart in safety, having sworn to the King not to bear Arms against him nor his Allies for a Year ensuing. The Towns-Men also who would swear Allegiance to *King Henry* were permitted to enjoy their Houses and Estates, but such as refused were sent out of the Town with the Garrison, and the Earl of *Worcester* was made Captain of it.

K. Henry pursues the *Dauphin*, but was forc'd to retire for want of Forage. *King Henry* being made Master of *Dreux* pursu'd the *Dauphin* farther into the Country hearing that he lay at *Baugency*, but not finding him there he besieg'd and took divers Castles and Towns, as *Baugency*, *Rongmont*, and many other Places, intending to have at length gotten to *Bourges* it self, where the *Dauphin* lay strongly Fortified; but the latter had carry'd away or destroy'd all the Forage and Provisions of the Country, so that the King's Army was forc'd through mere want to retreat back to *Orleans*, where he stay'd two Days to refresh his Troops, and then passing through *Gastinois* and *Vigny-sur-Tonne* he arriv'd at *Paris*, and he was receiv'd with universal Joy and Respect. He remain'd there some time not only to recruit his Army, which was much Weaken'd by his late pursuit of the *Dauphin*, but to settle the Discontents of the City it self, which was disturb'd by some of the *Dauphin's* Party, and having finish'd it he march'd out again with his whole Army to lay Siege

Meaux besieged by K. Henry. to the City of *Meaux* in *Brie*. This City was very well fortified, mann'd and furnish'd with Provision, and could not be taken without very great Difficulty, yet because it was almost in the midst of *King Henry's* Conquest, and was many ways Prejudicial to the Country which had submitted to him, the Siege of it was resolv'd upon, and the King himself undertook to subdue it. It was a large City, and besides the Suburbs which were very populous and great, it was divided into two Parts by the River *Marne* which runs through the midst of it, viz. the Town and Market-Place. The King being sensible that if his coming were certainly known the Inhabitants would burn the Suburbs, sent the Duke of *Exeter* before him with 4000 Men to prevent it, following himself within a few Days. The King lodg'd in the Abby of *Pharon*, and the Duke of

*Exeter* in the Abby of *Chage*, the Earl of *March* in an House of the *Gray-Fryers*, and the Earl of *Warwick* over-against the Market-Place. They began their Assaults about *October* the 6th, (g) and continu'd with all their Vigour to force the Town to yield. The Inhabitants being strengthen'd with a good Garrison under the Command of the *Bastard* of *Vaurus* and other Men of Name both for Birth and Courage, held out valiantly, and made as brave Resistance within as the *English* did without, being as resolute to defend their own, as their Enemies were to gain it. *Winter* was a great help to the Besieg'd, and had certainly rais'd the Siege if any thing could have broken the steady Hearts of the *English*; for the River over-flowing much endamag'd their Camp, the Cold and Wet brought in many Distempers among them, of which not a few dy'd, and there was great want of Provision, so that the surviv'd scarce had any Strength to attempt their Enemy. Besides these Difficulties which Providence seem'd to cast upon them to cross their Attempts, *Jaques de Harcourt* a steady Friend of the *Dauphin's* with 800 Men infest'd the Besiegers, but he was repuls'd with the Loss of 300 of his Men, and was himself sav'd only by the Swiftness of his Horse: So much did the Courage of the *English* enable them to conquer all Dangers, and hold on boldly in their Undertaking till they obtain'd their Desires.

While Things were carry'd on thus bravely by *King Henry* in *France*, several Things of Moment pass'd in *England*. On *December* the 1st, the Duke of *Bedford* call'd a Parliament in the King's Absence, and because notwithstanding the Act of the former Parliament about the Coin, it was still found unfit for Commerce; therefore in this there were several Acts made for bringing in all Monies to be Recoin'd, and for the Weight of the several Pieces of Money with the Allay; and, which shew'd the King's Favour to his People, there was an Order sent to all Receivers of Money, that they should receive all Monies brought to them if it did not want above Twelve Pence in a Noble of the true Weight, and give them the New-coin'd Money for it, by which the King, though then under great Necessities for Money, yet was contented to lose almost Three Shillings in the Pound for the Benefit of the People. This Redress of the Coin by the King's Favour gain'd so much of the Parliament that they gave him a Fifteenth from the Laity, and the Clergy contributed a Tenth towards the carrying on the War, and so the Parliament was sent Home. In the Time of this Session, viz. on *December* the 6th, being *St. Nicholas's* Day was *Queen Katherine* deliver'd of a Son at *Windsor* to the equal Joy both of the Nation and King. The Queen in the King's Absence put forward his Christning, and therefore that solemn Act of Christian Initiation was perform'd by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* soon after his Birth, the Duke of *Bedford*, and his Great Uncle *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester* being his God-fathers, and *Jaqueline*, Countess of *Brabant* and *Holland* being his God-mother and Governess. The News of the Prince's Birth was sent over to the King with all convenient Speed, and was receiv'd with great Joy. He was then at the Siege of *Meaux*, and as soon as he heard it gave solemn Thanks to God, that it had pleas'd the Divine Providence to bestow a Son upon him that might succeed him in his Crown and Scep-

A. D. 1421. Reg. 9.

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

The Birth of Prince Henry at Windsor.

(e) Of which Province *Bourges* is the Capital.

(f) He took *Dreux* before he march'd to the *Loire*. *Engu. Mont.*

(g) They invest'd the Town, *October* the 6th. *Du Cbojue Ansig. des Ville's de France.*



A. D. 1421. ter. However it is said, that he was not pleased at the Place of his Nativity, which was at *Windsor*, because having some Information, that that Place would be Fatal to him, he had given a strict Charge that he should not be born there; but since an unavoidable Fate had cast his Birth there, he prophetically said, either from present Instinct, or from the Prediction of some other, unto the Lord *Fitz-Hugh* his Chamberlin and great Confident.

*I Henry born at Monmouth, shall small Time  
reign and much get;  
But Henry of Windsor shall long reign and lose  
all, but as God will so be it.*

A. D. 1422. *Christmas* now approach'd, and though King *Henry* always kept it with some Solemnity, yet he chose rather to abridge himself of that Custom than break up the Siege of *Meaux*, though the Extremity of the Weather both for Cold and Wet, the Sickness of his Army and the great Losses which he had sustain'd by the Besieged, who had kill'd many of his Men; and among the Rest the Earl of *Worcester* and Lord *Clifford*, might have been an Argument sufficient to have discourag'd his Proceedings, and forc'd him to have left it. But all these Things rather increased than dishearten'd him; whereupon with more fierce Assaults he batter'd the Walls of the Town, and having made Bridges of Planks over the River *Marn*, begirt it so close, that it was much distressed, and could hardly hope to hold out against his various Arts to ruin them. But yet they stood out as undauntedly as Men in so much Danger could, having Intelligence that the *Dauphin's* Arms had prosper'd in *Normandy*, and that *Auranches* was fallen into their Hands, by which means King *Henry* would be oblig'd to send away part of his Forces to secure his Conquests there, which accordingly he did under the Command of the Earl of *Salisbury*, who soon regain'd the Town. At this the Citizens took heart, and endeavouring to get another Captain of great Courage and Experience, viz. the Seigneur *de Offemont* into their Town, thought to maintain their Ground against him; but being unfortunate in their Attempts, their Captain as he was Scaling the Walls falling into the Enemies Hands they were so discourag'd that they despair'd to hold out long, and began to carry all their Goods into the Castle. The King perceiving their Fear made a general and fierce Assault, and by dint of Sword obtain'd the Town. The Castle and Market-Place still held out, and though the King batter'd it with his Cannon, that it could not long stand out, yet they so insolently behav'd themselves to him by reproachful Words and Abuses as if they had been Unconquerable, which was the Cause, that when they were oblig'd at length to yield, they were reduc'd to such hard Conditions as no Town before had had impos'd upon them, which were to this Effect.

The Castle of *Meaux* surrendered, but upon hard Terms.

I. That the Market-Place of *Meaux* shall be surrendred up the Eleventh Day of *May* next ensuing.

II. That Monsieur *Lewis de Gast*, the Bastard of *Vaurus*, the Captain of the Town, who had barbarously spoil'd and oppress'd the People of the Country subject to King *Henry*, *Jehan de Romieres*, Bailiff of the Town, and *Fromagon*, and *Barnard de Meureville*, two Burgesses of the Town, who had been Assistants to their Captain in his Outrageous Acts should be left to King *Henry* to be put to Death for their Cruelties as he should think fit.

III. That *Guichard de Siffay*, *Pierron de Luppe*, *Robert de Gerames*, *Philip de Gainaches*, and *John de Ouray* should be deliver'd into the King's Power, and so remain till they had surrendred, or cause to be surrendred all the Towns, Castles, and Fortresses which they or any of them held in *France*, and then to be dismissed and secured of Life and Limb.

IV. That all the *English*, *Irish*, *Welsh*, and *Scots* that heretofore had been in the King's Service, or were his Natural Subjects should be left to the King's Will and Pleasure.

V. That all Persons who were found guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Murther (and many there were in the Town who were accused of it) should be left to Justice for that barbarous Crime.

VI. That all the rest of the Inhabitants of the Town, as well Soldiers as Burgesses should also be left to the King's Disposal, their Lives only excepted.

VII. That the Count *de Conuerfon* who had been Prisoner to *Pierron de Luppe*, but at the beginning of this Siege was deliver'd up to King *Henry* at his Request, and upon Promise of a certain Ransom, should now have his Liberty without the Payment of the said Ransom.

VIII. That all the Arms and Goods in the Market shall be brought to One Place, and being there safely guarded, an Inventory of the same shall be exactly taken and given to King *Henry*.

IX. That the Sacred Reliques found in the Churches, with all the Church-Ornaments and necessary Utensils shall be safely preserv'd and restor'd to the several Churches.

X. That all the Prisoners, as well in the Market-Place as in any other Place within the Jurisdiction of the Town, should be set at Liberty Ransom-free, and be acquitted of their Promises.

XI. That no Man until the Day appointed for surrendring of the Castle shall go out of the Market-Place, nor any Persons admitted into it, unless by the Allowance and Assignment of King *Henry*.

XII. That these Articles shall be Subscrib'd and Seal'd by an Hundred of the Chief Inhabitants of the Place, and Four and Twenty of them, such as King *Henry* shall think fit to choose out from among them, be left as Hostages in his Hands for the more certain Performance of this Agreement.

The Articles were accordingly perform'd, and the Market-Place of *Meaux* surrendred to the King at the Time agreed on; whereupon he sent some Selected Persons immediately Prisoners to *Paris*, *Roan* and *England*. The Bastard of *Vaurus* himself was hang'd upon the same Tree whereon he had formerly hang'd many *English* and *Burgundians* the King's Friends, and his Head fix'd upon a Pole on the top of the same Tree, his Standard, which used to be born before him in Battel, being also set up by it. The Bailiff of the Town and two Burgesses were sent to *Paris* and there Executed. The Goods of the Town found in the Market-Place were distributed by the King himself among his Captains and deserving Men. The Breaches of the Town and Castle were immediately order'd to be repair'd, and a strong Garrison left both in the Town and Market-Place of *Meaux* able to defend it from any sudden Assaults and Surprizes. The Surrender of this great and important Place was such a Terror, as well as Example to such other Towns of less Strength that held out still for the *Dauphin*, that most of them immediately yielded to King *Henry's* Arms, viz. *Crespi*, the Castle of *Pierre-pont*, *Merlaw*, *Offemont* and many

A. D. 1422. Reg. 9.

The *Dauphin* was lay at *Paris* in his Conquests.

Cosney besieged.



A. D. 1421. Reg. 9. many other Places, so that all the Isle of France, Brie, Lannois and Champaign, became entirely subject to King Henry, who put his most faithful and valiant Captains into the most important Places of them, and then return'd to Bois de St. Vincennes to his Mother and Father the King and Queen of France, who joyfully welcom'd him, having escap'd the great Dangers and Hazards of War.

Reg. 10. Q. Katherine being now perfectly recovered of all the Distempers and Weaknesses of Child-bearing, was very desirous of enjoying the Company of King Henry, whose Glory sounded over all the World, and accordingly having prepar'd all Things ready for her Voyage, took ship at Southampton and sail'd into France. John, Duke of Bedford, who was Regent of the Nation in the King's Absence, thinking it his Duty to take an equal, if not greater Care of the Queen than Kingdom, she being a more valuable Jewel than all earthly Power in the King's Eye, deputed his Brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to govern in his Absence, and with an Equipage of 800 Men conducted her over the Seas to Harfleur, and so by easie Journeys to Bois de St. Vincennes where her Father and Mother resided. King Henry had scarce settled Matters after the Surrender of Meaux, but hearing of the Arrival of his Queen, he hasten'd to meet her there. With great Joy was she receiv'd by her Parents, but with much greater by her Husband, who with a State and Splendor equal to his Love and Affection welcom'd her to his Embraces. They all stay'd a small Time at Bois de St. Vincennes, and on Whit-Sun-Eve, being May 30. remov'd all together to Paris, where King Henry in the Castle of the Louvre, and the French King in the Hostle of St. Paul celebrated the Feast of Pentecost in the greatest State and Magnificence. K. Henry and his Queen sitting upon that Festival in their Robes with their Crowns on their Heads, and keeping their Courts with a wonderful Confluence of People, while the King of France seem'd but like some Petty Prince or Noble-man to him. K. Henry govern'd and dispos'd all Things, and the King of France contentedly suffer'd him to act like a Sovereign, as tho' while K. Henry's Power and Glory daily increas'd, his own could never be eclips'd: So much did the Honour of the Son satisfy the Mind of the Father.

The Dauphin while K. Henry lay at Paris invades his Conquests. The Dauphin, who had constant Intelligence of the Motions and Condition of King Henry, and his Army, was not careless of this Opportunity of regaining what had been conquer'd by him; for though the King had conquer'd all Picardy, Normandy, Bry, the Isle of France and Champaign, yet still the greatest part of the Nation remain'd unconquer'd, and held with the Dauphin, whose Fortune though it was not equal to King Henry's, yet his Power and Greatness of Mind was not much inferior. The Dauphin therefore having an Army of 20000 Men, and thinking his Adversary now taken up with Pleasures and Ease, enters upon his Conquests, and takes with no Difficulty the small Town of La Charité upon the Loire. Being encourag'd by this Success he proceeded and laid Siege to a Town call'd De Cone on the same River, which not willing to undergo the Miseries and Straits of a Siege, agreed to surrender to him if the Duke of Burgundy did not come to their Relief before August the 16th, to which the Duke of Burgundy, who lay not far off with a Body of Men, but much inferior to the Dauphin's, assented; and having appointed a Day for the Fight, the Duke sent Word of their Appointment to King Henry, desiring, That he would send a greater Enforce-

ment to his Army. King Henry hearing this Message, and being sensible that a Field-Fight might possibly put an end to the Quarrel between 'em, return'd an Answer, That he would certainly be with him in Person with all his Forces upon the Day prefix'd, but his brave Mind was crossed with a Crazy Body; and tho' he had begun his March, yet he was forced to yield to the Violence of the Distemper upon him, being a Fever and Flux, which he had contracted by the long Fatigues he had undergone in the Wars, and therefore remain'd at Senlis, sending his Army under the Command of the Duke of Bedford to assist the Duke of Burgundy upon the Day appointed, who accordingly joyning with the Earl of Warwick march'd hastily thither, and the Day before the Battel was to be, encamp'd near the Walls of de Cone. The King, who never miscarry'd in any of his Personal Enterprizes, and was desirous to be present in all dangerous Attempts, because a good Fortune seem'd ever to attend him, was discontented that the Army had left him, and therefore march'd forward after them in an Horse-litter, intending to animate his Men by his Presence, though he could not engage with them, and was carry'd as far as Melun, but there finding himself unable to travel he was oblig'd to cease his Design and return to Bois de St. Vincennes. The Dauphin who readily accepted the Proffer of Battel, and by his Herald had faithfully promised to abide the Field and try his Fortune; as soon as he saw the English Colours display'd, and his Army as he imagin'd inferior to them, notwithstanding his Vaunts dislodg'd them and march'd to Berry. This unexpected Flight of the Dauphin, as it gave Relief to Cosney so it encourag'd the Duke of Bedford to go on and undertake something which might be for his Master's Honour, and gratifie the Soldiers eager Courage, who were unwilling to return back without Action: Whereupon the Duke led 'em to Troyes in Champaign, and began the Siege of that important Place, but before any thing considerable could be attempted, the sad News of the King's Danger by his Sickness arriv'd in the Camp, which drew away their Leader, who immediately post'd to Bois de St. Vincennes to the King, and so damp'd the Hearts of the whole Army, that they could not go on with the Siege, tho' left under the Conduct of the Duke of Burgundy, but soon after departed, and so the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury with the rest of the Nobility return'd to the King.

The Duke of Bedford being arriv'd at St. Vincennes, and seeing the low and dangerous Condition of his Brother, much lamented his approaching and untimely End, as did also the other Noble-men about him; but the King, as unconcerned at his own Death, look'd cheerfully upon them, and comforting them for his Departure from them, gave them such Directions, for the Management of his Kingdoms for his Young Son after his Decease, as he thought necessary and suitable in his Farwel-Speech, to this Effect. That he knew his Death would be born by them with great Sorrow, but when their Passions were a little cool'd, they upon Consideration would have as little cause to be troubl'd at it as he himself had: For tho' indeed his Life and Reign had been but short, yet that was so far from disturbing him, that he placed it among one of his Felicities, that he should not outlive his Glories, as long Reigns do almost inevitably cause the most successful and brave Princes to do: Fortune either being tired with long Attendance, or Old Age being Nauseous to her. That he should carry flourishing Laurels

A. D. 1421.

Reg. 10.

K. Henry falls sick of a Fever and Flux.

K. Henry's Death approaches, and his Preparation for it.

1. He comforts his Nobles, and gives them direction about the Education of his Son, and Management of the Kingdom in his Minority.



A. D. 1422. Reg. 10. *reels out of the World with him; and though he was laid in the Dust, the Glory of his Courage and Victories, Virtue and Goodness should live for ever: That though indeed much Blood had been shed in his Quarrel, and Blood-shed be one of the most crying Sins in the Ears of Divine Justice, yet his Conscience accused him of no Guilt in that kind, since he could protest in the Sight of God, that it was not any ambitious Desire of enlarging his Dominions, or of purchasing himself the Vain-glorious Name of a Conquerour, nor any other sinister Consideration had mov'd him to take in hand this War, but the Recovery of his Inheritance, to which he had an undoubted Right from his Ancestors by the Judgment of the most Learned and Conscientious both of the Clergy and Laity of his Realm, who both instigated and encourag'd him in the Prosecution of this War till he had gotten his due; assuring him, that he might do it without any Danger of God's Displeasure, or Peril to his own Soul; That he was sensible his untimely Death would create great Troubles to them, and all his People, because he should leave them in such a Multitude of Business depending, and without a Prince to succeed him, who shall be able to govern in his stead, but the Consideration of the Frailty of all worldly Things ought to mitigate their Sorrow; for when we have done all we can, there will still be something wanting which we desire. Having thus comforted them concerning his own Death, he went on and gave them Directions about his Son: And first conjur'd them all to follow and observe the Council that he should give them. He earnestly entreated them to love his Infant Son and their King, Prince Henry, and to take care that by their Wise and Prudent Instruction he may be made Able and Worthy to rule so great Kingdoms, and manage so great Scepters, and that they would comfort his Queen, the most afflicted Creature living, and love her with the same Affections as he had always done them while he was alive. He exhorted them to live in Unity and Concord one with another, and continue the League of Amity with Philip, Duke of Burgundy, which would conduce much to the Security of the French Dominions in their due Subjection, if by their Breaches among themselves they did not endanger all. He propounded to them for Deputy-Governour of his Kingdoms in his Sons Minority, and desir'd they would quietly submit to them, his Brethren, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to govern England, and enjoyn'd him not to depart out of the Realm upon any Occasion soever, till his Son was arriv'd at an Age able to assume the Government, and John, Duke of Bedford, with the Assistance of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, to govern his Kingdom of France, commanding them (who were both present) to prosecute the Dauphin with all their Force, till they had either totally subdu'd him and his Party, or driven him out of the Realm, for said he, you will never be quiet so long as he hath any Power to disturb you, and it is absolutely necessary, that either you must lose what*

*you have, or he be driven out of all. Then he commanded them (however Time or Occasion might invite them to the contrary) that Normandy which is the Ancient Inheritance of the Crown of England, and hath been purchased and regain'd with so much Labour and Expence of Blood, should not be alienated from that Crown upon any Occasion whatsoever. Lastly, He enjoyn'd them, that the Duke of Orleans, the Earl of Eu, the Lord Gaucourt, and Guichard de Sifay should be kept Prisoners in England till his Son came of Age, least if they were set at Liberty they might raise greater Troubles in France, than they should have Power or Policy enough to allay. The Noble Men full of Grief stood silent about him, but promised to perform all his Desires to the full.*

The King having thus order'd the Matters of his Kingdoms, that his Son might be well Educated and enjoy a prosperous Reign, betook himself to prepare for the State which he was sensible he was just ready to enter upon, because of the Violence and Strength of his Distemper; wherefore calling his Chaplains and Physicians he enquir'd of these latter how long it is possible he might live, who answer'd, *Nor above two Hours*; whereupon he order'd the former to do their Office, and fit his Soul for its Dissolution. He first made a very devout and penitential Confession of his Sins, and then receiv'd the Holy Sacrament, after which he caused the Seven Penitential Psalms to be recited, and as the Chaplain who read them mention'd the Name of (h) Jerusalem, he burst out into this Ejaculation. *Lord thou knowest that it was in my real Purposes to conquer Jerusalem, and rescue it out of the Hands of the Infidels, if it had pleas'd thee to lengthen out my Life, but thy Providence hath defeated my Design; Thy Will be done*, and then before the Chaplain could read many Verses further he gave up the Ghost at Bois de St. Vincennes, on the last Day of August, 1422. having liv'd Thirty Six Years, and reigned Nine Years, Five Months and Fourteen Days, (i) leaving a Son of Eight Months Old Heir of all his Dominions, whose Education was at the Desire of his Father committed to the Duke of Exeter. His Bowels were enterr'd in the Church of St. Maur de Toffes, and his Body being embalmed was inclosed in a Coffin of Lead, and being accompany'd with all the Lords and great Men, as well of France as England, and the whole Army, was brought with much Honour and Lamentation to Paris, and there being set in the Church of our Lady, solemn Obsequies were said for him (k) several Days, and a great Distribution of Money given to the Poor. From thence he was remov'd to Roan, where his Body remain'd till all Things could be made ready for his Burial and Conveyance into England, and then being carry'd to Calis he was convey'd to Dover, and from thence to London, where his Corps being set in St. Paul's Church, his Exequies were again celebrated. The Entrance into, and Passage through London (l) was very Magnificent. An Effigies representing his Person as near as could be, the Head whereof was Massy Silver, was laid in a Bed upon the Top of the Hearse where his Body lay, painted curiously in Imita-

A. D. 1422. Reg. 10.

His Preparation for Death.

Q. rine  
ric  
Ow  
dor.

The manner of his Burial and Interment.

(b) The Place is in the Fifty First Psalm, the Words, *Build up the Walls of Jerusalem.*  
(i) He began his Reign March the 20th, 1413. He died the 31st of August, 1422. So he reign'd Nine Years, Five Months and Eleven Days. We must here Correct a Contradiction in Mr. Goodwin's History of this King, He says, Page 1. *He was Crown'd the 9th of April, 1413. in the Twenty Sixth Year of his Age.* And pag. 337. *He died the 31st of August, 1422. in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and Fortieth of his Age:* If he was but Thirty Six Years Old in 1413. he certainly was but Thirty Five or Thirty Six in 1422.  
(k) The Arch-Bishop of Paris sung the Mass of Requiem for his Soul.  
(l) It pass'd in the same Pomp from Roan to Abbeville, Hesdin, Montreuil, Boulogne and Calais, the Queen following at a League's Distance with a great Retinue. Engu. Mont.



A. D. 1421. Reg. 10. tion of a Man in costly Robes; on his Head was set an Imperial Crown of Gold and Precious Stones, and in his Right-hand a Scepter, and in his Left a Globe of Gold. The Covering of the Bed was of Cloth of Gold, and a Canopy of very great Value was born over his Body by certain Noble Men. His Corps was attended by the King of *Scots*, all the Nobility, and most of the Gentry of *England* besides those of *France*, who likewise after the Exequies perform'd at *St. Paul's* attended his Body to *Westminster*, where it was enterr'd among his Royal Ancestors in *November* following, by *S. Edward the Confessor*, and his Effigies laid upon his Tomb erected over the Body, where it remains still, but Headless, the Covetousness of such as were employ'd to sweep the Church clean from Superstition at the Dissolution of the Monastries, being so great, that they spared not the Monuments of the Dead to advance their own Interests and Estates. But the Preservation of that was the more necessary, and so their Sacrilege the more intolerable because they swept away those Monastries at *Richmond*, viz. One of *Carthusians*, and another of *Monks* and *Nuns* of *St. Bridget* which he had erected and endow'd to say Three Solemn Masses for his Soul every Week for ever: So that were not his Virtues and brave Actions more lasting than Iron or Brass, his Memory had perish'd ere this, but so long as either *England* or *France* remain, or any Memoirs continue in them, he will be Celebrated as the Glory of the One, and the Terror of the Other. His Queen, who not long after his Death came over into *England* with her Son King *Henry*, was afterwards marry'd to *Owen Theodore* or *Tudor*, a Gentleman of *Wales*, one not Eminent either for his Noble Birth, (m) or Plentiful Fortune, but being of a very graceful and beautiful Personage found such Favour with her as to receive him into her Bed, and by him had Three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*. *Edmund* was after by her Interest made Earl of *Richmond*, and marry'd to *Margaret*, Daughter and sole Heiress to *John Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, (n) natural Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, and by him she was Mother of *Henry the Seventh*. *Jasper* was made Earl of *Pembroke* by *K. Henry the Sixth*, and requited his Favour by continually adhering to him against the Family of *York* in all his Wars. *Q. Katherine* surviv'd *Owen*, and retreated into the Nunnery of *Bermondsey* in *Surrey*, where she dy'd in the Fourteenth Year of her Son *Henry's* Reign, and was bury'd in our Lady's Chappel in *St. Peter's Church* at *Westminster*: Her Corps was taken up in King *Henry the Seventh's* Reign, her Grand-Child, and set by her Husband's Tomb, where it still remaineth unbury'd to be seen and touch'd by any that please. Thus ended the most Glorious King *Henry*, and his Beautiful Queen *Katherine*.

Having given the Reader a View of this glorious Reign, it may be thought Presumptuous to add a Character of a King whose Victories and Virtues were so illustrious, that Eloquence it self is too weak to describe them. He was possessor of every Quality which forms a good Man and a Hero. His riper Years made a sufficient amends for the Extravagancies of his Youth; and yet even those were but the Sallics of that Martial Fire which afterwards shone out so brightly, to the Immortal Honour of his Name and Empire. That he was as Brave as the Bravest Captains of *Old Rome*, appears by the Facts which adorn his Annals. He undertook no Enterprize that he thought too Perilous for himself to engage in, and never put his Troops upon Action to which he durst not lead them in Person. As he was the most Brave, he was the most Generous Prince of his Age, and did nothing that a true Father of his Country might have occasion to repent of. He treated his Subjects like his Children, and never was so much displeased with his Condition as when it oblig'd him to burthen them with Taxes, which he always laid as sparingly and equally as possible. He was truly Religious according to the Religion of the Times, and his Zeal for the Prosperity of the Church was as warm as his Passion for the Interest of *England*. Indeed he was too severe with the *Lollards*. He was the first who Persecuted them for their opposing *Papery*, which is the only Blot in his Reign; and yet that, if we consider they were Hereticks in his Judgment, was the Fault of his Religion, and not an Error of his Mind. He attributed all the Glory of his Conquests to God the Giver of all Victory. He was always devout in his Prayers for Success on his Arms, and hearty in his Praise for the Blessings with which they were Crown'd. He was strict and impartial in the Distribution of Justice, and as he furnish'd the Church with the best Bishops, he supply'd the Courts with the best Judges. He delighted in the frequent Meeting of his People in Parliament, and never refused the Royal Assent to any one Bill that was presented him for the Publick Good. In his Wars abroad he was as merciful as in his Government at home, and spar'd even the Blood of his Enemies. He lov'd his Queen with Tenderness and Constancy, and in a Word was too Great and too Good for so Wicked and Idolatrous a Generation, having left an Example of Heroick Virtue behind him, which the Favourites of Fame have endeavour'd to imitate but could never reach. He was graceful in his Person, tall of Stature, his Presence Manly and Majestick. His Hair was Black, his Neck long, his Look Gracious and Lovely, his Speech Grave, his Wisdom Conspicuous in all his Actions, and his whole Life from his Man-hood to his Death the Wonder of his own Age, and the Admiration of Posterity.

A. D. 1421. Reg. 10. K. Henry's Character.

Q. Katherine married to Owen Tudor.

(m) He was descended from *Cadwallader* the last King of *Britain*, of the *British* Race.

(n) He was not natural Son to *John of Gaunt*, but Son to *John*, Earl of *Somerset*, who was Son of *Kat. Swinford* by the Duke of *Lancaster*, and all the Children of that Duke by that Lady were Legitimated in Parliament after the Duke had married her.



THE  
Remarkable OCCURRENCES,  
IN THE  
*Reign of HENRY the Fifth,*

Are related among

The Actions of his Life, in the same manner as the Author has done in the History of his Father, and in all the King's Reigns which he wrote from RICHARD the Second down to HENRY the Seventh; only some few memorable Things which he omitted, we shall insert in their proper Places.

ON the Day of his Coronation there happen'd a Tempest of Wind, Snow and Hail, the Snow was most taken Notice of because 'twas most Prevalent, on which the People made various Superstitious Observations. Some thought it presag'd, that the New King would be Cold and Negligent in the Administration of the Government, or Wrong and Oppress them, others took it for a good Omen, that having dispell'd those Clouds of Vice which had darken'd the Nation, Brightness and Serenity would succeed the Storm.

'Tis no Wonder that a Reign so Glorious as this should produce a great Number of Hero's. 'Twould be endless to put down all the Illustrious English Names that shine in the History of the Conquest of France: Some of the Chief and these who distinguish'd themselves most, we think it our Duty to mention, as Thomas, Duke of Clarence, John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the King's Brothers, of whom the Two latter made greater Figures in the Reign of his Son Henry the Sixth. Thomas, Duke of Exeter, and John, Earl of Somerset, his Uncles, Princes worthy of their Relation to Henry the Conqueror of France. Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Thomas Mountacute, Earl of Salisbury, John Holland, Earl of Huntington, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Beaumont, the Lord Bardolf, the Lord Fitz-bugh, Sir John Falstaff, Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir James Harrington, Sir Philip Hall, Sir John Cornwall, Sir Lewis Robissart, Sir Gilbert Umphreville, and the Brave Welsh Captain David Gam, whom King Henry Knighted, when he was dying of the Wounds he receiv'd in the Battel of Agincourt, fighting in Defence of his Royal Person.

As the King was great in War, so he shew'd by his Favour to Men of Learning that he would have been a Promoter and Patron of the Arts of Peace, if he had liv'd to have given Rest to his Arms. He was himself bred up at Oxford under the Tuition of his Uncle Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and took delight in the Conversation of Thomas Rudburn, Bishop of St. David's, Stephen Patrington, Bishop of Chichester, and John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, Men noted for their Learning and Eloquence: Besides these, there were many others Eminent in his Time, viz.

Dr. Alain of Lun in Norfolk, Prior of the Carmelites in that Town, a Divine and Philosopher.

John Seguarde a Poet. He taught Polite Learning in Norwich, and wrote against the Abuse of Poetry by writing Lewd Verses.

Dr. Robert Rose, Prior of the Monastery of Carmelites in Norwich. He was Noted for his Moderation in the Disputes between the Wickliviſts and Papiſts.

Dr. John Luck. Ant. Wood ſays, he was a great Friend, and Bale, that he was a violent Enemy of the Wickliviſts. See Wood's Athen. Oxon. and Bale, de Scriptor. Britan.

Richard Caiſtre of Norwich, a ſecret Friend to the Wickliviſts.

William Wellys, General of the Order of the Black-Fryers in England.

Richard Smetiſham, a Famous Diſputant.

William Taylor, A.M. a Zealous Wickliviſt. He wrote a Book, *De non invocando Sanctos*, and was a Martyr, being burnt in Smithfield in the laſt Year of this King, whoſe only Blot was the Blood ſpilt in his Time by the Papiſts to

ſupport their Idolatry, and the King out of Bigotry or Intereſt too much encourag'd their Cruelty.

Dr. William Lyndwood, a Civilian, Author of the Book call'd, *Provinciale ſeu Conſtitutiones Anglia.*

Bartholomew Florariuſ, call'd ſo from a Book he wrote, which he Intitul'd, *Florariuſ.*

Adam Hemlington, famous in the Universities of Oxford and Paris.

William Batecomb, an Excellent Mathematician.

Robert Maſcall, one of the English Deputies at the Council of Conſtance, and Biſhop of Hereford.

John Purvey, A.M. Wickliff's Pupil, a Man of extraordinary Learning. He wrote a Comment upon the Revelations, publiſh'd afterwards by Luther without the Author's Name, in which he aſſerted, that the Pope was the Whore mention'd in the Apocalypſe. He dy'd in Priſon. He wrote many other Treatiſes.

Bertram Fitzallen of Lincolnſhire, a Philoſopher.

John Beſton, one of the beſt Orators of his Time.

John



John Leland, Senior, a Grammarian and Poet.  
Dr. John Bale, Learned in the Greek Tongue.

Dr. Richard Ullerston, a violent Enemy to the Lollards.

Peter Clark, A. M. He disputed against Thomas Walden in the Schools at Oxford, vindicating Wickliff's Doctrine, he fled for it to Bohemia and dy'd there.

Roger of St. Ives, He wrote against Sir John Oldcastle.

John Tartas, a Logician.

Roger Whelpdale, Bishop of Carlisle.

John Waynesfleet, a Divine and Philosopher.

Richard Fleming, He was first a great Favourer of Wickliff's Doctrine, but was brib'd off by the Bishoprick of Lincoln.

Nicholas Pont, of Merton-College in Oxon. He disputed with Richard Fleming, while the latter was a Wickliffist.

Thomas Cranly, Arch-Bishop of Dublin, a Poet, being Distressed by the Irish Rebels, he

wrote an Epistle in Latin Verse to King Henry for Succours.

Thomas Walden, He was sent to the Council of Constance to Dispute with the Hussites, being a violent Papist.

Thomas Otterburn, a Franciscan-Fryer.

Dr. John Langden, Bishop of Rochester.

Robert Grasdale.

John Shirburn wrote Chron. Britan.

John Henfield, a Monk of Battle-Abbey, and Peter Bassel, Esquire, the King's Chamberlain, who wrote his Life, were Historians.

And that Brave Soldier, Courtier and Christian, Sir John Oldcastle, who defended himself at his Tryal with more Learning and Eloquence than all the Doctors his Adversaries accused him with. He wrote Three Pieces. The First, To the Parliament of England. The Second, The Complaints of the Husbandmen. The Third, A Confession of Faith.

T H E



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
H E N R Y VI.

A. D.  
1422.  
Reg. 1.  
K. Henry's  
Age and  
Successi-  
on.

**H**ENRY the Sixth, the Son of that most Heroick Prince *Henry V.* but rather of his Piety than Courage, was left Heir of the Crowns of *England* and *France* when he was not above Nine Months Old, by the untimely Death of his Father, and accordingly was Proclaim'd King of all his Dominions, *August* the 31<sup>st</sup>, 1422. both at *London* and *Paris*. (a) The State of Affairs was so Intricate and Troublesom, that it required a Prince of equal, if not greater Magnanimity and Conduct than the Nation had so lately lost; but so great was the Religious Respect which the People then had to the Right of Succession, (b) that tho' a much fitter Person might have been Elected for the Government, yet they chose rather to submit to a Child the Rightful Heir, than to the most Brave Hero who wanted that Lawful Claim. And indeed the late King *Henry* who was as able to preserve a Kingdom by his Wisdom, as to get it by his Valour, had taken such effectual Care upon his Death-Bed to supply all the Deficiencies in Government during the Minority of his Son, by putting in sufficient and able Deputies in both Kingdoms, as well as Tutors for the Education of his Person in all Virtuous and Princelike Endowments and Accomplishments, that instead of One he may seem to have left us many Kings. For he made his Elder Brother *John*, Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, and his Younger *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester* Governour of *England* during the Non-Age of his Son, both Persons of that Wisdom, Valour and Integrity, that as they knew how to manage so great Trusts with the greatest Skill and Fidelity, and uphold the Interests of the Crown in their own Family without an Ambitious Usurpation of it, so they were both admitted to those High Stations with the general Approbation and Content of the Nobility and Commons of the Nation. *Thomas Beaufort*, Duke of *Exeter*, and his Brother *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester* were appointed Guardians of his Person, and to take care of his Education, as soon as he was capable of any Impressions of Honour and Goodness; which Choice shews that his Royal Father, who indeed himself was the perfect Model of a good Prince, accounted Religion as necessary for a Prince, as Policy and Martial Skill,

His De-  
puties and  
Tutors.

and in the mean time he remain'd under the Care and Government of his Mother Queen *Katherine*, who with the Indulgence and Kindness fit for so great an Infant and so good a Mother, nourish'd him in his Child-hood, till he was Old enough to receive the Instructions of his Wiser Tutors and Guardians.

Due Care being thus taken of the King's Royal Person, and the Government being put into the Hands of so Wise and Good Men, Necessities of State requir'd speedy Action; and tho' greater Time might have justly been allow'd to their Grief for the Loss of so loving a Brother, and so great a King, yet since Ceremony might bring irrecoverable Damages upon both Nations, the Two Dukes upon whom the Charge of them lay were forced to offer some Violence to Nature, and betake themselves immediately to the Management and Settlement of Publick Affairs. The Duke of *Gloucester* being as desirous to please as benefit the Nation, and sensible that the Best Government is always establish'd upon good Council, made Choice in the first Place of such of the Nobility to be his Council, as were more Eminent for their Wisdom and Virtue, and provided such Under-Magistrates, as by their Justice and Impartiality might give a general Satisfaction to the People, and by their Fidelity and Loyalty might secure the Constitution, and preserve the Peace under their Infant-King. The Duke of *Bedford* also was equally diligent and careful to preserve his Dominions in *France*, which being hardly impossible to be done but by the subduing of the *Dauphin* (as his Brother *K. Henry* the Fifth in his dying Speech had order'd) he kept on Foot the same Forces which he had left in *France*, and with the same Zeal and Courage sought to suppress both him and his Adherents, which no doubt he might have done, had not that fatal Alteration, the Death of the French King *Charles* the Sixth, so soon happen'd, for he dy'd within Fifty Three Days after King *Henry* his Son-in-law, on *October* the 21<sup>st</sup> following. The Life of *K. Charles* was many ways an Advantage to the *English*; for tho' the Settlement made by him upon *K. Henry* and his Heirs after his own Death, could be reasonably thought of little Validity against *Charles* the *Dauphin's* Claim, because he was so distem-

A. D.  
1422.  
Reg. 1.

Duke of  
*Gloucester's*  
Government

Duke of  
*Bedford's*  
Care of  
*France*.

*Charles*  
the French  
King's  
Death.

(a) He cou'd not then be Proclaim'd King of *France*, because *Charles* the Sixth was living, and by the Treaty of *Troyes*, the King of *England* was not to be Stiled King of *France* till after *Charles's* Death.

(b) 'Twas rather their Respect to the Memory of his Father than to the Right of Succession; for besides, that they shewed they did not value much that Right when they placed *Henry* the Fourth, the King's Grand-father on the Throne, The Divine Right of Succession was in *Edmund*, Son of *Roger Mortimer*, late Earl of *March*, who was the Son of *Edmund Mortimer*, by the Princess *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, the King's Great Grand-father, which Title we shall hear more of to this King's Cost before the End of his Reign.

per'd



A. D. 1422. Reg. 1. per'd in his Understanding by his Disease, and so over-rul'd by his Queen, who to revenge her own Quarrel, valu'd not her Son's Right, that no Act of his in these Circumstances could be of any lasting Obligation, yet so long as he was alive, and had confirm'd the Title of the *English* to all they had already gotten by their Arms, and joyn'd further with them to subdue his Son, the *English* met every where with more Assistance, their Proceedings were more justifiable, and the Opposition that the *Dauphin* and his Party made against them, thus joyn'd with his Father, look'd like a most unnatural Rebellion, and so no doubt was accounted by many, who otherwise would have assisted him; and though they thought it a glorious Act to rescue their Kingdom out of the Power of the Conqueror, as the *Dauphin* rightly pretended, yet their Consciences would not suffer them to engage in that Action which carry'd so great Sin, under the fair Pretences of recovering their Country and Liberty, as Rebellion is; for they could not fight for the Son, but against their Father, nor save their Country from the Conqueror without Wrong to their lawful Prince. But the Death of *Charles* now releas'd them from these dubious Perplexities, and put a new Spirit into the *French*, who were weary of the *English* Power and long'd for Liberty.

K. Charles his Death. *Charles* the *French* King dy'd at *Paris*, and was bury'd at *St. Dennis*, after he had been a Crowned King of *France* Forty Six Years (or according to the *French* History, Forty Two Years.) He was a Prince of that Excellent Disposition and Temper in his Younger Days, while his Understanding was clear and vigorous, and govern'd his People so well, that he was universally lov'd by his Subjects, who therefore call'd him, *Le Roy Charles le bien aimé*, i. e. *K. Charles* the Well-belov'd: But the Happiness which *France* might have promis'd her self under so good a Prince, was soon eclips'd by the Disease which seiz'd him within four Years after he came of Age, thro' a great Fright, which he was put into as he rode thro' the Forrest of (c) *Mans* by the sudden Appearance of a Man (or rather a Spirit in Human Shape) which boldly laying hold of his Horse's Bridle and stopping him, said, *O King ride no further, but return back immediately, for you are betray'd.* These Words much surpriz'd the King; and tho' his Guards forced the Man by Blows to let go his Bridle, yet his sudden Disappearance, as if he were more than a Man, made such a strong Impression upon his Mind, that he fell into a Fit of Frenzy, which plainly discover'd it self to be nothing else but the Effects of those Fears, and the excessive Jealousy of Treason, which he had conceiv'd in his Mind from the former Words; for he look'd upon all about him as Traytors, and with all his might would strike any Person that he could come at, with any thing he could lay hold of. In which miserable Condition, saving some short Intervals, he reign'd Twenty Nine Years, or rather was govern'd by Factions and Parties, for he was in no wise able to govern himself. This Misfortune brought many Troubles upon the Kingdom,

creating strong Divisions among his Nobles, and giving his Enemies an Opportunity to encroach upon his Territories, which the *English* had done so effectually, that he was in his Life-time become a King only in Name, tho' not without his own Consent, and saw his Kingdom and Regalities in the Power of a Foreign Prince, *Henry* the Fifth King of *England*. Death was never a greater Happiness to any Person than to him; for though he had nothing blame-worthy in him but his Affliction, yet that made his Life so troublesome to himself as well as others, that nothing could be so desirable to him as Death, which restor'd him to a right Mind, a sweet Repose, and eternal Happiness at once. After his Death his Kingdom was immediatly seiz'd on by Two Rivals, who with equal Zeal, and as they thought, or pretended, Title, sought to establish themselves Kings of it. The Duke of *Bedford* almost as soon as he had given up the Ghost caused his Nephew *Henry VI.*, then King of *England*, to be proclaim'd in *Paris* after this Manner. Two Herald's at Arms in their usual Formalities, and many Nobles to attend them, were sent into the most eminent Streets of that City, and one of 'em having cry'd out, *King Charles is dead*, another immediately said with a loud Voice, *God save King Henry the Sixth, God give a long and happy Life to Henry the Sixth, (d) King of France and England, Our Sovereign Lord:* And after the same manner was he proclaim'd King in other Parts of the Realm. *Charles*, Duke of *Touraine*, commonly call'd the *Dauphin*, on the other side was also proclaim'd and crown'd King of *France* by his Party at *Porchiers*, as being Legitimate Heir to the Deceased King, and by the Laws and ancient Edicts of the Nation as well as Nature, the lawful Heir to the Crown of *France*. The *English* indeed at this Time were grown so Powerful, and had gotten so large Dominions in *France*, that they derided this their Competitor, and call'd him in Contempt, *The King of Berry*, because his Fortunes were at so low an Ebb at his Father's Death, that little of *France* was in his Power, but the City of *Bourges* in *Berry* and the Territories adjoining; yet the Justice of his Title, his undaunted Courage in his worst Condition, and constant Resolution to recover his Right, and restore the Liberties of *France*, were such Endearments of him to his Country-Men, that it soon appear'd that tho' *Henry* had largest Territories, *Charles* had most Hearts, which tho' under some Fears and Confinements, yet as Opportunity offer'd fell so by Degrees to him, that the *English* were quite expell'd *France*, and *Charles* regain'd all his Hereditary Rights, and an absolute Dominion over that Kingdom, yet not without some Difficulty and Struggling with a various Fortune, as the History of the following Years will shew us.

The great Change which had thus happen'd by the Death of King *Charles*, the best Friend of the *English*, much awaken'd the vigilant Mind of the Duke of *Bedford*, who could easily foresee the approaching Dangers of the *English* from the present King, who was not more Contemptible to others than Formidable to him. He knew that

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1.

Henry VI. proclaim'd King solemnly in Paris.

Charles the Dauphin crown'd King of France.

Duke of Bedford's Care to preserve France.

(c) *Mezeray* the most Authentick Historian among the *French* writes, that he fell Distracted by this means. He was going upon an Expedition against the Duke of *Breign*, and as he rode on a very hot and sultry Day arm'd from Head to Foot, his Page that carry'd his Lance following him, he happen'd to drop a sleep, and the Page by chance let the Lance fall on his Helmet, which not only awaken'd him, but threw him into such a Fury that quite bereft him of his Senses, inso much, that he fell upon all that were about him, and had certainly killed some of them had he not been prevented by being laid hold on. His Distemper, says the same Author, grew greater by a Fright the next Year, when Dancing in a Mask, the Cloaths of his Fellow Maskers being daubed with Pitch and Rosin, took fire, and before they could be undressed they were burnt or stifled, the King was snatched out of the Flames by a Lady of Masculine Courage; and this Accident so frighted him that he never entirely recovered the Use of his Understanding.

(d) As King of *England*, stiled *Henry* the Sixth, and as King of *France*, *Henry* the Second.



A. D. 1422. Reg. 1. the *English* Yoke could never be made easie to the *French* Necks, and that since now by the Death of the late King they had no Bond to hold them to their *Allegiance*, tho' never so often sworn and promised, but Conquest, they could expect Subjection from them no longer, than either Fear or lack of Opportunity could prevent their Revolt. This put him upon using all means to secure the Dominions of his Master, which he was sensible could not be always effectual, yet he hop'd it might preserve them to some advantageous Accidents. And the First Thing he did was to reinforce the Army which K. Henry his Brother had left in *France*, and place over it such Commanders, as were not only eminent for their Loyalty, but ready to undertake the boldest Attempts to maintain the Rights of their Country. With part of which he well fortified all the Garrisons on the Confines of the *English* Pale, and the rest he kept on Foot to oppose any sudden Invasion upon them by the *Dauphin* or his Party: Then he assembl'd all the Nobility, as well *French* as *English* to him at *Paris*, and having in a grave Speech reminded them of their Duty and Allegiance to K. Henry VI. their undoubted Sovereign, to whom they had not only oblig'd themselves to be faithful and true by the solemnest Oath made to his Father, but were ty'd by their present Interests; for as by their voluntary Subjection they were now settled in the quiet Enjoyment of their Honour and Estates, so by their Revolt they must necessarily expose themselves to all the Miseries of a renew'd War, which they must expect would be so much the more Merciless, by how much a treacherous Friend is always accounted as the worst of Enemies, he perswaded them to renew their Faith to the King, and take a fresh Oath of Fidelity to him. This Advice was readily comply'd with by all the Nobles and others present, who did their Homages to him in the King's Behalf, and took a solemn Oath of Allegiance to him, which being so good a President to all of inferior Degrees, the Regent imposed the like Oath upon all Persons as well *English* as *French* within K. Henry's Dominions in *France*. Besides these Things, he took the most effectual Care he could to keep *Normandy*, the Ancient Inheritance of the *English*, in Subjection, by encouraging the Nobility, and placing strong Garrisons among them, and that he might establish the *English* Sovereignty as firmly as he could among the *French*, he call'd in all the Ancient Coin and had it new made and stamped with the *English* Arms quarter'd with those of *France*, strictly forbidding, that any Money coin'd by the late K. Charles should be Current in K. Henry's Dominions, and ordering, that no Money should pass in Payment, but what had both the *English* and *French* Arms upon it. Two new Pieces were Coin'd as Badges of the *English* Sovereignty, One of Gold, call'd a *Salus*, of Twenty Two Shillings Value, and another of Silver, call'd a *Blans*, of Eight Pence Value. Thus did the Regent as wisely and cautiously provide for the Continuance of the *English* Power and Dominion in *France* as Human Prudence could devise, so that whatever might after fall out, he secur'd himself from any Negligence or deserv'd Blame.

First Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

But the Regent's Care was not thought sufficient to maintain so considerable a Part of the *English* Dominions, as *France* was deservedly accounted; the Duke of Gloucester who was equally concern'd to defend his Nephew's Right, thought it a Subject fit for the Consultation of a Parliament, which he summon'd for that End to meet, *Novemb. 9.* The Design of their Meeting

being only to provide for the War in *France*, little of Publick Concern was enacted, but what Necessity requir'd, and therefore only Three Acts of that Nature passed, viz. 1. To invest in the Lords of the King's Council, a Power to appoint Officers and Work-Men to coin Gold and Silver, in as many Places as shall seem to them convenient. 2. To enjoin all Sheriffs, four times a Year, to proclaim in their Jurisdictions all Statutes in Force concerning Purveyors, that they may not abuse the People's Ignorance or Credulity in Buying. 3. To banish certain *Irish* Men out of the Realm, who having taken Sanctuary in *Oxford* committed many Rapes, Murthers and Heinous Disorders in the Nation to the great Disturbance of the adjoining Countries. Most part of the Session was spent in contriving Supplies for the carrying on the Conquest of *France*, and it was at length unanimously granted, That for every Sack of Wool exported, Five Nobles should be paid to the King for Three Years next ensuing; and an Act was made at the same time for an Allowance to be given the maim'd and decept Soldiers, who had serv'd K. Henry V. in his Wars with *France*, out of the Territories conquer'd by their Assistance, and Spoils taken in the War. With this Supply of Money the Protector the Duke of Gloucester rais'd a Body of able Men, and in the Spring sent them over to assist his Brother against the Power of the New *French* King, whom they had reason to suppose would be struggling for his Right, as indeed they soon found he did.

While the *English* Governours were thus providing to secure their Conquests in *France*, King Charles then call'd King of *France* was no less endeavouring to raise an Army to regain his Kingdom, of which he had left little more than the Title, for scarce any Province adher'd to him but *Langue-doc*, and that able to do him little Service, being assaulted on the one Hand by John De *Guédon*, *Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, and on the other by the Lord *Rochebaron*, Governour of the Diocese of *Velay*, Friends to the *English*; but yet the lowest Ebbs of Fortune could not make him despair, having as he frequently used to say, God and Right on his side. With his Friends in *Langue-doc* he began to lay the Foundation of his ensuing Power, and with such an Army as he could pick up, which he put under the Command of the Count de *Fois*, encountred the Pr. of *Orange*, and Lord *Rochebaron*, whom he easily overcame, being but weak in themselves, and at too great a Distance to receive any timely Aid from the *English*. This Province being thus settled, he put it under the Government of Charles de *Bourbon*, Count de *Clermont* a Prince of the Blood, and as grateful to the People as faithful to himself, and being encourag'd by this Success he return'd to *Poitiers* to proceed in his Affairs, and raise an Army great enough for his Design, if it could be done with all his Interests. The Scots were his Friends, as they had always been to the Kings of *France*, but he was forced in so desperate a Condition to give them greater Encouragements than Ordinary, preferring some of their Nobles to the greatest Offices about him, as Charles Steward, Earl of *Buchan*, he made Constable of *France*, and gave him the Lordship of *Aubeny*, which his Posterity long enjoy'd, and James, Earl of *Glascoe*, Marshal, and besides choosing One Regiment of his Guards out of them (which is continu'd to this Day). These Favours shew'd to the Scots gain'd them readily to his Assistance, and made them not sparing in lending him Aid to recover that Dignity, which they were ready to believe by these Earnests would be their Gain

A. D. 1422. Reg. 1.

The Scots assist Charles.

A. D. 1423.



*A. D.* 1423. *Reg. 1.* as well as his own. He sent also to his Friends into *Italy* and *Spain* to require their Aid, who were not backward to his Desires, but lent him a convenient Force, which so elevated the Hopes of his Friends at Home (of which he had some Persons of Note in every Province of his Kingdom) that they also set all Engines at work to draw off the People from their Subjection to the *English*, and invite them to recover their Ancient Freedom and Rights, in which they were so Successful, that in a few Weeks they had gathered a great Army able to compass their Designs, and were assur'd privately of the Fidelity and Obedience of many considerable Towns, yea, even of the greatest part of the *Parisians* themselves, who tho' they dar'd not declare for him, yet would be ready as Opportunity should offer to act for his Advantage, which perhaps they should be the better able to do by being reputed Friends to the *English*. Thus did the Affairs of the Two Rival Kings stand. *Henry* had most of the Kingdom of *France*, but *Charles* had the most of the *French*. *Henry* was fear'd most, but *Charles* loved best. *Henry* was forc'd to trust his Enemies, but *Charles* to fight against his Friends: And then it was easie to guess which way the Victory would at length turn; for what Prince can be so Powerful that Treachery can not undermine, and what Prince so Weak as not to conquer where his Enemies are loath to strike and glad to yield, thereby to throw the Victory into the Hands they'd have it.

*Duke of Bedford* makes Alliances for the Safety of King *Henry*. The *D. of Bedford* with a watchful Eye observing the Growth of the *Dauphin's* Interest, feared that he would soon be, what he had as yet only the Title of, *King of France*, unless all speedy Means were used to crush him in the Beginning; and tho' he had a very good Force by him, yet he found it necessary to strengthen himself by a strict Alliance with such neighbouring Princes as might prove most prejudicial to the *English* by joyning with their Adversaries: Whereupon he invited the *Duke of Burgundy*, *Peter*, *Duke of Bretagne*, with his Brother *Arthur*, *Earl of Richmond*, *John*, *Prince of Orange*, and *Amadeus*, *Duke of Savoy* to an Interview at *Amiens*, and there enter'd into a League both Offensive and Defensive with them against *Charles* the pretended *King of France*. And that he might oblige them firmly to hold to their Promise, he marry'd *Ann* the *Duke of Burgundy's* Sister, and the *Earl of Richmond* his other Sister *Margaret*. From this Confederacy sprung almost an irresistible Opposition to all the Pretences of *Charles* to the Crown, for they all agreed to guard their several Parts of *France* against him and his Adherents, and to keep so strict a Watch upon all his Motions, that he should never be able to make any considerable Resistance. The *Duke of Burgundy* undertook the Defence of *Picardy*, and put in *John of Luxemburg* to drive out the *Dauphinists* (as they were call'd) out of the Towns they had possessed themselves of. The *Earl of Salisbury* was placed with a strong Body of Men in *Champaign* and *Brie*, not only to suppress any Insurrections, but keep the *Parisians* in aw. The Valiant *Earl of Warwick* was sent into *Guyenne* to take those Towns that held out for the *Dauphin*, and the *Prince of Orange* was sent with a good Army to suppress his Interests in *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*. Thus did the *Duke of Bedford* provide as a strong Force to resist, as *Charles* had to oppose, and made as firm Alliances to uphold and to maintain *K. Henry's* Dominions, as *Charles* had to regain them, so that they seem'd almost an equal Match, scarce able to subdue each other, unless some special Decree of Heaven

*A. D.* 1423. *Reg. 1.* should turn the Scale, as it may seem to have done in Favour of the *French*, as the following History will manifest.

Both Parties being thus provided for Action, they were as eager to try their Fortune One against the other, as they had been to fit themselves for it. The *English* are said by the *French* Historians to have begun the Game, and the *French* by the *English*; Report perhaps having outrun the real Attempts of either side: But this is credible, that they began to Assault each others Territories with equal Fury and Courage almost at the same time. The *English* besieg'd *Bazas* in *Guyenne*, and took it without much Difficulty, being a small and weak City; but *Charles* undertook a more important Attempt by the Siege of *Pont-Meulan*, a fair City, then well fortified by the *English*, and standing upon the River *Seine* at a convenient Distance from *Paris*, where he was certifi'd he had many Friends who would be helpful to him, if he could make himself Master of a Place so fit for Communication with them. The eager Desire he had to gain this City made him carry on the Siege with the greater Diligence and Severity; for having obtain'd it by Force before the *English* could send any Relief, he put the whole Garrison to the Sword. The *Duke of Bedford* was sensible of the Inconvenience of this Loss, and so much the more because he found the *Parisians* more uneasy under his Government, and endeavouring by all Means to get him out of their City, under a Pretence, that the adjoining Castles were troublesome and hurtful to them, which he easily discern'd was only contriv'd to declare for their own King without Danger, and therefore resolv'd upon the Recovery of it whatever it cost him. *Thomas*, *Earl of Salisbury*, a Person not inferiour to the most Eminent *Roman* Captains, was thereupon sent with a strong Army to besiege it; but because *K. Charles* was sensible that the Garrison was unable to make any considerable Defence, and he was loth to lose the Advantage he had got, he sent a Relief to them under the Command of the *Earl of Aumerl* the Constable of *France*, and the Lord *Anechy*, who having with them a good Body of hardy *Scots* endeavour'd by a pitch'd Battel to raise the Siege. The *English* as valiantly under their brave Commander maintain'd the Siege, and so a bloody and fierce Fight began, which concluded after some Hours in favour of the *English*, and with a great Loss to the *French*, for there were slain 1800 *French* Men, and above 3000 *Scots*, and among them several great Men and Commanders, viz. of the *French*, the *Earls of Lestrake*, *Comigens* and *Tonneire*, the Lords *Coquart de Cameron*, *De Port* and *Montmorancy*, the Bastards of *Arminack* and *Forrests*, and the Viscount of *Touraine*; and of the *Scots*, the Lord of *St. John's Town*, *Sir John Baggary*, *Sir John Turnbel*, *Sir John Holiburton*, *Sir Robert Listie*, *Sir William Douglas*, *Sir Alexander Hume*, and many others. The Constable who had lost his Eye in the Battel was taken Prisoner, with the *Earl of Ventadour*, *Sir Alexander Meldrum*, *Sir Lewis Ferignie*, and 2200 Gentlemen of the *French* side. The *English* tho' Conquerors, yet kept their Ground with the Loss of several of their Commanders, as *Sir John Grey*, *Sir William Hall*, and *Sir Gilbert Halsall*, one of their Marshals of the Field, and 2100 common Soldiers. The Misfortune of the *French* in this Attempt so disheartned the Besieged, who were Spectators of the Battel, that they immediately surrendered the Town upon these Conditions.

I. That the *French* Garrison should depart out of the Town without Damage or Impediment,  
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*A. D.* 1423. *Reg. 1.* Several Places taken by the *French* and *English*.

*Montmeulan* retaken by the *English*, and the Conditions of the Surrender.



A. D. 1423. but should leave behind them all their Horses, Armour, and other Habiliments of War.

Reg. 1. II. That all the Riches of the Town, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and the like should be a Spoil for the English.

III. That all Persons who had serv'd Henry V. in his Wars against France, or had sworn to a final Peace with the English, as also all the Soldiers within the Garrison, that were either Scots, Irish or English, should be left to the Mercy of the English; and all others who would swear Fealty and Homage to King Henry should have their Liberties given them immediately without Ransom.

IV. That if there were any Person found in the Town who was either actually guilty of the Death of the Duke of Burgundy, or had been consenting any ways to his Death, that he should have no Benefit of this Agreement, but should be deliver'd up to the Regent to be punish'd, with some other Articles of less Importance. The Recovery of this Town was of great Advantage to the English.

Duke of Bedford panishes the Parisians, and prefers the Earl of Salisbury, and Sir John Falstaff.

The Regent having thus remov'd the Danger which the near Approach of K. Charles's Forces threaten'd him with, set himself with all Diligence to secure the English Interests more firmly; he first inquir'd into the design'd Revolt of the Parisians, and punish'd the Leaders of it with Death. Then he sent Sir John Falstaff to reduce the Castles of Pacy and Courfay, which being in the Hands of the French who pretended themselves Friends to the Regent, were become troublesome to the English at Paris upon K. Charles's Success. These Sir John Falstaff with a good Force of English Soldiers soon reduced, and returning with a good Booty and many Prisoners to the Duke, they were put into the Keeping of more Faithful Persons. But the Regent, who was of as eminent Wisdom as Fidelity, thought it not more Prudent to curb his Enemies than encourage his Friends, and therefore prefer'd the Earl of Salisbury and Sir John Falstaff to Places of greater Trust for their Services of this Year. The Earl of Salisbury he made Lieutenant and Vice-gerent for the King in the Counties of Brie and Champaign, and Sir John Falstaff, Great Master of his Household, his Deputy in the Duchy of Normandy, lying on this side the River Seine, and Governour of the Countries of Anjou and Main, which Honours, as they shew'd what Respect the Regent had for their Fidelity and Valour, so they became a strong Obligation upon them to be indefatigable in his Service, as indeed they were ever after. (e)

Transactions in England, and Accidents.

During these Transactions in France by the French and English, many Things not unworthy Observation happen'd in England, but none of so fatal an Influence as the Marriage of the Protector Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, which shall be more distinctly related in its Order. November the 7th, the Body of the Heroick Prince King Henry V. being brought out of France, was bury'd in the Abby-Church of Westminster at the Feet of St. Edward, as is more largely related in his Life. About March the 2d was William Tailour a Secular Priest, and Minister of Bristol burnt for Heresie in Smithfield. He had been accused several Years before of holding some Erroneous Opinions contrary to the Doctrines of the Present Church, and infecting the People of Bristol with them by his Preaching, viz. 1. That whosoever shall hang any parts of Holy Scripture about his Neck to defend him from any Danger or In-

fection, or to free him from any bodily Diseases or other Maladies (as was frequently done) taketh away the Honour due unto God only, and giveth it to the Devil. 2. That no Human Creature, neither in Heaven nor Earth is to be Worshipped.

3. That the Saints in Heaven are not to be Worshipped or Invoked. For these Doctrines he was summon'd to appear before Thomas Arundell then Arch-Bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth; and altho' they were then condemn'd as Erroneous and Heretical, yet because he deny'd that he had at any time deliver'd them as his own Opinions or Sense, but only propounded the same to argue about them, and with all promised, that he never would hold or favour any such Opinions hereafter, he was dismissed from his Imprisonment upon his Corporal Oath, and Security given into Chancery for his Good Behaviour for the Future. But he was not set at Liberty long, when a fresh Accusation was brought against him under his own Hand, concerning some Heretical Doctrines which he had vented in some Letters written to Tho. Smith a Priest of Bristol, wherein he had asserted, That every Prayer wherein we Petition any Supernatural Gift, ought to be made to God only, and to pray to any Creature on that Account is Idolatry. These Assertions being examin'd by the Convocation then held by Henry Chicheley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury in St. Paul's Church, were condemn'd as Heretical; and he being Sentenc'd to Death as a lapsed and incorrigible Heretick, was first degraded of his Priestly Office, and deliver'd to the Secular Power to suffer the Punishment of his Crime, which he did in Smithfield with great Constancy and Christian Resolution. Whether the Shedding of this good Man's Blood provok'd the Divine Displeasure to inflict the Punishment on the Nation that follow'd, is not for Us to determine, yet it was certainly the Effect of some Sin of like Nature, for from Midsummer to the End of September, there fell every Day such Quantities of Rain, that the Harvest was in great Danger of being utterly lost for want of Seasonable Weather to have the Corn in; yet so great Diligence was used, that Wheat at London was not sold for more than Eight Shillings a Quarter, and Malt than Five Shillings. But the most Unfortunate Accident in England was (f) by the Marriage of the Duke of Gloucester. The French Historians say, That by this Match Providence, who had for a long time frown'd upon the French, for their Sins began to shew that he had some remainders of Favour for them, beginning now to revive the French Monarchy again, and restore them to their Ancient Liberties and Priviledges; upon this Occasion. Jaquet or Jaqueline, sole Daughter and Heiress to William of Bavaria, was by the Death of her Father left the Government of the Earldoms of Henault and Holland, two large and populous Countries. She was marry'd to John, Duke of Brabant before; but leaving her Husband upon a Pretence that he was a too near Relation to marry her (or as others, for his unkind Usage of her) she came into England, and being a Woman of an Ambitious Humour sought her a New Husband. The Duke of Gloucester, though then at the Helm of a great Kingdom, yet knowing that his Glory would have a Period by his Nephew's Age, sought to make himself an Absolute Prince by marrying her, and accordingly she became his Wife to the great Displeasure, not only of the Duke of Brabant,

A. D. 1423. Reg. 1.

The Marriage of the Duke of Gloucester, and its Consequences of it.

(e) And ever had been so.

(f) He did not marry till the next Year, the Third of Henry the Sixth, Anno 1424.



A. D. 1423. Reg. 1. but of the Duke of Burgundy his Father's Brother's Son, whose Friendship, as it had raised and established the Power of the English in France, so his Enmity which was caused by this Quarrel, prov'd the utter Destruction of the English Interest there.

Reg. 2. The Valiant Earl of Salisbury having lately receiv'd such an Encouragement to exert his Natural Courage for his Master's Honour and Interest, began this Year with many brave Attempts, which were attended with the desir'd Success, so that the Ruin of K. Charles seem'd almost unavoidable: For he besieg'd and took the Town of Cravant in Auxerre, and the Towns of Vertus, and Esperney in Champaign, with many other smaller Towns that were either affrighted or allur'd by their Example. But Montaguillon, a strong City in the Country of Brie cost him a great deal more Time and Labour, for it held out the Siege above Five Months, and was at last gain'd with no small Loss to his Army; but the Victorious Triumph which the English made at the taking recompenc'd their Pains and Loss abundantly, for the Conditions of Surrender were very Honourable (which the French Historians call strange and miraculous), viz.

I. That the Town with all its Treasure and Riches should be resign'd to the English, their Lives and Houses saved.

II. That the Captains of the Town, *Pregent de Corinie*, and of the Castle *Guille Burgois*, both Bretons, should swear never to bear Arms against the English on this side the River *Loire*.

III. That all the Soldiers should be left to the Mercy of the Regent, and should go to the *Tournelles* in Paris, where the Regent then resided, with bare Heads, and a Rope about their Necks, and a Dagger at their Breasts, which was done, and they all had suffer'd Death, had not the Dutcheis of Bedford obtain'd their Lives of her Husband thro' mere Commiseration to them.

While the Earl of Salisbury thus victoriously manag'd the English Affairs, the Earl of Suffolk was no less Industrious to carry on their Conquests another way; for he took the two strong Castles of *Coucy* and *La Roche*, and the Regent himself besieg'd and took the Castles of *Crotay* and *Riol*, by which means the Kingdom of France was almost entirely subject to the English, having an absolute Command of all Places as far as the Banks of the River *Loire*.

This Year in July was born to Charles the Titular King of France his First Son, whom he nam'd *Lewis*. His Birth was receiv'd with great Joy by his Adherents, and was thus far advantageous to him, that it mightily confirm'd his Party to uphold him thro' the Hopes of a Successor, and brought over to them all those who had any Affection to the French Monarchy. But all the Comfort his Father had in him was in his Child-hood, he proving in his riper Age Ambitious and Rebellious, aspiring so eagerly to his Father's Throne, that he could not wait Nature's Leisure, but sought to depose him.

Second Parliament, its Acts. The Protector being now loaden with many difficult Affairs of State, issu'd out his Summons to call the Parliament to meet, Octob. 20. and because he thought the Presence of the Infant-King might be a means to engage both Lords and Commons to be Zealous for his Interests: He thereupon was brought up by his Mother from Windsor, and at the opening of the Session (g) sat upon his Mother's Knee in the Chair of State among his Lords. The Speaker in an Eloquent Speech to

the Lords, first extoll'd his Person, and told them, That such a Divine Sweetness appear'd in his Face, as foretold all the Happiness which could be expected from a good Prince, and the Son of such an unparallel'd Father, and then recommended to their Care the Government of the Nation in his Infancy, Exhorting them not only in Compassion to his tender Age, but in Consideration of their own Honour so to manage the Publick Affairs, as that neither the King nor his People may have just Cause to blame them when he came to his Government himself. The Lords and Commons were easily perswaded to do what they knew reasonable in it self and their Duty, and therefore immediately enter'd into Consultation for the Publick Benefit. The King stay'd but a few Days in the City, but with his Mother on November the 26th remov'd to *Waltham-Cross*, and not long after to *Hartford*, where he kept his Christmas with the usual Magnificence, the King of Scots being there with him. In the mean time the Parliament employ'd their whole Care and Thoughts for the Publick Good, and after much Deliberation Enacted and Order'd many Things of great Advantage to both Nations; for as to England they confirm'd all the Ancient Rights, Privileges and Franchises of the Church, and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Cities and Boroughs, and all other the King's Subjects, and further enacted, That all Merchants trading in Wool should sell their Merchandizes at *Callis* only so long as the Staple continu'd there, by which means the Subjects of both Kingdoms were greatly enrich'd; That no Coin of Gold or Silver shall be carry'd out of the Realm upon any Pretence whatsoever, unless it be for the Payments of Soldiers, and other Expences of the King's Wars beyond the Seas, upon the Penalty of forfeiting the said Sum so carry'd out. That a sort of base Money call'd *Blanks* shall not be accepted or tender'd in any Payment upon Pain contain'd in the Stat. of Hen. 5. against *Gally-halfpence*, *Sakins* and *Dorkins*, both which Acts were well contriv'd for the Advantage of Trade and the Wealth of the Nation, because the Exportation of Money is the Ruin of the Riches of a Kingdom. And that Justice might thrive with Trade, it was also enacted, That all Officers made by the King's Letters Patents in any Courts of Justice should not only be Men of Integrity themselves, but should be sworn to entrust no Under-Clerks, for whose good Behaviour they themselves would not be Responsible, that there might be no Falshood, Bribery or Extortion in administering Justice, to the great Wrong of the People. And for the Security of the King's Person, it was further enacted, That if any Person, who is committed to Prison for Grand or Petty-Treason, shall break Prison and escape, his Crime shall be taken *pro confesso*, and his Goods and Chattels may be seiz'd by the Lord of the Manor where they were found, as if he were actually Condemn'd and Executed. Besides the Statutes made for the Benefit of England, it was ordain'd, That nothing should be omitted necessary for the Preservation of France, and that the Lord Protector should send such Supplies of Men and Money to his Brother into that Nation, as should be judg'd requisite for the Defence of it against the Pretensions of K. Charles. And so the Parliament broke up with much Applause and Commendation.

In the Time of this Session of Parliament, and by and with the Consent of the same, the Pro-

A. D. 1423. Reg. 2.

A. D. 1424.

(g) This Parliament was soon called after Easter in the following Year, and 'twas then the Infant-King sat in the House. Hol. pag. 589.



A. D. 1424. Reg. 2. James, King of Scots set at Liberty. Protector (solicited by Mordicai, Duke of Albany) considering, not only that James, King of Scots, had been long detain'd Prisoner in England without a just Cause, but that being set at Liberty he might probably so manage him to a firm Friendship with the English, that he would deny the French King the Assistance of his Subjects the Scots, whose Valour had almost wholly supported him, set him free from his Captivity, and provided a large Retinue to convey him honourably into his own Country; but least this Obligation should be forgotten he marry'd him to the Lady Jane, the Daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and Cousin-German to the King, (b) with whom he had a large Dowry, besides many Gifts of Plate and Jewels which her Kindred of the Nobility presented him with, and at his Departure induc'd him to take this following Oath of Friendship and Fidelity to the King of England, viz.

His Oath to King Henry. *I James Steward, King of Scotland shall be true and faithful unto thee Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, the Noble and Superiour Lord of Scotland, and to thee I make my Fidelity for the said Kingdom of Scotland, which I hold and claim of thee; and I shall bear you my Fidelity and Faith of Life and Limb and Worldly Honour against all Men, and faithfully I shall acknowledge and do you Service for the Kingdom of Scotland aforesaid. So God me help and these Holy Evangelists.*

His Treachery. With these Ties of Friendship was he dismissed and sent Home, but nothing could oblige him to desert the French Interests; for soon (i) after his Return Home, either thro' a natural Affection to that Nation, or else desirous to rescue himself from all Badges of Subjection to the English, he entred into a strict League with the French King, and seal'd it with the Promises of a Marriage between his Daughter Margaret and Lewis the Dauphin.

Sir John Mortimer accused of Treason, and Executed. In the Month of February, and while the Parliament was yet sitting, one William King a Servant of Sir Robert Scott, Keeper of the Tower of London, accus'd Sir John Mortimer, a Prisoner in the Tower, upon the Act of the last Parliament concerning Escapes, alledging many other Articles against him, viz. 1. That the said Sir John Mortimer had contriv'd with him to break out of his Imprisonment, and had promis'd him immediately a Reward of Forty Pound a Year to be aiding and assisting to him in his Escape, and afterward an Earldom. 2. That the said Sir John told him, that after his Escape he would go into Wales to the Earl of March, and having rais'd 40000 Men would enter the Kingdom again and cut off the Heads of the Protector and Bishop of Winchester. 3. That he had told him, that the Earl of March was rightful Heir to the Crown of England, and that after him he was the next Heir; wherefore if the Earl of March refus'd to recover his Right, he himself would take upon him the Regal Power as his due. 4. That when he came into Wales, if the Earl of March would not accept his Service, nor engage in his Cause, he would then fly into France and assist the French King against King Henry, and did not doubt but in the End he should gain his Design. This Impeachment was brought against the said

Sir John Mortimer before the Lords and Commons assembl'd in Parliament, and was so fully prov'd against him by the said William King, that he was found Guilty of High-Treason, and condemn'd for it to be hang'd and quarter'd, which Sentence was accordingly Executed upon him at Tiburn, and his Body was bury'd in St. John's Church at Clerkenwell. The Earl of March tho' nothing of a Conspiracy could be prov'd against him, yet was sent into Ireland with some others, to secure the Kingdom from Danger, and dy'd there soon after.

While the Parliament was thus busied, the Protector made it his Care to get Supplies for France to reinforce the English Army there, which tho' Successful in all its Achievements almost, yet was much diminish'd, and by his Industry rais'd an Army of 10000 able Men, which he sent over in the beginning of the Spring well arm'd and provided. This prov'd a seasonable and happy Recruit, for Charles began to overpower the English, and get some Advantages against them, for he had lately taken Compeigne and Crotoy from them. But the Arrival of these fresh Men reviv'd the Spirits of the discourag'd English; for the Regent putting them under the Command of the Valiant Earl of Salisbury and Earl of Suffolk, sent them out to recover their late Losses, and oppose the further Progress of the French King, which they did so effectually, that within a small time not only Compeigne and Crotoy were regain'd, but many other Places taken from K. Charles, viz. Basile, Riol, Rula, Gyronde, Basyl, Mermond, Milham, Femal, Maunon, Daras, and many other Towns and Castles of no small Strength and Importance. Some small Skirmishes in other Places had pass'd between the French and English, which being to the Disadvantage of the latter, did something abate the Glory of their Conquests; for Sir John de la Pool Brother of the Duke of Suffolk, Captain of Auranches in Normandy having assembl'd to him all the Garrisons in the Marches of Anjou, made an Assault upon the City of Angiers, plunder'd and burnt the Suburbs, and pillag'd all the adjoining Country, carrying away as many Prisoners and as much Cattle as they could conveniently. The Earl of Aumerl, and Viscount Narbon were then the Governours of the Town and Castle; and though they could not prevent the Mischief the English had done by reason of the Suddenness of it, yet seeing them retreat in much Disorder and clogg'd with the Prisoners and Spoil they had taken, they resolv'd to revenge their Loss, and redeem both their Credit and Captives: Whereupon Sallying out with 6000 French Men they pursu'd and fell upon them. The English were in so great Confusion that they could make no considerable Resistance, and so were easily routed and overthrown, 300 being slain, all their Spoil lost, and above 600 taken Prisoners, among whom were Sir John de la Pool himself, Sir John Basset, Sir John Anfort, and several other Commanders and Persons of Note. But in these Petty Skirmishes the Advantage was not always on the French Men's side, for Sir Matthew Gough with a Party of English routed the Bastard de la Baulm, and the Lord Craignac who with a good Body of Men had made an Assault

(b) She was Daughter to John, Earl of Somerset, and Sister to John, Duke of Somerset, and Cousin-German to Henry the Fifth, the King's Father: The Scots King marry'd her in the Second Year of his Reign, and before he return'd Home he did Homage to the young King of England in the Castle of Windsor in these Words.

*I James Steward King of the Scots shall be true and faithful unto you Lord Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, the Noble and Superiour Lord of the Kingdom of Scotland, which I hold and claim of you; and I shall bear you my Faith and Fidelity of Life and Limb and Worldly Honour against all Men, and faithfully I shall acknowledge and shall do you Service due for the Kingdom of Scotland aforesaid. So help me God, and these Holy Evangelists. Hol. p. 587.*

(i) It is not probable that they talk'd of marrying her before she was a Year or two Old.



A. D.  
1424.  
Reg. 2.

The Duke  
of Bedford  
besieges  
Verneuil,  
and takes  
it.

A Pitch  
Battel be-  
tween the  
English  
and  
French, in  
which the  
English o-  
vercame.

upon *Masconnois*, and took the said *Bastard* Prisoner with his own Hands, whom he presented to the Earl of *Salisbury*, but receiv'd him again of the Earl for a Gift, with an Horse of great Value: So that the former Losses abated little of the Victories of the *English*. Yet the Regent was not contented with the Success of the Arms of his Men, who though they gain'd something daily, yet the Competitor of the Crown being yet alive, and rather increasing in Strength and Interest, than declining, he knew there could be no safe Enjoyment of what they had, nor any Hopes of a Cessation of Arms; whereupon he contriv'd all he could to bring Things to a Conclusion by drawing the *French* King to a pitch'd Battel, and either Conquer or be Conquer'd; for a State of continual Wars damps all the Comforts of Victory, and makes Conquest it self no Pleasure. To effect this the Regent could find no better way than to lay Siege to *Verneuil* (k) in *Perche*, a most important Place belonging to the *French* King, which all his Interests were engag'd to defend, and accordingly the *English* Army sat down before it in the beginning of *August*. The Captain of the Town, *Monsieur Gyrand* held out a while Valiantly against the *English*, but at length came to a Capitulation, and promised to resign the Town if it were not reliev'd by a Day appointed, and immediately sent King *Charles* Word of the Agreement. The Relief of the Place was thought necessary, and an Army of *French* and *Scots* was dispatch'd thither to raise the Siege with all convenient Speed under the Command of the Duke of *Alençon*, Earl of *Boughan*, Constable of *France*, *Archibald*, Earl of *Douglas*, Viscount *Narbon*, Lord *Ventadour* and others; but before they could get thither the City was reliev'd into the Hands of the *English* according to the Capitulation, because the Succour came not time enough. The Resignation of the Town being known to the Duke of *Alençon* put him into some doubt, whether he should not Retreat without Battel, since the Town could not be sav'd; but entering into Consultation with his Commanders, it was resolv'd to go forward and give the *English* Battel, since they could not retire without Danger to themselves, and a Brand of Cowardize upon their Persons; wherefore they march'd toward the *English*, and on a fair Plain near the Town drew into a Form of Battel. The Duke of *Bedford* glad of this Opportunity of deciding the Quarrel, which he had long desir'd, and now sought, advanc'd towards them from the Town in great Order, and on *August* 28. gave them Battel. The Dispute was very sharp and furious, as though the Fate of either side depended on the Success of that Combate. Equal Courage, and equal Strength appear'd on both Parts, so that the Victory was long dubious, till at length the *English* prevail'd and utterly routed the *French* Army, slaying, as our *English* Writers relate (l) 10000, but as the *French* say, but 5000, and taking Prisoners the Duke of *Alençon*, the Lords *Tajet* and *Hornit*, Sir *Peirce Harrison*, and other Gentlemen to the Number of 200 besides Common Soldiers. The Viscount *Narbon*, though slain in the Fight, was after hang'd on a

Gibbet, because he had been One of the Murderers of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The *English* lost 2100 Men, but none of Note, which made the Victory the greater, because the *French* lost not only most of their Men, but most of their best Commanders, as well *Scotch* as *French*, viz. the Earls of *Aumerl*, *Douglas*, *Borghen*, *Ventadour*, *Forest* and *Marie*, the Lords *Graville*, *Fountains*, *Ambois*, *Gaules*, *Touars*, and *Poisy* with above 300 Gentlemen more, a Loss much harder to be recover'd, than that of the Common Soldiery. This Victory reduc'd the *French* King to very great Streights, as well of Fortune as Mind. He was extreamly troubl'd at the Defeat, but more at the Effects of it, which render'd him unable to defend himself or the Countries that adher'd to him, (m) yet he was resolv'd to hold up his State as well as he could; and tho' he fear'd every Day to be turn'd out of all, yet he kept up something of a Majestick Grandure at *Poitiers*, having his Nobles about him in form of a Court and his Parliament, Chancery, and other Courts for the Administration of Justice, and Management of his Revenues, and other Affairs of the Crown, as if he were in the highest Dignity.

The Regent after this signal Victory having punish'd several Deserters for their Baseness and Treachery, which he apprehended after the Fight, and settl'd his Affairs in *Normandy* return'd to *Paris*, where he was receiv'd by the Duke of *Burgundy* and his own Dutcheffs with great Joy, and continu'd there all the Winter. The good Effects of this Victory which were easily foreseen, fill'd the Regent's Mind with so much Easiness, that he gave himself a little more Liberty than usual to enjoy his Pleasures, and spent his *Christmas* in making great Feasts for the Nobility of *France*, and the *English* Commanders. In one of them he feasted the Old Queen of *France*, Duke of *Burgundy*, Earl of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, with many other Persons of divers Nations, and to divert them, he was pleas'd himself to just, which he never did before. The Duke of *Burgundy* also, who was a Person of a very amiable Feature, and graceful Behaviour, much pleas'd the Company with Dancing and Justing, though the extream Civility which he shew'd to the Countess of *Salisbury* kindled such a Disgust in her Husband's Breast, that he ever after bore him a Grudge. But these Days of Jolity were kept within their due Limits, by the Regent, who wisely knew how to use Pleasure without any hindrance to his Business; and therefore as soon as his Mind was a little refresh'd with innocent Divertisements, he returns again to his Care of his Charge, and the first thing he enter'd upon was to make the best Advantage of his late Success, before *Charles* could recruit his Losses, and to that End he sends out the Lord *Scales*, Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falstaff* with an Army of 2000 Men to take in such Towns and Castles in *Anjou* and *Main*, as still held out against the *English*. This Army had no sooner began their March into those Countries, but such a Terror seized upon all the Inhabitants, that they yielded all up to them, as though it were a thing impossible to withstand

A. D.  
1424.  
Reg. 2.

Reg. 3.  
The D. of  
Bedford's  
Joy after  
his Victory.

Several  
Castles  
and  
Towns in  
*Anjou* and  
*Main* yielded to the  
*English*.

(k) 'Twas *Jury* that the Duke of *Bedford* besieg'd. *Verneuil* was in the Hands of the *English*, and the *French* took it by sending a false Message to the Garrison, that they had routed the Duke of *Bedford*'s Army, and rais'd the Siege of *Jury*, upon which the Duke of *Alençon* and his Troops were receiv'd into the Town. In the mean time the *English* took *Jury*, the Duke of *Bedford* march'd immediately to give *Alençon* Battel, and it appears by this Account that the *English* and not the *French* were those that first offer'd the Battel. *Hol.* p. 588.

(l) *Mountjoy*, King at Arms in *France*, and the *English* Heralds there present report'd, That there were 9700 *French* and *Scots* kill'd, and 2100 *English*. The Number of the Slain on the *French* side was as great as that of the *English* Army which consisted but of 1800 Horse, and 8000 Foot. *Hol.* p. 588, 589.

(m) Which were only the Provinces, or rather Counties of *Bourbon*, *Auvergne*, *Berry*, *Touraine*, part of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, and part of *Languedoc*.



*A. D.* 1428. the smallest *English* Power, and so the *English* without any Assault became Masters of the strong Castles of *Beaumont*, *Le Viscount*, *Teune*, *Sally*, *Ofce*, *Rouffie*, *Vasce*, and above Twenty more in a few Days. But *Mans*, the Principal City of the Province of *Main*, being a Place well Peopled and strongly fortified refused to accept the *English*, and therefore the Earl of *Salisbury* was sent with an additional Force of 8000 Men to besiege and reduce it into Subjection. This Town though very strong held out but a little while, because the Earl made not use of the common battering Engines, but of Guns, which with their Shot soon laid their Walls and Towers flat, and brought the Inhabitants to a Capitulation to surrender the Town upon these Articles.

The City of Mans besieged, and surrendered upon Articles.

I. That all Persons, as well Soldiers as others that would abide and continue still in the Town, should be suffered to remain without any Harm or Damage either to themselves or Goods.

II. That such as would depart, especially of the Soldiers, should have Liberty to leave the Town with their Horse and Harnes. And

III. That all Persons in the Town who were any ways guilty or consenting to the Murther of the late Duke of *Burgundy* should be delivered up to the Earl to be punished for it: And so this City was surrendered to the *English*.

The Town of St. Susan taken.

The Earl of *Salisbury* being now at the Head of a puissant Army able to carry on the Progress of his designed Victories, thought this a fit Opportunity to enlarge the *English* Conquests, and therefore immediately lays Siege to the Town of *St. Susan*, of which one *Ambrois de Loire* a valiant *French* Man was Governour, who so well defended it, that in many Assaults the Earl was rather a Loser than Winner; whereupon he was forced to make use again of his great Guns to batter and beat down their Walls. These new Engines of Death, which no Valour nor Strength of Man can be a sufficient Defence against, made the Besieged change their Counsels, and contrive the safest way for their Preservation by agreeing to resign their Town. The *English* having receiv'd some Damages by the Garrison held them to the harder Terms, so that they could not gain their Lives, but upon Condition, that besides resigning the Town, they should pay them 200000 Crowns, and then they should have Liberty to depart the Town in their

*A. D.* 1425.

Doublets only, which they submitted to; and so the *English* became absolute Masters of it, and Sir *John Popham* was made Captain of it. From this Place the Earl carrying on his Victories, went and laid Siege to the Castle called *La Fert Barnard*, but deferred to assault it by reason of the News brought him of the Danger that the Town of *Alençon* was in to be lost on this Occasion. The *French* King's Party being so weakened by their late Overthrow were not able to recover their Losses by Strength, and therefore were constrained to use Policy and Stratagem, for which they had an Opportunity at *Alençon* thus. One *Charles de Villiers* a *French* Captain had an intimate Acquaintance with a *Gascoigne*, who was a Soldier in the *English* Garrison there, and having by him discovered how the Town was guarded by the Soldiers by turns, agreed with him for a present Reward of a considerable Sum of Money in Hand, and Promises of future Preferments and Advantages, to let him with a Body of Men into the Town, upon a certain Day appointed, but the *Gascoigne* countermining the *French* Men, as soon as the Bargain was made, gave the Earl of *Salisbury* Notice of it, that he might secure the Town

*Alençon* agreed to be betrayed but failed.

and seize the *French*. The Earl hereupon sent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Falstoff* with 2000 Men to effect it, who lying in Ambush for them at their coming, who were not above 300 Foot-men, and 200 Horse, suddenly encompassed them on all sides, and falling upon them slew all of them, but 25 Men, who in the Scuffle escaped by the Strength and Swiftnefs of their Horses. *Alençon* being thus secured, and the *English* Army return'd, the Earl of *Salisbury* went on with the intended Siege of *La Fert Bernard* and took it, which striking Terror into the adjoining Garrisons induced many to yield to the Earl without Resistance. The Regent, who was not a little affected with the good Services of the Earl, made him Governour of all the Places and Castles he had taken, that the Growth of his Honour might encourage him in brave Actions. The News of the great Successes of this Year being carry'd over into *England*, was not received with greater Joy than Thankfulness to God, who had blessed the *English* Arms, and according to the Manner of those Times a solemn Procession was celebrated with all serious Demonstrations of Praise to God for it.

*A. D.* 1425. Reg. 3.

The Earl of Salisbury takes Fort Bernard, and is made Governour of all the Places and Castles he had taken.

On the last Day of *April* the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and because the King's Presence, though but an Infant, was thought necessary, he was carry'd through the City upon a great Horse toward the Parliament-House on the First Day of the Session. The People flock'd in great Multitudes to behold him, and imagining with themselves that they could easily discern the Virtues of his Father to be transplanted into him by Nature, loaded him with loud Acclamations of Divine Blessings, and Hearty Wishes of a long and happy Life. The Parliament having their Infant-King in their Eyes (for he was often carry'd to the House this Session) was very careful and earnest to do every Thing that could be thought necessary for the Support of his Honour and Majesty, being the more industrious to act for him, by how much he was less able to shift for himself. Several Acts were made for the Publick Benefit, of which the Chief were, 1. Against the Exportation of Sheep beyond Sea without the King's License, because by carrying of Sheep into *Flanders* and other Parts, the Wool of *England* would at length become of little Value, and the Woollen-Manufacture of the Nation be diminish'd to the Damage of the Realm, to prevent which they laid an heavy Tax upon Exported Wools, of Forty Three Shillings by the Sack, Ten Shillings more than ever was paid in *England* for the like quantity. 2. For the Exportation of Butter and Cheese to encourage Husbandry, giving the Chancellor of *England* leave to grant Licenses at his Discretion to such Persons as shall desire them to sell and vend the same in all Foreign Parts, as well as at the Staple of *Calais*. 3. That all Merchants, Strangers, within 15 Days after they are landed in any Port of this Kingdom, shall take up for themselves Lodgings, or some other Habitation in the Town or Place, where the Port is, under some *English* Man, and shall not make any Sale of any Goods or Merchandizes till they are so settled, and then shall Sell all their Merchandizes within 40 Days next ensuing, and if any Goods after that time shall remain unsold, they shall be forfeited to the King's Use. This Act was intended for a double Benefit, 1. That the King might not be defrauded by Strangers of his Customs: And next, That Strangers might not by keeping of their Goods and Merchandizes understand the Wants of the Nations, and so raise the Prizes. After these Acts the Parliament gave

Duke of Gloucester and Jacqueline Wife to recover her Inheritance Henau and Hland.

Duke of Burgundy opposes them.

Dutchess of Gloucester deliver'd to the Duke of Burgundy, but escapes.



A. D. 1425. Reg. 3. gave the King a Tax of Twelve Pence per Pound upon all Merchandizes, whether brought into, or carry'd out of the Realm, except Wool, which they had otherwise taxed, and Wines, upon which they laid Three Shillings per Tun for Three Years next ensuing. And then they were dismissed into their several Countries.

Duke of Gloucester and Jaqueline his Wife go to recover her Inheritance in Henault and Holland.

Soon after the Parliament was risen, the Duke of Gloucester, who had ever since his Marriage been making Preparations of Ships and Men to recover his Wife's Inheritance in Henault and Holland, went over with his Dutcheſs, and an Army of English Men of 12000 at the least, all of known Courage and Ability, and well accoutred. He landed at Callis, and passing through the Duke of Burgundy's Country with all his Force without doing any Damage arriv'd at Mons in Henault; and being there receiv'd and welcom'd as their Lord, many of the Nobles and Towns came and submitted themselves to him. The Duke of Brabant, who was in Possession of those Countries was highly displeased with this Action of the Duke of Gloucester, and since he not only had cohabited with Jaqueline as his Wife for Ten Months, and Pope Martin V. had declared the Marriage of the said Jaqueline with the Duke of Gloucester to be utterly unlawful and sinful, he was resolv'd to dispute his Title with him by Arms. Great part of those Countries adhered to him, and many of the Nobles employ'd their Interests to support him in the Possession, but he most depended upon the Assistance of the Duke of Burgundy (n) his Brother, who stood much upon the Justice of his Cause, and had promised him all his Assistance he could make, by which means an Army of 50000 Men appeared in Opposition to the Duke of Gloucester under the Command of Philip, Earl of St. Poll, and Pierre de Luxemburg, Earl of Commarſon his near Kinsman. The Duke of Gloucester seeing such an unexpected Union against him, too great for him to conquer, sent an Herald to the Duke of Burgundy to expostulate with him about his assisting the Duke of Brabant, charging him with Treason against the King of England, and challenging him to a single Combat. The Duke of Burgundy made his Defence, 'That he could not think himself guilty of any Breach of his Fidelity to the English, in opposing his Injustice in depriving another Man of his Wife, contrary to the Ordinance of God, and Rules of Holy Church; and to clear himself of this Charge he sent the Duke of Gloucester Word, That he would accept the Combat. The Duke of Gloucester being thus disappointed of his Design, which was by this Message to have brought off the Duke of Burgundy, drew off his Forces and departed with them immediately into England upon Pretence of making Preparation for the Combat, leaving his Dutcheſs behind him at Mons. His Departure left a way open to the Duke of Burgundy's Designs, who so wrought with the Citizens of Mons, that they delivered up the Dutcheſs into his Hands, who convey'd her to Gaunt, and there kept her. The Dutcheſs being thus betray'd Politickly carry'd her self without any Resentment of the Treachery, and pretending her self very happy in falling into his Hands, promised to be govern'd by him in all Things, saving that she would not be perswaded to return to her Husband again. The Duke not spying the Deceit of the Woman, gave her a Civil Entertainment, and made her

Duke of Burgundy opposes them.

Dutcheſs of Gloucester deliver'd to the Duke of Burgundy, but escapes.

Confinement very easie, which she no longer endured than she could get a fair Opportunity to escape, which she did in a little time, and fled into Holland. Here she was joyfully receiv'd by divers Lords and Persons of Interest, by whose Assistance she was able to maintain a defensive War against the Duke of Burgundy; and that she might depose her Husband, sent to the Duke of Gloucester to aid her. The Duke, tho' now little valuing her, yet thinking himself in Honour oblig'd not utterly to forsake her, sent over to her Assistance 1000 Men, under the Conduct of the Lord Fitz-walter. The News of these Aids roused the Duke of Burgundy, who fearing least Jaqueline should resign the Country of Holland into the Hands of the English, assembled all his Forces he could, and going into Holland possessed himself of all he could, and resolv'd to hinder the Landing of the English Troops. On the other side Jaqueline and the Lords on her part sought all the Means they could to secure them a safe Landing, and posted themselves near Brussels; but the Duke of Burgundy falling upon them before they could unite for mutual Defence, routed both the English and Hollanders, slaying above 800, taking many Prisoners, and putting the rest to Flight, the Lord Fitz-walter himself hardly escaping. This Defeat put an end to this Quarrel; for the Duke of Gloucester gave over all Hopes of those Countries, and knowing his Marriage to be unlawful with Jaqueline, marry'd Eleanor (o) the Daughter of Reginald Lord Cobham, and the Crafty Dutcheſs Jaqueline seeing her self unable to stand out longer against the Duke of Burgundy pretended her self to be perswaded by him, and so was reconciled to her Husband. Nothing of all these Wars remained, but the Combat of the Dukes. Honour oblig'd both not to shrink from their Engagement, and therefore they both made the necessary Preparations for it: But the Regent of France considering that it might be of very ill Consequence to the English, became a Mediator between them, and made a friendly Conclusion of all.

A. D. 1425. Reg. 3.

Duke of Burgundy routs Jaqueline's Forces.

About the latter end of this Year of the King's Reign, the Earl of March, who had been sent into Ireland above a Year before, died there at Trimmes, leaving no Issue, and left his Honour and Estate to Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, his Sister's Son, who being thereby Heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence entertain'd many aspiring Thoughts of the Crown of England, which he after put into Action, as we shall in the Sequel of this History have a sufficient Evidence of.

Earl of March dies.

About Michaelmas, Peter, Duke of Coimbra, eldest Son of the King of Portugal, came into England, and finding a kind and generous Entertainment from the Protector and Nobles, stay'd the whole Year to inform himself of the Customs, and enjoy the Pleasures of the Country. (q) In the time of his Abode here there happen'd a fierce and mighty Quarrel between the Protector and the Rich Bishop of Winchester Henry Beaufort, the King's Great Uncle, the English Pope, who in his Magnificence and Grandure seem'd so much to out-shine the Protector himself, tho' on the Throne almost, that he drew his Odium and Hatred upon him, which was so increased by the haughty Spirit of the Bishop, who being the Protector's Uncle and Pope's Legate carry'd himself as if he were much above him both in Nature and Grace, that the Prote-

Reg. 4. Prince of Portugal came into England.

A Quarrel between the Protector and Bishop of Winchester.

(n) He was not his Brother, but his Cousin. Hol. p. 1079.

(o) Who before had been his Mistress.

(p) This Prince's Mother was the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, Great Aunt to Henry the Sixth.



A. D. 1425. Reg. 4. *for could not endure his Pride, and so an implacable Enmity grew between them; and great Parties were raised on both sides for each others Defence. The Bishop's Dependances, Money and Church-Power making him able to contend with the Protector himself. The Duke of Coimbra, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury interposed themselves to reconcile them, and were so Zealous to heal this dangerous Breach, which would, if continued in, prove a fatal Damage to Church and State, that they went from the one Party to the other Ten Times in One Day: But all proved to no purpose. No Mediations could pacifie the Mind of the Protector, and Winchester would yield no further than was becoming his Place and State, though he was willing for the Good of the Nation, that the Difference might be composed without Arms; and therefore wrote a Letter into France to his Nephew the Duke of Bedford, that he would come over and heal Matters between them. By the Copy of the Letter it may be discerned how great the Quarrel was, and how far it had proceeded; and withal how desirous the Bishop was to have it made up, though he counts himself not to blame, and therefore it is set down in the very Words, and Old Language it was written. (q)*

The Bishop of Winchester's Letter to the Duke of Bedford.

\* The Words within these Marks [ ] shew the Difference in the Copies of this Letter.

\* Right High and Mighty Prince, and my Right Noble, and after One, Leineft [Earthly] Lord. I recommend me unto you [your Grace] with all my Heart. And as you desire the Welfare of the King Our Sovereigne Lord, and of his Realms of England and France. Your own weal [health] with all yours [with ours also] haste you hither: For by my Troth, if [and] you tarry [long] we shall put this Land in Jeopardy [adventure] with a Feild; such a Brother you have here, God make him a good Man. For your Wisdome well knoweth, that the Profit of France standeth in the Welfare of England, &c. The Blessed Trinity keep you. Written in great haste at London on All-hollowen-Even. By your true Servant to my Lives end.

Henry Winchester.

Duke of Bedford goes into England to reconcile them.

This Letter, which was sent over to the Regent by his Chamberlin Sir Robert Butler, was received by him with no small Grief, because he knew the Advantage his Enemies would make of it, for a Civil War in England would utterly ruin the Conquest of France, and therefore resolved with all speed to pass into England to put an end to it if possible. Richard Beauchamp the Famous Earl of Warwick was lately come into France with a Recruit of 6000 Men, which much favoured his Design, being a Person for his Courage and Fidelity every ways fit to be entrusted with the greatest Charge: Whereupon he constituted him Regent of France in his Absence, and took his Journey to England, with his Dutcheffs, and a Train of 500 Men. He arrived there on the Tenth of January. The Bishop of Winchester

A. D. 1426.

with a numerous Train met him at his Landing, and attended him towards London. At Merton he was met by the Mayor and Citizens of London, who joyning with the other Company honourably conducted him to Westminster, where he was lodged in the King's Palace, and the Bishop of Winchester in the Abbot's Lodgings. The next Day the Mayor presented the Regent with a pair of Silver Basons gilt, and in them a Thousand Marks of Gold from the City, which he accepted very kindly. But these Ceremonies were unequal to the Regent, who came over upon a more important Matter, and therefore as soon as Decency would permit, he obtain'd that a Council of the Nobles might be called to examine and determine the Causes of the Differences between these two great Men, and accordingly it met on the 21st of February at St. Albans, where were many hot contests between both Parties, but nothing being concluded it was adjourned to Northampton, and there met, but to as little Purpose; whereupon it was put off to the Meeting of the Parliament, which was appointed to be on March the 25th following at Leicester.

A. D. 1426. Reg. 4.

The Meeting of the Parliament drawing nigh, Fourth when it was usual for the Lords to come with great Numbers of Servants and Attendants, and it being feared, that the great Trains of the Protector and the Bishop of Winchester might fall into open War one with another, if no Restraint were laid upon them: It was therefore thought fit, that the King should strictly forbid any Person coming to it with Swords, or other Warlike Weapons; Which Order though it was literally observed, yet the Lords Attendants came with Batts, or great Clubs on their Shoulders, from whence this Parliament was called, *The Parliament of Batts*, but this, as soon as it was taken Notice of, was also Prohibited. In this Parliament little was done for the Publick, only an Act passed for granting the People Liberty to transport Corn into all Places beyond the Seas, unless to the King's Enemies, with some other of particular Concern for Sheriffs and Justices, because it pleased the whole Assembly to look into the Dissention between the Protector and the Bishop of Winchester, which was grown so high, that no less Means could pacifie them, and the Authority of this Court was irresistible; wherefore they were allow'd to debate all Causes of Quarrel between them fully and freely. The Protector was the Person aggrieved as he pretended, and therefore he brought a large Accusation in Six Articles against the Bishop, and the Bishop was allow'd to give his particular Answer to them; which because they were thought not unworthy of the Parliament's Notice, may not be beneath the Reader's Perusal, and are as follows.

Fourth when it was usual for the Lords to come with great Numbers of Servants and Attendants, and it being feared, that the great Trains of the Protector and the Bishop of Winchester might fall into open War one with another, if no Restraint were laid upon them: It was therefore thought fit, that the King should strictly forbid any Person coming to it with Swords, or other Warlike Weapons; Which Order though it was literally observed, yet the Lords Attendants came with Batts, or great Clubs on their Shoulders, from whence this Parliament was called, *The Parliament of Batts*, but this, as soon as it was taken Notice of, was also Prohibited. In this Parliament little was done for the Publick, only an Act passed for granting the People Liberty to transport Corn into all Places beyond the Seas, unless to the King's Enemies, with some other of particular Concern for Sheriffs and Justices, because it pleased the whole Assembly to look into the Dissention between the Protector and the Bishop of Winchester, which was grown so high, that no less Means could pacifie them, and the Authority of this Court was irresistible; wherefore they were allow'd to debate all Causes of Quarrel between them fully and freely. The Protector was the Person aggrieved as he pretended, and therefore he brought a large Accusation in Six Articles against the Bishop, and the Bishop was allow'd to give his particular Answer to them; which because they were thought not unworthy of the Parliament's Notice, may not be beneath the Reader's Perusal, and are as follows.

(q) The Letter is in *Holinshed*, p. 591.



A. D.  
1426.  
Reg. 4.

The ARTICLES of Accusation presented to the Parliament by the Duke of Gloucester, against Henry, Bishop of Winchester, with his ANSWERS to them severally.

I. THAT Richard Woodville, Esq; Keeper of the Tower of London, did by the Instigation and Encouragement of the said Bishop of Winchester deny Admittance to him the said Duke of Gloucester, then being Protector of the Kingdom, into the Tower contrary to Reason and Duty, and in Derogation to the King's Authority.

To this Article the Bishop answer'd, ' That while the Duke of Gloucester was gone into Henault, it happen'd, that many Pamphlets and Reports being dispersed up and down the City of London tending to Rebellion, it was order'd by the Lords of his Majesty's Council, that Richard Woodville, Esq; should with a sufficient Number of arm'd Men have the keeping of the Tower, and should not permit any Man to come into the Tower stronger than himself without the special Commandment of the King, by the Advice of his Council. After this strict Charge the Duke of Gloucester returning out of Henault, and not approving the fortifying the Tower, told the Citizens, who were dissatisfied at it, That had he been in England it should not have been so, and immediately going to the Tower demanded Admittance, but Woodville not daring to give him Entrance came to the Bishop of Winchester for Advice, who told him, That the Duke of Gloucester took upon him greater Authority than he ought, and that before he admitted him into the Tower he ought to provide himself a sufficient Warrant of the Council and King for his so doing contrary to the former Order.

II. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester without the Advice and Consent of my Lord Duke of Gloucester, or of his Majesty's Privy-Council contrived and purposed to lay Hands of his Majesty's Person, and to have remov'd him from Eltham, the Place that he was then in, to Windsor, there to put him under the Government of such Persons as he pleased.

The Bishop's Answer to this Article was, ' That he never could propound to himself any Advantage by removing the King, or taking him into his Custody or Charge, nor did ever intend to meddle with any Thing about the King's Person without the Advice of the Privy-Council, as in Time and Place he could prove.

III. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester knowing, that the Duke of Gloucester had resolv'd to prevent his Design of seizing the King's Person at Eltham, laid wait for him, by placing arm'd Men at the End of London-Bridge, and in the Windows of the Chambers and Cellars in Southwark to have kill'd him, if he had passed that way, all which is against the King's Peace, and Duty of a true Subject.

The Bishop's Defence to this heavy Charge was this, ' That true indeed it is, that he did

provide a certain Number of arm'd Men, and set them at the Foot of London-Bridge, and other Places, without any Intention to do any bodily Harm to the Duke of Gloucester, but merely for his own Safety and Defence, being inform'd by several credible Persons, that my Lord Duke of Gloucester had purposed bodily Harm to him, and gather'd together a company of Citizens for that End.

IV. That the late King Henry the Fifth told him, That when he was Prince, a Man was seized in his Chamber, who was hid behind the Hangings, and confessed after his Apprehension, that he was set at Work by the Bishop of Winchester to kill the Prince in his Bed. He was deliver'd to the Earl of Arundel, who drown'd him in a Sack in the Thames.

To this Accusation the Bishop reply'd, ' That he was ever a true and faithful Subject to his Sovereigns, and never purposed or contrived any Treason against any of their Persons, and especially against his Sovereign Lord King Henry the Fifth. And this he thought was sufficiently evident to any that consider'd the great Wisdom and Courage of the said King, and the great Trust he reposed in him so long as he remain'd King; which he would not have done had he found him Guilty of such Unfaithfulness to him while he was Prince.

V. That the Bishop of Winchester in the Sickness of King Henry the Fourth, advised his Son Prince Henry, to assume the Government of the Nation before his Father's Death, as the said Prince himself told him.

The Bishop reply'd, ' That this was mere Calumny, which could not be prov'd, and he hop'd the Parliament would appoint them Judges, that he might vindicate his Honour, or else leave him to sue out his Right before suitable Judges.

VI. That my Lord Bishop of Winchester had in his Letter to the Duke of Bedford plainly declared his malicious Purpose of assembling the People, and stirring up a Rebellion in the Nation contrary to the King's Peace. (r)

The Bishop's Answer to this Accusation was, ' That he never had any Intention to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or raise any Rebellion, but sent to the Duke of Bedford to come over in haste to settle all Things that were prejudicial to the Peace; and though he had indeed written in the Letter, That if he tarried, we shall put the Land in Adventure by a Field, such a Brother ye have here, he did not mean it of any Design of his own, but concerning the Seditious Assemblies of Masons, Carpenters, Tilers and Plaisterers, who being distast'd by the late Act of Parliament against excessive Wages of those Trades, had given out many seditious Speeches and Menaces against the great Men, which tended much to Rebellion, and yet the Duke of Gloucester did not use his Endeavour, as he ought to have done in his Place, to suppress such unlawful Assemblies, so that he fear'd the King and his good Subjects must have made a Field to withstand them: To prevent which he chiefly desir'd the Duke of Bedford to come over.

(r) The Copy of these Articles is in Holinshed, p. 591. but they are only Five in Number, the Sixth and Last mention'd by this Author is not in Holinshed's Copy.



A. D. 1426. This Charge, and the Answers to it being thus deliver'd into the Parliament, the further Examination of it was by the Houses devolv'd upon a select Number of Lords, viz. Henry, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Thomas, Duke of Exeter, John, Duke of Norfolk (s), Thomas, Bishop of Durham, Philip, Bishop of Worcester, John, Bishop of Bath, Humphry, Earl of Stafford, Ralph, Lord Cornwall, and Mr. Abnewicke, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, who having thoroughly examin'd all

The Protector and Bishop of Winchester made Friends.

Matters, acquitted the Bishop, and by a formal Award enjoy'd them to be firm Friends for the future, and by such Inducements wrought upon them, that they shook Hands, and parted with all outward Signs of perfect Love and Agreement, which gave a mighty Satisfaction to all people both of the Clergy and Laity. And the King by the Advice of his Council made a magnificent Feast at *Whitsuntide* to rejoyce for this happy Reconciliation. At this Feast the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, Knighted King Henry, who immediately made Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, Duke of York, and restor'd John, Lord Mowbrey, Earl-Marshall, Son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who was banish'd by Richard the Second, to the Title and Stile of Duke of Norfolk, and made above Forty others Knights. After this the Parliament sat till June the 15th following, but did nothing more than raise a Supply of Men and Money to carry on the Conquest of France, which were gather'd out of the great Cities and Towns of the Kingdom chiefly.

Several remarkable Accidents.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, the King now about Five Years of Age, went to *Killingworth-Castle*, and the Nation remain'd in great Peace. Several remarkable Accidents happen'd after it. Henry Chicheley, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury founded a College at *Higham-Ferrers* in *Norhamptonshire* of Eight Fellows, Four Clerks and Six Choristers, and an Hospital for poor and impotent Folks of the said Town, for which he also obtain'd many Immunities and Priviledges. His Two Brethren, Robert and William Chicheley, Aldermen of London, afterward gave very considerable Revenues to the said Foundations. This Summer also died that wise and faithful Statesman Thomas, Duke of Exeter, great Uncle to King Henry, at his Mannor of *Greenwich*, and was buried at *St. Edmunds-Bury* in *Suffolk*, whither he was carry'd with great Ceremony to be interred, and not long after him the said Duke's half Sister the Lady Elizabeth, own Sister to King Henry the Fourth, who had been married to the Lord John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and after to the Lord Fanhope, died and was buried in the *Black-Fryers* in London. John Fortham, sometime Treasurer of England, and Bishop of Durham and Ely at the same time died, and Pope Martin put into the See of Ely Philip Morgan, translated from the See of Worcester thither. The King and Nobility had recommended to the Choice of the Convent William Abnewicke, Doctor of both Laws, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and the King's Confessor, but they neglecting that Proposal elected Peter the Prior of Ely: The Pope seeing this Disagreement between the King and Convent, set up his own Usurpations, and put in Philip Morgan. While the Regent continu'd in England the Earl of Warwick was very active, and carry'd on the English Victories in France with great Success, for he entred into the Country of *Main* and besieged and took several Places of Importance,

Earl of Warwick's Actions in France.

as *Chasteau de Loire*, of which he made Matthew Gough Captain, the Castle of *Maiet*, into which he put John Winter, Esquire with a sufficient Number of Men, the Castle of *Lade*, which he gave to William Gladesdale Gentleman, the Castle of *Montdublean*, which he committed to the Lord Willoughby, by which Achievements his Name became a Terror to the French, inso-much, that when the French in the Country of *Beauvais* were gather'd into a Body to have set on the English, the very Fame of his Approach caused them to disperse themselves. And so having no Enemies to oppose him: He return'd to Paris full of Honour and Victories.

A. D. 1426. Reg. 4.

On Saturday being the Eve of St. Michael in the Morning between Two and Three a Clock began a very dreadful Earthquake, which being accompany'd with Thunder and Lightning struck Terror into all Creatures. It continu'd in great Violence for Two Hours, and as it was afterwards found, was general over the whole World, so that Men thought the World would then have been at an End, and the Judgment have follow'd according to the Prognosticks our Saviour himself hath given us. The Beasts of the Field were terrified with this unusual Motion, and roaring for Fear drew near to the Towns and Houses to protect them: Nor were the Birds of the Air unsensible of it, who by their Shreeks and Cries shew'd their Fears of it. By so great a Judgment did God endeavour to awaken secure Men, that if they did not repent even the Birds and Beasts might witness against them, and condemn their Hardness and Impenitency. About the same time was John Rainwell Fishmonger chosen Mayor of London, a Person of a publick Spirit, a good Magistrate, and a great Benefactor to the City; for he gave certain Lands and Tenements for the Use and Benefit of Three Wards in the said City, viz. *Bishopsgate Ward*, *Dowgate Ward* and *Aldgate Ward*, to pay the Parliament-Taxes for the poor House-keepers of the said Wards for ever (provided they did not exceed Three Fifteens in One Year:) He also began the Building of the Tower at the *Draw-Bridge* of London, Works both of great Charity and general Use.

Reg. 5. A violent Earthquake.

J. Rainwell chosen Mayor.

The Duke of Bedford, Regent of France yet remaining in England, the Duke of Burgundy, now disaffected to the English, but still pretending a strict Alliance and Friendship with them, made his Request to the Regent to permit the Duke of Alençon, who had been taken at the Battel of *Verneuil*, to be redeem'd, and by his Interests obtain'd, that upon the Payment of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns (or as others, Scutes) or Fifty Thousand Marks, he should be released. The Regent and Protector were very fearful of the ill Consequence of his Liberty, being a zealous promoter of King Charles's Interests, and an experienced and valiant Commander, and therefore required, that he should first acknowledge Henry the Sixth, the rightful and lawful Heir and King of France, but he absolutely refused it, which might have been sufficient Cause to have continu'd him Prisoner in England, but because it was thought necessary to gratifie the Duke of Burgundy, who pretended himself a firm Friend to the English, and had been long at Enmity with the Duke of Alençon about his Father's Death, and by this extraordinary piece of Kindness might gain so much upon his Affe-

The Duke of Alençon released from his Imprisonment.

(s) John, Lord Mowbrey was not made Duke of Norfolk till after the Reconciliation of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Winchester.



A. D. 1426. Reg. 5. tions, as to incline him which Way he pleased, therefore he was dismissed, and upon the Payment of so small a Sum, (1) sent Home, but to the great Damage of the *English*, to whom he proved a fatal Enemy, as afterward will more fully appear.

A. D. 1427. Duke of Bretagne and his Brother relinquish the English Interests. The Regent having kept his *Christmas* with the King, prepared for his Return into *France*, where some Changes, to the no small Disadvantage of the *English* had hapned in his Absence; for tho' nothing was wanting in the Earl of *Warwick*, either of Vigilancy, Care, or Courage, yet the Alliance with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, began now to be broken by the Departure of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and his Brother *Arthur* of *Richmond*, over to the *French* King's Interests, of whom they were joyfully received; and the latter was made Constable of *France*. This Change was a great Loss to the *English*, and required a speedy Care to prevent the ill Consequences of it. The Regent therefore about *Candlemas* departed *England*, and landed at *Callis*, Feb. 5. The Bishop of *Winchester* accompanied him, and at *Callis* in our Lady's Church, received a Cardinal's Hat from the Pope. The late King *Hen. V.* who foresaw what a Prejudice the Pride and Covetousness of this Prelate would prove to the Nation, if he were put into that Dignity, withstood his Promotion, and prevented it all his Life; but now the King himself being young, and the Duke of *Bedford* his Friend, he was at Liberty to obtain his ambitious Purpose, which by the Pope's Legate, he was enstated in at *Callis* on the Feast of the *Purification*; and soon after purchased himself a Bull-Legantine, by which he was made the Pope's Legate in this Nation, and by his Authority as such, raised such a Mass of Money out of the Spiritualities of the Kingdom, that he became almost the only wealthy Man in the Nation, and was commonly upon that Account called *The rich Cardinal of Winchester*. The Regent stayed a while at *Callis* to see this Ceremony over, and honour the Bishop with his Presence at his Inauguration, which being ended, the Regent taking him by his right Hand, conveyed him with mighty Respect to his Lodging, and there gave him and the Lords with him a magnificent Banquet, and then within a few Days left *Callis*, and passing thro' *Picardy*, went to *Paris*. His Arrival put an End to the Authority of the Earl of *Warwick* in *France*, but brought him the News of a more honourable and greater Charge, which the Nobles and Council of *England* had thought fit to impose upon him, viz. to be Governour of the Person of King *Henry* in the Place of the Duke of *Exeter*, lately deceased. This Service the noble Earl could not refuse; but the Revolt of the Duke of *Brittain* having occasioned some Troubles to the *English*, which he was about to remove before the Regent arrived, he resolved first to see them settled before his Departure. The greatest Molestation this way, was by the Fortifying of *Pontorson*, a Town on the Confines of *Brittain*, into which the Lord of *Rustinian*, Marshal of *Brittain*, with a Body of a 1000 Men was put to defend it, and ravage the adjoining Country of *Constantine*, which they did without Mercy; but at length being encountered by the Garrison of *Auranches*, a City in the Possession of the *English*, they were after a long Fight put to flight, and forced into the Town with Loss, the Captain himself being

taken Prisoner. The Duke of *Bedford* hearing of this, and knowing, that tho' the *English* had the better in this Skirmish, yet how prejudicial the Garrison would be to their Territories, if not restrain'd, he sent the Earl of *Warwick* and Lord *Scales*, with an Army of 7000 Men to besiege it, who so streightly beset the Town, that none could go into it, or out. The Besieged held out very valiantly a long time in hopes of Relief from the *French* King as was promised them, so that Provision began to be very scarce in the *English* Camp, and they were forced to seek Forage in the adjoining Parts with much Loss and Hazard from the Garrison of *St. Michael's Mount*. The *French* King at last sent the Lord *Raix*, his Lieutenant-General, with an Army of 3000 Men to relieve it, who in his March took two small Castles, *Malicorn* and *Lude*; but when they came, hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* and the *English* were resolved to fight him, if he attempted to raise the Siege, he drew off his Men, and returned to King *Charles*, whereupon the Besieged came to a Capitulation to resign the Town upon Condition, that they might have Liberty to depart with Horse and Arms only; which being granted, the *English* had possession of the Town given them, and the Earl made the Lord *Rosse* and Lord *Talbot* Governours of it, with a convenient Garrison, and then returned to the Regent to *Paris*. This Success of the *English* brought the Duke of *Bretagne* again to a Treaty with the Regent, in which he agreed not only not to molest the *English* for the future, but to demolish the Town of *Pontorson*, and *St. James de Beauron*; and so the Duke of *Bretagne* was made, if not a Friend, yet afraid to be longer an Enemy; and the *English* for the present were eased of his Oppression, which would have proved very troublesome.

The Regent having thus removed this new and unexpected Enemy, turned his Arms again into the old Current to subdue all the Towns, that still adhered to *Charles*, the pretended King of *France*; and sent his Captains out to subdue such Places, as refused Subjection to the *English*; and reduced several of them. For *Christopher Hanson*, *Philip Gough*, and *Martin Godfrey* took the Castle of *St. Laurence de Mortois* by Surprise. Sir *H. Falstaffe*, the Governour of the Countries of *Anjou* and *Maine*, having assembled a strong Body of Men, got by 10 Days Siege the Castle of *St. Owen Distais* near the Town of *Lavall*. Then he laid siege to the strong Castle of *Graville*, and assaulted it 12 Days, at the end of which, the Garrison came to a Composition, and gave Pledges to resign it upon a certain Day, if it were not relieved by the *French* King. Sir *John* immediately signified this Agreement to the Regent, who raising a great Force of 20000 Men, came attended with the Earls of *Mortaign* and *Warwick*, the Lords *Rosse* and *Talbot*, to encounter the *French*, if they should attempt the Rescue of it; but they dare not appear, tho' they were sent for that Purpose, because they were afraid of the *English* Army, whereupon the Regent immediately ordered Sir *John Falstaffe* to require the Delivery of the Castle; but the Besieged having furnished themselves with Provision and Ammunition, and well mann'd it in the Time of Truce, refused to surrender it, and so the Hostages were brought out, and hanged in their Sight. After this the Lord *Talbot* was made Governour of *Maine* and *Anjou*, and Sir

The Earl of *Warwick* made Governour of the King.

*Pontorson* besieged and taken.

Duke of *Bretagne* brought to a Treaty with the *English*.

Several Places taken by the *English*.

(1) 200000 Crowns was no small Sum in those Days.



A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. *John Falstaffe* removed to another Charge. This Lord being of as great Courage as Birth, carried on the *English* Conquest so fast in these Parts, that his very Name became a Terror to the *French*, and his Fame spread almost over the World. The Duke of *Bedford* also hearing that the Town of *Montargis* in the County of *Orleanse*, was but weakly furnished, and carelessly kept, sent the Earl of *Suffolk*, his Brother Sir *John Pool* and Sir *Henry Bisset*, with an Army of 6000 Men to beset it by Land, and the Earl of *Warwick* with a good Number of Men of War to stop up the Port by Sea, (u) that no Assistance of Men or Victuals should come into it; but they found the Places strongly fortified, and provided that they held out 2 Months and more, so that the *French* had time to provide for its Relief; and accordingly, *Arthur*, Earl of *Richmond*, Constable of *France*, coming suddenly upon a Party of the Besiegers in the Night, defeated them without Resistance, killing above 1500, Sir *John Pool* and Sir *Henry Bisset* hardly escaping themselves, and so caused the Siege to be raised. This Victory was received with great Joy by the *French* King's Party, and had been triumphantly magnified, had not their Losses upon the Coasts of *Brittain*, by a Party of *English*, under the Command of Sir *Nicholas Burdet*, sent by the Duke of *Somerset* thither, equalized at least, if not surmounted the Advantage they had at *Montargis*, so that the *French* had little Reason to rejoyce at the Successes mixed with so much ill Fortune.

Duke of  
*Alençon*  
takes  
Mans by  
Treachery  
of the  
*English*.

The Duke of *Alençon* lately come out of his Imprisonment in *England*, after some Months Converse in *France* to learn the Estate of the *French* King's Affairs, and settle his own, now enters upon the Stage of Action. The good Opinion that the *French* had of his Abilities and Experience put new Life into their Cause, and drooping Minds, and so much the more, because he began with an Action, which had very much of a promising Advantage, as well as Success in it, which was the Recovery of the City of *Mans*. Several of the Chief of the Inhabitants of that City, as well as of the chief Magistrates as Clergy, being well affected to the *French* King, entered into a Conspiracy to betray the City to him, which they signified to him by Letters conveyed by certain Friars. The *French* King immediately sent 500 Men under the Command of the Lords *De la Bieth* and *Faiet* to take possession of the Town, which was accordingly delivered up to them by the Conspirators, and the *English* Guards at the Gates, were all slain. The *French* being thus Masters of the Town, fell upon the *English*, and slew many of them, scarce any of them understanding the Matter, but only supposing that the Citizens had in general rose up against them. The Earl of *Suffolk*, the Governour of the Town, had gotten knowledge of the Matter by some that had escaped; and with what *English* he could got into the Castle, then under the Command of *Thomas Gower*, Esq; but they were so crowded, that they could make little or no Defence for themselves, wherefore they sent a Message to the Lord *Talbot*, then at *Alençon*, to desire his speedy Assistance, declaring their Case to him. The Lord *Talbot* being as diligent a Commander as valiant, immediately attempts their Relief in the Night, and with 700 Men marches to *Mans*, where finding the *French* secure, he falls upon them, recovers the Town,

releases the *English*, takes above 400 *French* Gentlemen Captive, and returns again to *Alençon*. The Earl of *Suffolk* being thus resettled, made a strict Search and Enquiry into the Authors of this Treason, who being found to be 30 of the chief Citizens, 20 Priests, and 15 Friars, were all upon Conviction hanged, and so received the just Reward of their Merits. *Mans* being thus happily recovered, and the *English* every ways on the winning Side, Fortune's Frowns soon clearing up into Smiles on them, the Earl of *Warwick*, whose Valour would not suffer him to leave his Country-Men in any Danger, began to think of Returning into *England* to take care of the King, whom the Nobles had committed to him. He had done so much in *France* the last Year, that the Council did not think that Nation could be kept without a Man of equal Value in his Place, and therefore *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, commonly called in *England*, The good Earl, was sent into *France* with 6000 choice Men well accoutred, to supply his Room, and secure those Places with equal Valour, with which he had gotten them.

Soon after the Earl of *Salisbury's* Arrival at *Paris* with his fresh Men, the Regent called a great Council of all the Nobles and Commanders of the *English* Army, and entered into a long Consultation, how they should proceed for the most speedy and effectual Way of subduing *France*; and the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was a Person of both approved Judgment, as well as Valour, propounded to them the Siege of *Orleanse*, as a certain Step to it, it being the principal City which adhered to the *French* King, and by the Conquest of it, would probably let them into all the rest, and particularly to *Bourges*, the *French* King's Residence. Some Debates were in the Council about the Difficulty of the Enterprize, but at length they all yielded, and the Siege of *Orleanse* was resolved on. The Earl of *Salisbury* himself was thought by all of them, to be the fittest Person to command at the Siege, and accordingly was sent, accompanied with the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord *Talbot*, and an Army of 10000 Men well furnished with Artillery, Provision, and Ammunition for so great an Attempt. While Preparations were thus making, the *French* had got Intelligence of the Design of the *English*, and put in a strong Garrison of *French* and *Scots* under the Command of the Bastard of *Orleanse*, and the Bishop of the City, who not only made strong Fortifications about the Town for their own Defence, but destroyed all the Suburbs, in which were 12 Parish-Churches, and 4 Monasteries for as many Orders of Friars; and cut down all the Vines, Trees and Bushes within 5 Leagues of the City, that the Enemy might find no manner of Support or Refuge in the Country. But all this did not discourage the *English*, tho' it made the Siege more difficult, yet nothing seemed impossible to such brave Minds, as those of *Salisbury* and *Talbot*, who, notwithstanding marched towards it, and fate down before it in the Beginning of *September*, and planted the Siege on the one Side of the River *Loire*. Both Parties were full of Courage and Resolution, because the Fate of *France* depended upon this Siege, as was thought, whoever got *Orleanse*, got all *France*. The *English* made several fierce Assaults, and the *French* as strictly repulsed them. Three Weeks passed without any considerable Advantage on

A. D.  
1427.  
Reg. 6.

Earl of  
*Warwick*  
returns  
into Eng-  
land.

*Orleanse*  
determin-  
ed to be  
besieged.

*Orleanse*  
besieged,  
and a Fort  
taken by  
the Eng-  
lish.

(u) *Montargis* an inland Town seated on the little River *d' Cuisine*, between *Chartres* and *Orleans*, and above an 100 Miles from the Sea.



A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. either Side; but at length the Bastard of *Orlean*ce making a vigorous Sally out of the Gate of the Bridge, was after a sharp Dispute beaten back with great Loss, and pursued so close, that the *English* entred the Gate with him, and took the great Bulwark upon the Bridge, with a Tower standing at the End of the same, which by its advantageous Situation, was a great Help to take the Town, because from it was a free Prospect into all Parts of the City, so that the *English* Commanders might easily observe the best Places for their Assaults, which they were not wanting to improve; for the Earl of *Salisbury* caused several Bulwarks to be raised round about the Town, planting Ordinance, where he could perceive any likelihood to batter down the Walls. The *French* within were as busie to defend themselves, and make good the Walls against the *English* Guns, raising Guns against Guns, and Forts against Bulwarks, and making new Rampiers as strong as might be. The *French* King, who knew how much his Welfare depended upon the Success of this Siege, was extremely troubled at this first Advantage gotten by the *English*, fearing now the Loss of all, and despairing almost of any future Success, and tho' the Town held out well, yet he looked upon his Destruction not less certain, tho' longer in coming, and could almost have wished the Fates to hasten his Ruin, the Fears of which were as great a Torment to his Mind, as the suffering it self could be. But while he remained in this despairing State of Mind, Providence was pleased not only to give the Besieged at *Orlean*ce some Advantage, but to raise them up (as the *French* Historians say) a special instrument of Deliverance, by inspiring *Joan d'Arc*, afterwards commonly called *Joan of Orlean*ce, both with a certain Perswasion of Restoring him to his Kingdom and Throne, and with a manlike Courage to effect it, and so revived the fainting Hopes of that King, whose Courage and Patience was almost invincible. And indeed, as if Divine Justice had taken sufficient Vengeance upon the *French* Nation for their former Sins, he began to give them some glympse of his Favour again, by the Misfortunes of the *English*, and Success of the *French*, which began to shew it self in the Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, a Person of that Wisdom, Courage and Conduct, that the Fortune of the *English* Armies seemed to live and dye in him. He was both the Adviser and chief Actor in this Siege, and knowing perfectly, that the Fate of *France* depended upon the Success of this Attempt, he was very diligent to improve, and carry on all Advantages for the effecting of it, and cared not to entrust almost any Man without his own Presence, lest they should Miscarry. The Tower, which the *English* had taken on the Bridge, was much made use of by him, for observing where the Town might most successfully be assaulted, and in an upper Room, where the Prospect of the City lay from a Window, he often entred into Consultations with his Commanders about Taking the Town. The Citizens were sensible of it, and had taken notice, that there was much looking out of the Window, and had thereupon planted a great Gun full upon it, to shoot at an Advantage, and a Gunner always attended upon it to discharge it as Occasion served. On the Nine and Fiftieth Day after the Siege began, the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave* and *William Glasdale*, with divers others, were in a deep Consultation in the said Room, and being observed by the Gunner frequently to look out

at the Grate, he fired his Gun at them, which Shot so shattered the Bars of the Window, that one of them struck the Earl of *Salisbury* on the Face, and put out one of his Eyes, and struck off a part of his Cheek; Sir *Thomas Gargrave* also was so grievously bruised and wounded, that he died within Two Days. The Earl of *Salisbury* was conveyed to *Meun*, on the *Loire*, and all possible Care taken for his Recovery; but his Wound was past Cure, so that he died at the End of 8 Days; and his Body was soon after carried with much Solemnity into *England*, and buried by his Ancestors at *Bissam* in *Barkshire*. He left only one Daughter, who was married to *Richard Nevil*, Son to *Ralph*, Earl of *Westmerland*, who was after Earl of *Warwick*. The Loss of this great Man, was received with much Grief by all the *English*, but by none so much as by the Duke of *Bedford*, who was more sensible of his Worth, while living, and so of the Damage to the *English* by his Death; yet he would not seem to want him, and therefore appointed the Earl of *Suffolk* to be his Lieutenant, and Captain of the Siege; and with the Lord *Scales*, Lord *Talbot*, Sir *John Falstaffe*, and some others, to carry it on with all Vigour and Courage possible; who accordingly left nothing unattempted that Policy could devise, or daring Boldness atchieve. But the Town being strong of it self, and filled with a good Garrison, held out till *Lent* was almost past without any Signs of Yielding, putting the *English* Camp to very great Streights for Provision, which they were forced to fetch as far as *Paris*, because the Country round about them was depopulated and destroyed. At length the Besieged beat for a Parley, and came to a Treaty to save themselves. The *English* accepted it, but the Besieged would not agree to resign it to the Duke of *Bedford*, but only to the Duke of *Burgundy* to be kept for the Duke of *Orlean*ce, or his Brother the Duke of *Angoulesm*, hoping either to obtain more Favour from their Country-Man if it were granted, or if not, to beget a private Grudge between them, which indeed came to pass; for when he had sent to the Duke to signifie the Conditions upon which the Town offered to yield, tho' he was advised to agree to the Conditions, and suffer it to be resigned to the Duke of *Burgundy*, yet the Regent would by no means, but returned Answer, 'That it was neither convenient nor honourable, that a City so long besieged by the King of *England*, and defended with so much Obstinacy and Resolution, should be surrendered upon their own Terms, or to any other than King *Henry* himself, or his Deputy, and therefore would not assent to any other Terms. This Answer the Duke of *Burgundy* took very ill from the Regent, conceiving that the *English* envied his Honour and Interest, and kept it deeply laid up in his Mind.

The Regent refusing to accept the Proposals of the Besieged the Surrender of the Town was delay'd, and by that Means gave time for the wonderful Deliverance, which after follow'd after this manner. A young Maid nam'd *Joan d'Arc*, the Daughter of *James d'Arc* and *Isabel* his Wife, a poor Country-Man, who inhabited in a small Village in *Berry* call'd *Domremy*, aged about Eighteen Years, asserted with great Zeal and Confidence, 'That she had a Revelation, that she should deliver King *Charles* from his present Troubles, and drive the *English* from *Orleans*, and having caused him to be crown'd at *Rhemes* restore the whole Kingdom

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6.

The Earl of *Salisbury* mortally wounded, and dies in Eight Days.

The Siege of *Orlean*ce continued.

*Orlean*ce seeks a Treaty, and is accepted.

The Story of *Joan d'Arc*, who pretended to be sent by God to deliver *France*.



A. D. 1427. Reg. 6. dom to its Ancient Peace and Happiness. This Revelation she first discover'd to her Father and Mother, and Neighbours, and after was perswaded to relate it to the Sieur *Baudricourt*, Provost of *Voucouleurs*, which she did with a great deal of Seriousness and Resolution. The Provost being a sage and discret Person, and knowing, that Pretences of Revelation were not easily to be credited at first, look'd upon her to be possessed with a deep Melancholy, and told her, 'That it was very unlikely, that she being a Woman should be an Instrument of their Deliverance, when all the Attempts of the most illustrious and brave Personages had proved in vain: But when he saw her unmovable Resolution, and consider'd the Gravity and Prudence of her Discourse, he thought fit to carry her to the King for his own Discharge, who lay then with his Court at *Chinon*. She was brought into that Town *March* the 6th, and the News of her Arrival was receiv'd by the King and his Council with much Pleasure, and because she had always been educated in the Country, and had never seen the King, it was contriv'd, that the King should put on a Country-Man's Habit, lest she should know him by his Regal Ornaments and Diadem, and by this Experiment try, whether she were inspir'd or no. When the young Woman was brought into the Chamber she went directly to the King, though in Disguise, as if she had been brought up in the Court all her Life. The Courtiers that stood about her, told her, that she was mistaken, but she constantly averred, that it was he, though she had never seen him before, and then immediately began to discourse with him and assure him, that she had a special Command from the God of Heaven to revive the sinking Fortune of the King and Kingdom. This Action turn'd their Scorn into Admiration, and what they derided at first, they began to believe, so that now her Words were thought worthy of more serious Consideration, and that there might be no Mistake about so great a Matter, it was referred to the Judgement both of the King's Council, and of the most eminent Divines of his Party, who after many Debates resolv'd, 'That in Cases desperate the Providence of God did often make use of extraordinary Remedies, and in like Revolutions of State, when the Courage of Men was lost, he rais'd up Women for its Deliverance, as *Deborah* and *Judith*, who by their Valour rescu'd the People of *Israel* from the Tyranny of two Heathen Kings, *Jabin* and *Nebuchadnezzar*: That Necessity made it lawful to use all sorts of Remedies for their own Defence and Recovery, and so to try whether what this Maid has so confidently asserted, be true, yet with so much Caution as to run no Hazzard. These Resolutions being assented to by the King, all Things were submitted to her Conduct, as far as was Safe and Convenient, which she easily yielded to, being as modest and reasonable in her Actions, as in her Proposals. The News was no sooner brought to her, but she began the Work, which she said she had a Command from God to execute, and as inspir'd by God manfully entred upon those Actions, which a mere Womanish Valour would not dare to think on. She arm'd her self with all Warlike Habiliments, and mounted her Horse as a Man. The Spear which was laid up in *Touraine* in a Place call'd *St. Catherine de Fieribois* was given her upon her Request, and the Admiral of *France* and Marshal, who were with a sufficient Strength to carry a Supply of Victuals into the Town,

The Judgment of the French Divines about her.

had a special Charge given them to take care of her Safety, and conduct her without Hazzard into it. She being thus arm'd and equipp'd took her Leave of the King with a Deportment befitting a great Captain, and in *April* the 12th left *Chinon*, and arriv'd safely at *Orleans*, where she was receiv'd as a Messenger sent by Heaven for their Deliverance, with such a Joy as People reviving from Despair do shew, having Faith to believe, as much as she could promise them, because in God's Name. *Joan* being gotten safe into the Town behav'd her self without any Insolence or extravagant Boasting, making Proposals of Peace, before she would begin any Warlike Enterprize, and to that End sent this following Letter to the Chief Commanders of the *English* Army by a Trumpet.

King of England,

Give an Account to the King of Heaven for his Royal Blood. Surrender up to the Virgin the Keys of all the good Towns, which you have taken by Force. She is come from Heaven to vindicate the Royal Blood of *France*, and is very ready to make Peace, if thou wilt submit to reasonable Terms, and (as Equity and Justice requires) restore what thou hast taken from him. King of *England*, if thou wilt not do thus, I am the Captain of the Wars, and in whatsoever part of *France* I shall find any of the *English* Nation, I will drive them out whether they will or no; but if they will submit, I will take them to Mercy? I am come from the King of Heaven to expel you out of *France*, and if you will not obey, I will make such a slaughter and stir among you as hath not been this Thousand Years in *France*. Believe me, The King of Heaven will give me and my Forces such irresistible Courage and Strength, as you shall not be able to oppose. Go in God's Name into your own Country, and be not obstinate to your own Opinions, for ye shall not hold *France* of the King of Heaven, the Son of the Virgin *Mary*, but *Charles* the true Heir of it shall again possess it and be King of it, for God hath given it him, and he shall enter *Paris* with a goodly Train. You *William Pawlet*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *John*, Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas*, Lord *Scales*, Lieutenants of the Duke of *Bedford*, and you Duke of *Bedford*, who callest thy self Regent of the Kingdom of *France*, be sparing of innocent Blood, and give *Orleans* its Liberty. If you will not do Justice to those whom you have wronged, the *French* will do the noblest Exploit that ever was done in *Christendom*. Mind this wholesome Advice given you by God and His Virgin.

This Letter being carry'd to the Earl of *Suffolk* was receiv'd with great Laughter, and King *Charles* and his Council were derided, as Persons transported with an extravagant Folly, who would make use of such irrational Means for their own Defence, and the *English* from this Time began to promise themselves a certain Victory, since the *French* had no better ways to secure themselves, than such groundless Projects. The Trumpeter, who brought this Letter was imprison'd, which though the *French* complain'd of, as contrary to the Laws of Arms, yet the *English* justified it by the madness of the Message, and thought such an Enthusiastick Defiance ought not to be treated in the common Methods. *Joan* the Virgin seeing her Letter disregarded, and no way left to carry on her Work but by open force of Arms, advises

A. D. 1427. Reg. 6.

Joan's Letter to the English to tender them Peace.

Joan's Letter derided by the English.



A. D. 1428. Reg. 6. advises the Chief Governours of the Siege, the Earls of *Dunois*, *Pothon* and *Xantrails* to prepare for an Assault, and to sally out upon the *English* with all their Force, saying: 'God is for us, and the *English* cannot escape our Hands. Let us but put on an answerable Courage to the Assistance God intends us, and we shall defeat all the Rascals of that Army. The Commons, who putting Confidence in her had flock'd about her in great Numbers, promised themselves mighty Success in the Attempt, and readily attended her Motions; but the Commanders had little Hopes of a Victory against those Enemies, which ever conquer'd them, yet resolv'd to follow her Advice for once, as an Oracle. All Things therefore being well prepared, the Besieged with *Joan* in the Head of them made a vigorous Sally at the Gate of *Burgundy*, and first set upon the Fort of *St. Lupe* adjoining to it, which was defended by 400 *English*. The *French*, as inspired with an unusual Courage, assaulted it with such Fury, that no Opposition the *English* could make, could keep them from Scaling it, which so affrighted them, that they left the Castle to the *French*, and fled, but were slain many of them, and others taken Prisoners. This successful Beginning raised the Opinion of the Virgin in the Minds of all, and the People at her Return to her Lodging ran in Flocks to meet her, crying, *Blessed be the Holy Virgin sent by God to deliver us.* Victory seem'd to be now come over to the *French*; and though the *English* Generals did all they could to keep up the dying Courage of their Soldiers, yet the *French* every Day got some Advantage of them, and at length on *May* the 8th, obliged them to raise the Siege, which they did in good Order, and retreated part under the Earl of *Suffolk* to *Jargeaux* the next *English* Garrison, and part under the Lord *Talbot* to *Mehun*. The *French* flush'd with this Victory had no sooner put *Orleans* into a Posture of Defence, but they pursu'd the *English* to *Jargeaux*, and after a short Siege made themselves Masters of it *July* the 12th, taking the Earl of *Suffolk* and his Brother Prisoners, with many others.

Siege of Orleans raised by Joan's Conduct.

Fifth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

While the Siege of *Orleans* was thus carry'd on, little was done in *England*, save that about the 14th of *October* in the beginning of this Year a Parliament met at *Westminster*, and provided for the good of the Nation by enacting several Laws, and for the Defence of it, by giving a large Tax for carrying on the War with *France*. The Acts were of good Benefit to the Publick: As,

1. That whereas by reason of the quick Return of *Capias*'s in the *King's Bench*, *Exigents* were granted and awarded, whereby divers Persons being by base and fraudulent Practices outlaw'd, their Goods and Chattels were immediately seiz'd, as forfeited to our Lord the King, and so divers of the King's faithful Subjects were utterly undone, as by the Complaints of the Commons in Parliament doth appear, Before any *Exigents* shall be granted for the future, every *Capias* shall be directed to the Sheriffs at least six Weeks, and if upon the Return the Judges shall think fit to grant an *Exigent*, they may proceed as formerly, but if any be granted before the Return of the *Writ*, it shall be void.

2. That Sheriffs shall be oblig'd under the Penalty of Forty Pound to deliver to all Plaintiffs, Tenants or Defendants a true Copy of their Pannels six Days before the Assizes, when they shall be so requir'd by the said Plaintiffs or Defendants.

3. Whereas Sheriffs by corrupt Juries were wrongfully endited to the Justices of Assize for making false Returns of the Knights chosen in their several Shires to serve in Parliament, by which Means the Sheriffs were liable to pay an Hundred Pounds Forfeiture, and the Knights lost their accustom'd Wages in Parliament without Remedy; therefore it was enacted, That Sheriffs and Knights against whom any Inquests or Offices of undue Elections are found shall for the future have their Answer, and traverse to such Inquests and Offices, and shall not be endamag'd till duly convicted.

4. By this Parliament also it was appointed, that several Commillions of Sewers should be issu'd out by the Chancellor of *England* into all Parts of the Realm to cleanse and repair all Walls, Ditches, Gutters, Bridges, Wears, &c. to prevent the great Inundations of the Sea and Rivers which had happen'd in divers Parts of the Nation. And a Form of Commillion was compos'd on purpose, that it might be the more effectual, which is annex'd to it, and an Order, that for Ten Years next ensuing they should be strictly executed, that all Water courses should be cleansed, and the Nation freed from the Prejudices it had suffer'd a long time by frequent Inundations.

This Parliament in Consideration of the King's Expence in carrying on the War in *France*, which grew very dubious, and more chargeable, granted very large Taxes, viz. a Subsidy of Three Shillings by the Tun for all Wine imported, and Twelve Pence by the Pound for all Merchandize, except Wool, Wool-fells and Cloth, which had a Tax before laid upon them. But besides these a kind of Poll-Tax, tho' not general was laid upon several Parishes, viz. In every Parish where the Living was worth Ten Mark *per Annum*, it was enacted, That Ten of the chiefeft Parishoners should pay Six Shillings and Eight Pence *per Head*; and in such Parishes as the Living was worth Ten Pounds *per Annum*, a like Number of the chief Inhabitants should pay a Mark; and in all Corporations it was order'd, that every Person worth above Twenty Shillings besides his Household-Goods and Apparel, should pay Four Pence by the Head to the King, and so proportionably for every Twenty Shillings all Persons were worth, by which means the Tax was much increased in Cities and Boroughs.

In this Sixth Year of the King, *Wickliff* and his Memory was solemnly condemn'd at the Council of *Constance* (or rather *Sienna*) held under Pope *John*, after this manner. Proclamation being first made, and Commandment given, that if any Person or Persons could or would defend *Wickliff* or his Memory, they should immediately appear and be heard; none daring to be his Advocate, the Council proceeded to examine several Witnesses, whom they had brought to prove, That *John Wickliff* in his Life-time held and taught many Heretical and Heterodox Doctrines, contrary to the receiv'd Tenets and Practices of the Christian Church in all Ages, and that he dy'd in an obstinate and wilful Impenitency of those Opinions, for which he ought to be condemn'd and curst by the Church: Whereupon the Synod at the Request of the Steward of the Pope's Treasury proceeded to give Sentence against the said *Wickliff* and his Memory. 'That the said *John Wickliff* being a notorious obstinate Heretick, and dying in his Heresie, his Body and Bones, if they might be discern'd from the Bodies of other faithful People, should be taken up out of the Ground, and

A. D. 1428.

Reg. 6.

*Wickliff* condemn'd by the Council of *Constance*, and his Bones burnt.



A. D. 1428. Reg. 6. and thrown away far from the Burial of any Church, according to the Canon-Laws and Decrees. The Execution of this Sentence which was approv'd by the whole Assembly, was committed to the Bishop of *Lincoln* (x) *Richard Flemming*, in whose Diocese the Parish of *Lutterworth*, of which *Wickliff* was Parson, and where he lay buried, was. The Bishop as zealous as the Council against what they call'd Heresie, as soon as he had receiv'd his Orders, sends his Officers, viz. his Arch-Deacon, Officials, Commillaries, and other Servants to *Lutterworth* to take up *Wickliff's* Bones, and remove them out of Christian Burial, who were so far from coming short of their Commission, that they exceeded; and having taken his Bones out of his Grave one and forty Years after his Burial, burnt them, and cast them into a Brooks adjoining, call'd *Swift*, which carrying them into the Sea was a Prefage of the spreading of his Doctrine into all Parts of the World.

Reg. 7. About the Beginning of September the Bishop of *Winchester* lately made Cardinal of *St. Eusebius* in France return'd into England, and in his Journey to London was met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and many of the chief Citizens of it on Horse-back, and by them honourably conducted unto his Palace in *Southwark*; but his Return with so great Dignity, and a Legantine Power, was not at all pleasing to the Duke of *Glocester*, who by this Time understood of how ill a Consequence his Promotions might prove to the Nation, being a Man of a very insolent and high Temper, and very rich, which would make him troublesome, and intolerable. And to prevent the ill Effects of them, as soon as he heard he was landed, he caused an Instrument to be published in the King's Name, declaring, That whereas the most Christian King *Henry VI.* and his Progenitors, Kings before him of this Realm of England, have been heretofore possessed time out of Mind with a special Privilege and Custom used and observ'd in this Realm from Time to Time, that no Legate from the Apostolick See shall enter this Land, or any of the King's Dominions without the Calling, Petition, Request, Invitation or Desire of the King; and forasmuch as *Henry*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Cardinal of *St. Eusebius* hath presum'd to enter as Legate from the Pope, being neither call'd nor desir'd by the King; therefore the King by his Procurator *Richard Caudray* doth protest by this Instrument, that it standeth not with the King's Mind or Intent by the Advice of his Council to admit, approve or ratifie the Coming of the said Legate in any wise in Derogation of the Rights and Customs of this Realm, or to allow and assent to any Exercise of his Legantine Power, or to any Acts attempted by him contrary to the said Laws. This Proclamation being only intended against his Power as Legate, the Bishop seem'd for the present to wave his Authority in that Kingdom, and kept on his way homeward without any Opposition farther from the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was willing to wink at any Submission thro' the fear of displeasing the Pope, who certainly would have thunder'd aloud if he had seen his Authority openly resisted, tho' in the Cardinal's Hands.

A. D. 1429. The French King having Fortune now on his side summon'd a Council of his great Lords to his Court to consult, how, and by what Methods they should pursue their Victories (for this Occasion was not to be slipped) and at last it was

resolv'd, that it would be most for his Advantage to recover such Places from the Hands of the English, as were situate upon the River *Loire*, and to that end it was thought fit, that a large Army should be rais'd, and marching to *Orleans* should from thence pursue the good Fortune which had first began there. *John de Valois*, Duke of *Alençon*, was made the King's Lieutenant in this Expedition, and had the Conduct of an Army of 14000 Men under the Command of the Duke *De Vandosme*, a Prince of the Blood, *Joan the Virgin*, *Guy de Laval*, Marshal *Loeac* his Brother, *Chivagnes de Tour*, and *Vidame de Chartres*. The first Thing that they attempted was the Siege of *Mehun* or *Mean*, which tho' a small Town, was an Annoyance to them in their March from *Orleans*; whereupon they besieg'd it, till they had taken the Bridge and Castle, by which means being freed from any Trouble from it: After they had put in a French Garrison, they march'd forward to *Beaugences* a more important Place, where they were met by *Arthur of Brittain*, Constable of France, accompany'd with the Lord *D'Albret*, *Beaumenoir*, Marshal of Brittain, and many others, who brought them a Reinforcement of 1200 Horse, and 1500 Foot, who joyning with them they most straitly besieg'd the Place. The Lord *Talbot* in the mean time was as busie for the Advantage of the English, as the French were for their own, and took *Laval*, a Town formerly in Possession of the English, but upon the good Success of the French at *Orleans* it had Revolted, and set up King *Charles's* Standard. *Talbot's* Courage would not endure their Inconstancy, and therefore falling upon it with Scaling-Ladders made his way directly into the Town and took it with a rich Spoil. The Castle still held out against him, and though it could not hope to stand out long, yet was *Andrew Laval*, Lord of *Loeac* sent to maintain it if possible, till they could gain an honourable Composition, which at length he obtain'd, viz. That all that were in the Castle, himself not excepted, should pay for the Ransom of their Lives 25000 Crowns, and he remain a Prisoner among the English, till it was either actually paid, or sufficient Security given for the Payment of it. The Lord *Talbot* immediately placed a strong Garrison in it to keep the Inhabitants in Subjection, and went forward to the Regent to *Paris*, but could make no stay there, because the News of the Siege of *Beaugences* being brought thither soon after his Arrival, the Regent dispatch'd him, and the Lord *Scales* with an Army of 4000 Men to the Relief of it. These Lords fear'd no Attempts, though never so Desperate or Hazardous; but coming to *Beaugences*, they found it so straitly Besieged, and the Army of the French so strong, that Prudence engag'd them not to hazard themselves and Men to no purpose, and so they retir'd towards *Mehun*, intending to force the Bridge and Castle there, and secure themselves in that Town. *Beaugences* by the Departure of the English seeing their Hopes of Succour gone yielded upon these Conditions, That the Garrison should march out with their Arms, Horses and Baggage (but the French Historians say, That they were to pay a Mark a Man for the last) and that the English Soulders should not bear Arms for Ten Days against the King of France. The French being thus Masters of the Town, and seeing their Army so much greater than the English, pursu'd them with all speed,

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7.

Duke of Alençon besieges Mehun.

The Lord Talbot takes Laval.

The French take Beaugences.

(x) This Bishop Fleming had been formerly a zealous Wickliviſt.

and



A. D. 1429. Reg. 7. and before the English could effect their Design at Mehun, overtook them, and forced them to leave it. They endeavour'd to recover Janville, but were so closely follow'd by the French Horse, that they were oblig'd to make a stand at Patay in Beausse to guard themselves with Stakes against their Assaults, but before they could do it the whole Army came upon them, and they were forced to engage in fight, tho' very unequally against them, the French being at least four times their Number. Talbot seeing the Necessity of a Battel encourag'd his Men with all the Arguments he could to conquer or die bravely, and gave them Command to keep themselves close together, lest being surrounded by the Enemy, they should open a Gap to their own Ruin. The French assur'd of Victory fell on them very furiously, and the English as resolutely for Three Hours maintain'd their Ground against them, but at length their brave Captain Talbot having receiv'd a dangerous Wound upon his Back, and thereby being so disabled, that he could make no Resistance, fell into the Hands of his Enemies, and was made their Captive: This unfortunate Accident so disheartned the rest of the Army, that they betook themselves to Flight, but were so closely pursu'd, that they were almost all slain, the English Garrisons not daring to receive them, because they were mingled with so many of their Enemies, that they had been in Danger of falling into the Hands of the French to save them. The Lords Scales and Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Rampstone with some others of less Note were taken. Sir J. Falstoff tho' a Person of great Valour, yet seeing the inevitable Fate of this Battel, withdrew without giving or receiving a Blow (as judging it mere Rashness to fight at such a Disadvantage) but the Regent was so incens'd with him for it, that he took from him his George and Garter, which he had given him but the Year before for his former brave Actions; but thro' much Mediation of Friends, and his own alledging of some Excuses (which were at that Time judg'd reasonable) they were again restored to him, tho' much against the Lord Talbot's Will and Consent. This Victory caused great Triumph among the French, chiefly because they had gotten their bravest Captain and Commander, without whose Conduct they believ'd the English would not be able to do any thing of Consequence in France for the future; yea, and the English themselves despair'd of any of Fortune's Favours hereafter, since the Two great Pillars of their Cause were lost. And indeed they had no small reason for their Fears, because several of their Towns yielded themselves up to King Charles, viz. Gergeau, Baugence, Janville, Mean, and all Beausse, so that by a sudden turn of Fortune they lost in a few Days, what they had been getting many Months at a great Expence of Blood.

The English routed at Patay, and the Lord Talbot taken.

Orleans being thus deliver'd according to Joan's Promise and Prediction, she pressed for the Coronation of King Charles at Rheimes, which according to her Train of Prophecies was next to follow in order to the compleat routing the English out of France. Many of his Nobles, who were tender of his Safety, were extremely against it, alledging, 'That a Coronation is but a mere Ceremony, and did neither add to, nor take from a King's Title to his Crown. All the Use of it was only to make the King known to his People, which the War had so fully done, that none of his Natural Subjects were ignorant of his Person or Title. But if it were necessary in it self, yet the present Time, and

the design'd Place were so inconsistent with the King's Safety, that it was in no wise to be attempted: For besides, that Rheimes was in the Possession of the English, there were so many English Garrisons on both sides the way thither, viz. on the one side Auxerre, Troyes and Chaalons, and on the other side Laon and Soissons, that it was almost impossible to get thither: So that at least the Ceremony ought to be forborn for a Time; and so much the rather, because the English had not yet thought it necessary to crown King Henry. These Reasons, tho' very rational and certain, yet satisfi'd not Joan, as being contrary to One of the Three Things which were pretended, that she had a Commission from God himself to execute, and therefore insist'd upon the Performance of it without delay, assuring them, That these imaginary Difficulties would vanish in the Attempt. King Charles having seen the Success of the Former, was easily sway'd to comply with the Latter; and therefore resolv'd to proceed to his Coronation at Rheimes. All his Nobles, tho' with unwilling Minds, attended him in his Voyage, except Arthur of Brittain the Constable, and Count Fedriac his Friend, whom Tremville was unwilling to be troubl'd with; but least thro' some Discontent they should disturb the Prosperity of their Affairs, he caus'd the King to send them, one with a sufficient Force to defend the Frontiers of Normandy, and the other to be his Lieutenant in Guienne, which Stations they accepted without any seeming Dislike, though not insensible of Tremville's Artifices. Things being thus settled, Charles took his Way with an Army of 12000 Men towards Rheimes, and with little or no Difficulty arriv'd there; for the English Garrisons fearing a Siege demand'd only time for Succour, which not coming they surrendred. Troyes indeed stood out Twelve Days, or as others say, but Two Days, the French partly making fierce Assaults, and the English under Sir Philip Hall thro' Famine making little or no Resistance. Chaalons and Rheimes were forced by the Inhabitants to surrender to King Charles, who thereupon made his solemn Entry into the City, and was crown'd there in the Presence of the Dukes of Lorrain and Barr, and all his Nobles. This successful Voyage rais'd Joan's Reputation very much; and tho' a Woman of no good Credit, yet confirm'd their Belief of her, as a Person sent by God for their Deliverance, which supported their Courage. And indeed the Ceremony, tho' of no Value in it self, yet produced such real Effects, as if it had been a material Circumstance by the Divine Decree in the Relief of France; for it was no sooner over, but the People who judge by Appearance only, flock'd to him to do him Homage, and many Cities, as if that Action had conferred a just Right upon him, which before he had not, own'd him for their lawful and only Sovereign. Laon sent Deputies to him to do him Homage, and Soissons, Chasteau-Thierre and Province yielded to him with many adjoining Towns.

The Duke of Bedford, a wise and experienced Governour was not an unconcerned Spectator of all these Actions, and with no small Grief of Heart revolv'd with himself the ill Success of his Party. Every Revolt was a Wound to him, but he knew not how toward off the Strokes of an inevitable Fate. Something he knew was to be done, but he was long in doubt what would be best. At last he resolv'd to try another Field-Battel, and stop the Current by force, and to that end leaving Paris with an Army

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7.

Charles the French King crown'd at Rheimes.

The Effects of Charles's Coronation.



A. D. 1429. Reg. 7. Duke of Bedford Challenges the French King to Battle.

of 10000 English, and some Norman Troops march'd into the Country of *Brie*, from whence he sent a Challenge in Writing to King *Charles* by an Herald to this Purpose, 'That whereas, he had contrary to the final Conclusion made between his noble Brother King *Henry V.* and his own Father King *Charles VI.* and the Kingdom of *France*, by the Allurement of a Devilish Witch, taken upon him contrary to all Laws and Right, the Name, Title and Dignity of King of *France*, and had by Murther, stealing, Craft, and other deceitful Means violently gotten, and wrongfully kept divers Cities and Towns belonging to the King of *England* his Nephew, pretending a rightful Claim to them, which he utterly deny'd, He was come down from *Paris* with his Army into the Country of *Brie* to prove by dint of Sword and stroke of Battel his Challenge, and Cause true, requiring him to appoint the Place of their Meeting, and he would not fail to come to decide this Controversie with him. The French King was now come from *Rheims* to *Dampmartin*, where the Herald found him, and deliver'd this Writing to him. *Charles* was not a little astonish'd at it, but putting on a brave Resolution, told him, *That his Master should not need to come to him, nor invite him to a Battel, for he was determin'd with all speed to seek out his Master, and by Battel put an end to all Disputes between them.* The Duke of *Bedford* hearing this kept on his March towards him, and at length (tho' the French King declin'd meeting as much as in Honour he dare) met his Army at a Town near *Senlis*, which notwithstanding it was much bigger than his own, he was resolv'd to fight almost at any Disadvantage, yet to secure his Rear from the French Horse, he encamp'd himself as strongly as he possibly could, and put his Archers in the Fore-front of the Battel. The French King also drew up his Army by the Advice of his Captains into very good Order, and faced the English two Days without any Action, except a few Skirmishes between Parties. On the third Day it was debated in the French Camp, whether they should assault the English or no, *Joan* was irresolv'd, and would by no means encourage them as at other Times, which made the greatest part of the Soldiers, who look'd upon her Determinations as Divine, against a Battel. The other Commanders thought it very irrational to hazard their former Victories by one Battel, which if unfortunate, might utterly ruin them, and 'twould be folly to tempt their kind Fortune by venturing needlessly. These Arguments so prevail'd with King *Charles*, that in the dead of the Night he broke up his Camp, and withdrew to *Bray*. The Duke of *Bedford* had much ado to keep his Army in the Morning from pursuing the French; but because he fear'd the Fidelity of the Citizens of *Paris*, he was afraid to give them Liberty to do it, and so he return'd thither again to wait another Opportunity.

Bishop of Winchester provides to go against the Hussites in Bohemia.

While these Things were transacting in *France*, Pope *Martin V.* who having excommunicated the Followers of *Wickliff* in *Bohemia*, commonly call'd *Hussites*, from their Chief Preacher *John Hus*, at the Council of *Florence*, sent his Bull into *England* to the Rich Cardinal *Henry Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester*, imploring him by the Wounds of Christ, his Zeal to the Church, and as he tender'd his own Salvation, to contribute his utmost Assistance to extirpate these Hereticks, which had so long withstood the Arms of the Emperour, and other Princes

A. D. 1429. Reg. 7. Bishop of Winchester in his way to Bohemia assists the Regent of France.

of *Europe*, and to encourage him to be industrious in the Undertaking he made him his Legate in the Army, which he should raise for that End, and gave him the Tenth Part of every Dignity, Benefice and Promotion in the Kingdom. The Cardinal's Ambition, or, if you will Zeal, made him very Active in his Work, and that he might proceed with the greater Success he propounded the Letters of the Pope to the Parliament, and obtain'd their Approbation, either out of the same Principle of Hatred to the Hereticks, or perhaps rather, because they would rid the Kingdom of this Turbulent Prelate, who was to be the Captain of the Army in so Religious a War. But whatever was the Reason, the Cardinal glad of this publick Ratification of his Commission proceeded with all Expedition to gather the Money of the Clergy, (who notwithstanding the Goodness of the Cause, were not a little discontented at it, having been much impoverish'd of late with Tenths and other Taxes for the Wars of *France*) and with it he rais'd an Army of above 4000 Men, whom having well furnish'd with all Things for the War, he about the Beginning of *June* intended to have transported into *France*, and so march'd into *Bohemia*; but when he had drawn them up to *Dover* for that end, Letters came with all speed from the Duke of *Bedford* to his Brother the Protector to send him over some Recruits forthwith, because the French King's Affairs were come to that Ripeness, that unless a speedy stop were put to his Victories (which he had not Men enough to do) he would soon become Master of all *France*. The Duke of *Gloucester* startled at this Message was very solicitous to answer his Brother's Desires, but not being able to do it so soon as was requir'd, and really necessary, he earnestly intreated the Cardinal to assist his Brother in *France* with his Army for the present, and so soon as he could provide other Supplies he should be dismissed to proceed on his Journey. The Cardinal very unwillingly harken'd to the Protector's Request, tho' next to a Command; but being no impolitick Person, and considering, that if the King's Affairs in *France* should miscarry thro' any neglect of his, it was not the Zeal he had for Religion, nor the Pope's Command could excuse him, either to his own Conscience, or to the King and Parliament for thus forsaking the Kingdom's Interests; whereupon he immediately transported his Forces into *France*, and joyn'd them with the Regent. With this Reinforcement the Regent march'd out again with a Resolution to fight his Enemy the French King, who (as he had receiv'd late Intelligence) was march'd into *Champaigne* and *Beauvais*, where having many Friends he hop'd to have had many of the Towns of those Countries yielded to him; but ere he could arrive there, the Regent, who pursu'd him with great speed, overtook him, and found him encamp'd upon Mount *Piliol* between *Senlis* and *Champaigne*, himself pitching between *Senlis* and *Monmair* at a convenient Distance from them. The French being thus in prospect of a daring Enemy, tho' much the greater Number, yet would not venture to assault the Camp of the English, and the Regent not thinking it safe upon better Thoughts to fight them at such Disadvantages, as the Place and their Numbers gave them, they waited several Days to come to a fair Battel, but at length being both tired with Expectation they retreated, the one to *Cressie* and the other to *Paris*, and so nothing was done, save that in some small Skirmishes the English and Normans had



A. D. 1429. Reg. 7. His Success in Bohemia. had much the better. The Bishop of Winchester having waited with some Impatience for a Battel in vain, and finding his Delay unnecessary, went forward with the Regent's Leave into *Bohemia* with his Army, but having had ill Fortune there against the Hereticks, he returned Home soon after with as little Honour as Gain, and the Pope being not well pleased with his ill Success or bad Management, recalled his Legantine-Power, and put Cardinal *Julian* into his Place, to the no small Vexation of the Cardinal, who, tho' unfortunate in his Achievements, yet expected a better Requital for his Zeal and Charge.

Reg. 8. King Henry's Coronation. King Henry being now entred upon the Ninth Year of his Age, and shewing a great Pregnancy of Wit and Parts, it was thought fit to admit him, as it were, into his Regal Dignity by a Coronation, which was accordingly performed upon St. Leonard's Day, Nov. 6: in St. Peter's Church at Westminster with great Solemnity, and a Joy suitable to the Occasion. Robert Fabian in his Chronicle, gives a very particular Account of the magnificent Feast made in Westminster-Hall, when it was ended, to which I refer the Curious. At this Coronation the King made 36 Knights of the Bath, and in the conclusion of it, Resolutions were taken by his Council, for his Coronation in France in the Spring, and in the mean Time all necessary Preparations were ordered for his Journey thither.

The French take several Places, and court Burgundy his Friendship. King Charles being freed from the Molestation of the English, kept on his March slowly in those Countries about *Cressy*, and was received into the Towns of *Compeign*, *Senlis* and *Beauvais*, by a Submissive Surrender to him, as their lawful Sovereign. The Castle of *Aumerle* stood out, but was surprized by the Lord *Longueville*, who slew all the English which he found in it. The French also took *Castle-Galliard* from the English, and found the Lord *Barbason* kept close Prisoner in a Dungeon in it, enclosed within a Grate of Iron like a little Chamber. He was thought to have been long dead, and there was found with a Joy as great almost, as if he had been raised from the Grave, by his Countrymen, who immediately broke open the Grates for his Deliverance: But he was made a faster Prisoner by his Oath to the Captain, one *Kingstone*, by which he engaged himself to be his true Prisoner, than all Iron-grates and Shackles could make him, inasmuch, that he would not come out of the Dungeon, until the French-Men had sent to the same *Kingstone* (who was departed out of the Castle upon the Covenants agreed on for the Surrender) and obtained from him a Discharge from his Oath. But all this Success was not enough to satisfy the French King, so long as the Friendship of the Duke of Burgundy with the English continued; for as he had found by Experience, that it was that, which had settled the English Power in France, so he did not doubt, but if he could break it, and bring over the Duke to his Natural Duty and Allegiance, it would be a Means to rout the English totally out of the Kingdom; and if he could not effect it, his Success hitherto would come to nothing. He resolved therefore to send Embassadors to that Duke, who excusing the Death of his Father, might represent to him, how misbecoming it was for a Prince of his Quality, and of the Blood-Royal, to joyn with the Enemies of the Regal Dignity and Kingdom, to which himself, or his Posterity might thro' a Failure of Succession in the nearer

Branches, ascend; and offering him what Conditions he pleased, if he would submit to him. But Philip being a very politick Prince, and sensible that neither Party could well subsist without him, as he was courted by both, answered them only in general Terms, which gave them little Hopes, yet did not quite deprive them of them, and made some Demands of Things impossible to be granted, yet with such an Indifferency, as shewed he stood not so much upon his Will as his Advantage, which he sought from both Sides, and would accept the biggest of either; and so dismissed them to their Master. The Regent being certified of these Things by the Duke of Burgundy himself, who at the same time let him know, he resented his Denial that Orleans should be resigned to him, gave him many Thanks for his kind Notice, promising him, that his Fidelity for the Future should be more fully rewarded by him, because he had so firmly withstood the insinuating Proffers of his Natural Sovereign, and had not suffered any former Disobligations to draw him from his League with the English. However, he could not but observe, how fast the French King pushed forward the Ruin of the English, and with Policy seconded his Fortune, which put him upon the Use of such Means as might prevent, if possible, the worst, and if he could not keep all France, might at least secure Normandy, which was a Province that of Right belonged to the Crown of England, and lay the most convenient for it of all the rest; wherefore leaving the Bishop of Terrouen and Ely, Lewis of Luxembourg then Chancellor of France, for King Henry, with a competent Number of English-Men to defend and guard Paris, he went into Normandy, and being arrived at Roan, called a Parliament of the Three Estates of the Dutchy, and declared unto them, That tho' he was confident, that the Inconstancy of their Neighbours in Revolting to the French King, contrary to their Oaths and Allegiance due to King Henry, was detestable to them in it self, yet lest bad Example should infect them, he thought fit to let them know, how much it was their Interest, as well as their Duty to continue firm to the English: That as to the former, so long as a firm Friendship continued with England, their Freedom would be enlarged, and their Riches increased every Day; for as England would be always ready to receive their Wines and Linnens, so on the other hand it would be continually importing to them their Wool, Lead, and other staple Commodities; whereas on the contrary, if they revolted, they could hope for nothing but Slavery from the Arbitrary Power of Charles, the French King, and continual War from the English, who would very unwillingly lose the Dutchy, being the Inheritance of the English Crown, for tho' other Parts of France might of Right be thought to belong to King Charles, yet Normandy was undisputably his Nephew King Henry's, being descended to him in a direct Line from the first Duke of Normandy, Rollo the Hardy; wherefore since both Right and Interest concurred together to joyn their Loyalties to King Henry VI, he hoped that no Temptation would be able to allure them from their Faith and Allegiance so often sworn and promised to King Henry V. his Brother, in which so long as they persevered, they might be assured of Protection and Defence from the English against all their Opposers. The Normans

A. D. 1429. Reg. 8. Burgundy's Subtlety for his own Advantage. Regent's Journey into Normandy, to confirm that Province in their Loyalty.

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*A. D.* 1429. *Reg. 8.* *King of France attempts to take Paris, but is repulsed.* hearing these Exhortations, declared their Loyalty to King Henry, to which their Interest and Duty did not more oblige them, than their Inclinations voluntarily swayed them; and with these Assurances he departed joyfully to Paris, whether he hastned with the greater speed, because he had received some Information of King Charles's Attempt upon it in his Absence, which he did after this manner: The Parisians

being represented to him by his Friends, as very much inclined to their lawful Sovereign, if they could have a fair Opportunity to declare for him with Safety to themselves, King Charles thought the Regent's Absence much favoured that Purpose, and therefore soon after his Departure, leaving Senlis, he marched with his whole Army to St. Dennis, which being yielded without Resistance, he presented himself before the Walls of Paris, but not meeting with the Reception he expected, which was to be admitted into the City by his Friends without Delay, he ordered an Assault to be made, and did not doubt of a speedy Success, because Joan pretended a Revelation for the Taking of it. John, Duke of Alençon immediately began the Assault, and the chiefest Part of the Army, which were lodged at La Chapelle, levelled their Artillery against the Gate of St. Honorius, and took the Outworks of it. Joan also threw her self resolutely into the Ditch, contrary to the Advice of the Duke of Alençon, and all the Rest, and expected the Army should follow her to take Possession of the City, but the English Captains and Soldiers kept their Stations so firmly, and being assisted by the Parisians, defended the City so manfully, that they beat the French, and threw Joan,

*Joan very hardly escapes being taken.*

more forward than wise, into the Town-Ditch, full of the Filth and Excrements of the City, and had certainly taken her, had not a Servant of the Duke of Alençon, pulled her out. King Charles, seeing this unexpected Resistance, founded a Retreat, and so with some Loss, but more dishonour, left the City, not taking so much as his wounded Captains along with him, and marched by Touraine into Berry. The Duke of Bedford arrived at Paris soon after the French were gone, and understanding by his Soldiers, how faithfully and bravely the Parisians had behaved themselves in the Defence of the City, by which they had freed themselves from all Suspicion of Disloyalty, he gave them publick Thanks for their good Service, and promised them all the Felicity which might be expected from the Favour of a Prince, who loved nothing more than the Good of his Subjects, and would study to reward the well Deservings of a faithful People: Which grateful Return of their Services, the Parisians took so very kindly, that they declared a perpetual Friendship and Subjection to the King of England, making publick Acclamations in these Words. *Friends to King Henry, Friends to the Parisians, Enemies to England, Enemies to Paris.* But their after-Actions made the Sincerity of this Profession questionable.

*A. D.* 1430. *The Regent recovers several Places taken by the French.* Not long after the Regent was come to Paris, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, with a great Number of armed Men arrived; and the Regent, who was under some Disturbance of Mind for the late Losses of the English, entred into a long and grave Consultation with him, how to proceed most effectually to recover them; and it was at length agreed between them, that the Duke of Burgundy with his Men should remain in Paris for the Defence of it, while the Duke of Bedford and his Army should

recover St. Dennis, and the adjacent Places which had lately revolted to the French. The Duke of Bedford therefore without Delay marched from Paris on this Expedition, and having regained St. Dennis, and the other adjoining Fortresses, with as little Labour as they were lost, he returned again to Paris, and sent out several Parts of his Army to recover other Places which he feared would prove more obstinate, viz. The Bastard of Clarence to besiege the Castle of Torci, a very strong Fortification, as well for its Site, as for the Artificial Strength of it; but by the Valour of the English, it was taken after Six Months Siege. The Earl of Suffolk to take the Town of Ammarle, which had resigned to King Charles a little before; Monsieur de Romburris was made Governour, who so resolutely held it out, that the Earl of Suffolk made Twenty-five Assaults upon it, before it would yield, and then at last surrendered, not for want of Will, but Strength to oppose, all their Men being lost. The Earl of Suffolk, who took it without Conditions, hanged 30 of the Chiefest of the Inhabitants upon the Walls of the City, for their Perjury and Treachery to King Henry; fined the Rest of them, and sent Monsieur de Romburris a Prisoner into England, who did not recover his Liberty till Six Years after, and then by Exchange. Sir Thomas Kiriell also about the same Time, issuing out of Gournay in Normandy with 400 Men, ravaged and wasted the Country as far as the very Suburbs of Clermont, which the Earl of that Country seeing with Sorrow, drew out the Garrisons of that Town, and the neighbouring Places to chastise his Boldness, and repress his Insolency. The English retreated into an advantageous Ground near Beauvais, where the French Horse could prove of no Use to them, and there pitching, resolved to give them Battel. The French-Men being egg'd on with the seeming Flight of the English, and their smaller Numbers were eager to engage them, and because their Horses could do them little or no Service, the Earl commanded them to dismount, and engage them on Foot. Upon this a very fierce Skirmish followed, and the Advantage was a long while dubious on which Side it would fall, but at length, by the Valour and Force of the English Archers, the French were forced to give Ground, and in the End fly, having lost 300 of their Company. The Pursuit was close, so that the French could not recover their Horses again, but they falling into the Hands of the English, were made use of to overtake them, and so 200 of them were taken Prisoners, the Earl of Clermont himself, being saved only by the Swiftnefs of his Horse. The French in the mean while were not un-

*A. D.* 1430. *Reg. 8.*

*French gained something.*

King Henry, according to the Determination of his Council for his Coronation in France, began his Journey thither early in the Spring, being at Paris.

*K. Henry's Voyage into France, and Coronation being at Paris.*



A. D. 1430. Reg. 8. being accompanied with the Two Dukes, of York and Norfolk, the Bishops of Bath, Ely, and Rochester, the Earls of Huntington, Stafford, Warwick, Oxford, Devonshire, Morton, Ew and Ormond, and the Lords Bonchier, Beaumont, Tiptoft, Fitzwater, Rosse, Arundel, Awdley, Falconbridge, Gray of Codnor, Scroop and Wells, with a large Retinue of armed Men, as well for his present Guard, as for a Recruit of his Army in France. On S. George's Eve, April 23, he came to Dover; the next Day being Sunday, he landed at Calis, and after a (y) short Stay, marched slowly to Roan, where he passed all the Summer.

Duke of Burgundy's Marriage. While King Henry remained at Roan, the Marriage of Philip, Duke of Burgundy with Isabel, Daughter of John, King of Castile, and Philippa, Daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (in Honour of which Marriage, the King (z) instituted the Order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece) was solemniz'd. And soon after, that the English might try their Fortune under his auspicious Presence, as well as signalize their Courage and Conduct to him, they undertook several advantageous, but hazardous Enterprizes. One Captain Franquet, or as the French History, Franchetto d'Arras, made an Assault upon the Town of Laignie, wherein Joan, and divers other good Captains were, who seeing Franquet's Men, but few, summoned the Garrisons adjoyning together, and fell furiously upon them, resolving to beat them down at the very first Onset with their Multitude. Franquet was a Man of exceeding Courage, and his Company, tho' but 300, were resolved never to desert him in the greatest Dangers, whereupon a long Conflict happened between them, and the English repulsed the French with great Loss in the Two or Three first Onsets; but at last they were overpowered with Multitudes, and forced to give ground, but being unwilling to suffer the Shame of a Flight, they chose to die by the Sword, and so were almost all slain. Franquet himself was taken, and presented to Joan, as to a Commander in Chief in the Town; he was required to humble himself to her on the Knee, which because he refused to do, she fell into a great Fury, and contrary to the Law of Arms and Reason, commanded his Head to be cut off, and all the English that were taken Prisoners with him to be slain. While this Enterprize was unsuccessfully carried on, a greater was begun, which was the Siege of Compeigne. This was a great Town, and well mann'd, victualled and fortified, and therefore the Regent sent his best Captains, the Duke of Burgundy, Earls of Suffolk and Arundel, and Lord John of Luxemburgh, to besiege it with a Body of many Thousand Men. In their Way thither, they took Soissons, which the French Historians say, was betrayed to them by a Captain of Picardy, who had the Command of it, and so having cleared their Way, sat down before the Town. There was very little Hopes of gaining it by Force, and therefore these wise Captains raised Batteries, made Trenches, and built Forts round it, partly for their own Safety, and partly to necessitate the

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8. Besieged, hoping by length of Time, and inward Streights, to force them to surrender. William de Havie was Governour of the Town, a very valiant and prudent Man, who by Sallies and Skirmishes kept the Besiegers almost in continual Exercise, especially after Joan, with a Reinforcement of 500 Men came into the Town from Laignie. On the Night of the Ascension of our Lord, the Besieged having Intelligence, that the Lord Bardo de Noielles, who kept one of the Castles against them, was sent out by the Duke of Burgundy to Marigny upon some special Service, Poitou de Saintrailles, and Joan the Virgin, with a Party of Six Hundred Men, made a vigorous Sally out of the Town by the Bridge toward Montdidier, intending to master it, but being perceived as they were in the Action by the Lord John de Luxemburgh, he came upon them with a strong Force of English and Burgundians, as they were cutting down Tents, overthrowing Pavillions, and killing Men in their Beds, and beat them back again into the Town. In the Retreat, Joan to save her Men, kept the Enemy in continual Skirmishes, being her self one of the last that entered (a), but the Bars thro' which they got into the Town, being kept very streight, lest the Enemy should enter with the Besieged; Joan was left at last with a few, or as some relate, shut out on Purpose by the Malice of the Governour, who envied her the Glory of Defending the Town, and so fell into the Hands of the Lord John of Luxemburgh, who sold her to the English for (b) Four Thousand Crowns in present Money, and an Hundred and Fifty Crowns annual Rent, who sent her a Prisoner to Roan. After this Success the Siege of the Town still continued, and the Duke of Bedford, that he might hasten the speedy Taking of it, sent a Recruit of a Thousand Archers, under the Command of the Earl of Huntington, and Sir John Robfert, Two Gentlemen as expert in all warlike Affairs, as valiant in all bold Attempts. These Men were so active in carrying on the Siege, that the could be no doubt of gaining the Town in a short Time, had not the Death of Philip, Duke of Brabant happened in the very Interval, by which the Duke of Burgundy, who was next Heir to his Dutchy, was obliged to leave the Siege, that he might go and take Possession of it, before any Competition were started. The Lord John, of Luxemburgh, was by the Duke constituted General of the Siege, a Person of small Valour, and as little Conduct, who being discouraged at some brisk Sallies of the Garrison, and the Loss of some of his Men, entertain'd Thoughts of raising the Siege, and propounded it to the English Captains; but they would by no means consent to it, telling him, that the Town being so closely begirt outwardly, that no Relief could get in, and so afflicted within with Pestilence and Famine, could not hold out many Days longer, or if it did, yet it would be a mighty Disgrace to them, to leave the Place after so long a Siege. But no Reasons would prevail with him, he would hearken to no Intreaties, he would be gone, and accordingly

Joan taken Prisoner.

Siege of Compeigne raised.

(y) He staid some Time at Calais. Hol. p. 605.

(z) The Duke of Burgundy instituted the Order of the Golden-Fleece, and the Kings of Spain have no other Pre- tence to the Sovereignty of that Order, but as they are Lineally descended from Charles the Bold, Son of Phillip the Second, Duke of Burgundy, of whom the Author is now speaking.

(a) It seems she did not enter.

(b) Le Rosier, a French Author, who wrote the Life of the French King Charles VII. says the Price was 10000 Pounds Tournois, and 300 Pounds Rent. Which being reduced into English Money, (for these Pounds are only Livres) make about 838 Pound Sterling down, and 25 Pound a Year Pension. Enough for the Head of a Witch, or what is more probable a Whore; as she confess her self when she was condemn'd to be burnt, pretending she was with Child to save her Life, but that was a Trick, and did not do her Business.



A. D. 1430. he march'd off when the Town was reduced to Despair, to the great Disgrace of the English, who went into Normandy, and left Luxemburgh to provide for his Fears, who burnt his Hutts, and left his Artillery behind him, as if he had been forced to fly by the Enemy, when there was nothing less.

Joan examined before the Bishop of Beauvais.

Soon after the Siege of Compeigne was raised, the Regent being now a little at Leisure caused Joan the Virgin to be examin'd and try'd before Peter Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, in whose Diocese she was taken, being requested thereto by the University of Paris, who put up a Petition to King Henry, that she might be deliver'd up to the Ecclesiastical Courts, because she had been a Cause of much Scandal among the People, to the Prejudice of Religion and the Catholick Faith. She was accused upon Seventy Eight Articles, the chief of which were these, viz. That tho' she was indeed found a Virgin, yet she had shamefully rejected her own Sex, imitating a Man both in her Actions and Apparel; That she had like a faithless Wretch been a damnable Instrument of Slaughter and Blood-shed, partly committed by her, and partly carry'd on by her Directions; That she had greatly seduced the People, by pretending, that she was sent from God, and vending many false Revelations in his Name; That she was a Sorceress and a Witch, foretelling Things to come by her Diabolical Arts and Skill; That she had dissuaded Charles the French King from Peace with England, and so had been the Cause of the Wars for several Years; That she had boasted, that she knew Things to come, and particularly had published the certain downfall of the English Power in France; That she had asserted, that the Saints conversed with her, and had been seen with her by the King of France himself, Duke of Bourbon, and two or three other Lords; That she had so seduced the People, as that many abused by her Hypocrisie and fained Devotion worshipped her as a Saint. To these Articles of Accusation she made her Answer, sometimes very gravely and soberly, and sometimes foolishly. Her chief Advocate, one Giles, a grave and prudent Man said. That though in Visions and Revelations she had shewed herself too Superstitious, and in the Levity of her Answers had discovered the Weakness of her Sex, yet he could not think that the Siege of Orleans was raised, or King Charles brought to his Crown by any means of the Devil. But neither this Man's Opinion, nor her own Defence was sufficient to clear her from the greatest part of the Charge, which when she saw was likely to fall heavy upon her, she with much seeming Sorrow confessed her Wickedness, and begg'd Mercy, which the Judge willing to grant, mollified the Sentence, and only inflicted this Punishment on her for the present, viz. That from thenceforth she should cast off her unnatural wearing of Men's Garments, and other Habiliments, and keep herself to such a Garb as is suitable and proper to her Sex; That she should abjure her pernicious Practice of Sorcery and Witchcraft, and all the other Evils, which she had committed contrary to the true Religion; That she should be kept in perpetual Imprisonment, being fed with Bread and Water, that she might with a strict Penance bewail her former Misdeeds. This Sentence being much milder than

Joan condemned and burnt.

what she had reason to fear from an Enemy, to whom she had done so much Mischief she gladly submitted to it, and took a solemn Oath punctually to perform it. But the Devil had too great a Power upon her, to be so easily vanquish'd: What she had promised was only for fear of Suffering, not thro' Conscience of her Wickedness; and therefore as soon as her Fear was remov'd, she fell again to her Old Tricks of pretending Revelations, and foretelling future Events, by the familiar Converse she had with Evil Spirits, which she call'd by the Names of our Lady St. Katherine and St. Ann, who (as she said) brought her them from God. These Things being heard of by the Regent, he caused her again to be brought to the Bishop and tried as a Person relapsed into the former Wickedness; of which being found guilty she was resign'd to the Secular Power, and condemn'd to be burnt as a Witch. This unavoidable Sentence of Death fully discover'd the Falseness of her Pretensions to any Divine Inspiration: For whereas such Persons have joyfully suffer'd Death rather than save themselves by the least Sin, she did not stick to bely her self, by affirming, that she was with Child, and consequently, (not being married) to be guilty of Whoredom, that she might put off the Execution of so severe a Sentence. The Regent, tho' he look'd upon it as a false Pretence, which might have been easily remov'd by the common Methods, yet chose rather to respite her Punishment for Nine Months, that this Lye being discover'd, he might convince the World, that she was actuated by a lying Spirit all along; for so indeed it happen'd, that she was not with Child: Whereupon at Eight Days end, her Sentence of Condemnation being again pronounced upon her, she was in the Old Market-Place of Roan burnt to Ashes, which being cast up into the Air were dispersed by the Wind. Valeran Veran, a French Poet relates two Miracles in her Death, which as he imagines clear'd her Innocency, viz. That her Heart remained unburnt in the Flames, and that a White Dove came out of her Ashes and flew up towards Heaven; but as they are not related by any Historian of Credit, either French or English, so they seem a mere Poetical Fiction invented long after to justify the Pope's Absolution of her from the Sentence of Condemnation the English had laid on her, which K. Charles obtain'd of Pope Calixtus Twenty Six Years after her Death, when the English were quite expell'd France, because though her Actions were too Scandalous to bear a Canonization, yet he thought it not fit to let her lie under so ignominious a Brand, who must not be deny'd the just Praise, That she was a brave and valiant Amazon, the Restorer of the French Monarchy, who if she did not drive out the English, as she vaunted her self, yet certainly was the chief Cause that the English lost France.

About November King Henry went from Roan to Paris in order to his Coronation there, for which great Preparations had been making great part of the Summer. Many Princes and Lords, as well French as English accompany'd him, of which the Chief were the Cardinals of Winchester and York (e) the Dukes of Bedford, York and Norfolk, and of the French, the Dukes of Burgundy, and Lewis de Luxemburgh, Cardinal and Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Bishops of Beau-

A. D. 1430. Reg. 8.

Reg. 9. K. Henry crown'd at Paris, and returns into England.

(e) The Bishop of York was not a Cardinal at this Time. There was then but one Cardinal of the English Nation, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, John Stafford, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury was not made Cardinal till three Years after, Anno 1434. and John Kemp, Arch-Bishop of York had not that Honour till after Stafford. See Thib's History of Cardinals in Hol. pag. 1167.



A. D. 1430. Reg. 9. *vais, Paris and Noyon (f) first Peers of France, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntington, Ormond, Mortaigne and Suffolk, the Counts Longueville, March and Vaudemont, with a numerous Train of Gentry, and others of both Nations, and was met by the Parisians with very great Respect and Pomp. He was crown'd in the Church of Nostre Dame on the 7th or 17th Day of December by the Cardinal of Winchester, which much disgusted the Bishop of Paris, who thought that honourable Office belong'd to him, as Bishop of that Diocese. The King return'd to his Palace with the Crown on his Head, and Scepter in his Hand, another Crown and Scepter being born before him to signify his Kingdom of England, and was there receiv'd with sumptuous Feasting. He stay'd no longer, than till the whole Solemnity was over, and the Noblemen of France and Normandy had paid their Homage, and then return'd to Roan, where he kept his Christmas, and a little after by the Advice of his Council went to Calis from whence after a short stay he took Ship for England and landed at Dover, February 11. In his Journey to London he was met by the Gentry and Commons of Kent on Barham-Down, which lies between Dover and Canterbury, who congratulated his happy Arrival, and conducted him thro' their County to Black-Heath, where he was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of London, who attended him thro' the City, which was adorn'd with many rich Pageants and Shews to give him an hearty Welcome to his Palace at Westminster.*

Divers Skirmishes between the French and English. While these Things were transacting at Paris, divers Things of Moment were perform'd by the English Soldiers in several Places of France. In Normandy Sir Francis Surianes, call'd the Argonnois, a Captain of the English Side surpriz'd Montargis by corrupting a Woman that belonged to Monsieur De Villiers the Governour of the Town, to whom he gave 2000 Crowns to resign it to him, which she accordingly did, and so he became Master of that Place by Policy, which he could not get by Force. The French troubl'd at the Loss sent an Army under the Command of the Messieurs de Graville, and De Vitry to regain it, who took the Town, but not being able to obtain the Castle by a long Siege of six Weeks, they were forced to forsake the Town, and leave it to the English, who reformed it, and held it, till with it they were constrain'd to relinquish all thereabouts. About the same time the Earl of Arundel having received certain Intelligence that the Lord Boufay, Admiral of France was come to Beauvois with a Design to invade the Coasts of Normandy, gather'd a Body of 2300 Men, and laid an Ambush near the Town, into which that he might train the French, he sent a choice Troop of his Horsemen to brave them even at their Palisadoes. The French not suspecting the Snare laid for them, sally'd out, and set upon the English with great Fierceness and Violence, but they retir'd and fled, as if they had been afraid and beaten, till they had brought them into the Ambush, which encompassed them so close on every side, that they were almost all slain except some that fled back into the Town, and some few that were taken Prisoners, of whom the Valiant Captain Ponton de Santrail, Monsieur St. Raigle, and some others were the chiefest. The Lord Talbot who was taken at the Battel of Patay was exchange'd for the former of these, or as others say,

for the latter. Before the Town of Gournay also Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick met a Party of French, and after a sharp Skirmish vanquish'd them, and having slain many of them took Forty Horse-men Prisoners, all of them Persons of Name and Worth. About the same time there having happen'd a Quarrel between Renatus of Anjou, Duke of Barr, Count de Province, and by his Pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, call'd King of Sicily, and his Kinsman Anthony, Count Vaudemont, who being Brother to Charles, Duke of Lorrain claim'd the Dukedom of Anjou for his own by Succession. It caus'd a War between them, and to strengthen themselves one against the other Renatus engag'd the French, and Anthony the English to their Assistance. Renatus was the more powerful of himself, and before Anthony could get sufficient Forces to encounter him in open Field, besieg'd Vaudemont; which Anthony being chiefly oblig'd to secure, left his Men to defend for the present with the Help of the Citizens, and fled to the English at Paris to beg their speedy Assistance to raise the Siege. The Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy readily granted his Petition, and sent with him 600 Archers under the Command of Sir John Falstaff, and 1500 others under Sir Anthony Toulougon, the Duke of Burgundy's Marshal. Renatus hearing of this Design, and that Count Anthony was coming towards him to raise the Siege, he like a valiant Captain leaving a part of his Army to carry it on, went to meet them, and encountred them at Valleamont not far from Nanci. The Battel was fierce and long, but at length the English Archers so gauled the French Horse, that they were forced to give Ground, and at length fled. In the pursuit there were 3000 slain, and 200 taken Prisoners, among whom were Duke Renatus himself, the Bishop of Metz, the Lord of Roquedemaque, Vicount Darcy, and Sir Everard de Salsenburg, who were imprison'd at Bracones upon Salin. This Defeat of Duke Renatus's Men struck such a Terror into the rest of his Army which carry'd on the Siege before the Town, that they immediately rais'd it, left all they had and fled away, but the Besieged pursuing them, took many of them, slew many, and took others Prisoners. The whole Camp then became their Prey, which they ranack'd; and being loaden with the Riches and Spoils of it, return'd into their City. Thus the English attended by a good Fortune, not only were Victorious themselves, but made their Allies Successful.

Yet their good Fortune was not without some Mixture of Ill thro' their own Carelessness and Security; for the Lord Willoughby and Sir Matthew Gough besieging St. Severine a strong Castle in Anjou in the Absence of the Lord Ambrose de Lore, who was the Governour of it, this Lord fearing the Skill and Courage of his Deputy made all the haste he could to the Relief of it, and King Charles sent along with him certain Noblemen with a considerable Body of Men to raise the Siege, who not following him with the Speed desired, the Lord de Lore tarry'd for them at Beaumont. The English about the Town having Intelligence of the Intentions and Motions of the French, Sir Matthew Gough was sent with part of the Army to surprize De Lore and his Forces before the rest came up to them, while the Lord Willoughby maintain'd the Siege with the other part of the Army. Gough march'd with Expedition, and in the Night entred

(f) The Bishop of Paris was not a Peer of France till very lately. Messire Francois de Harley, the late Archbishop was the first that had that Honour. Robt. Geo. part 1. pag. 83.



A. D. 1431. Reg. 10. the French Man's Camp, before they were perceived, the Watch being careless and secure. The French thro' the Confusion they were in, made small Resistance, but despairing of Safety, fled towards the Noblemen, who were hastning up with another Body of Men to *De Lore*. The English in the mean Time plundered the Camp, and having taken some Prisoners, among which was *De Lore* himself, were returning to the Town, but slowly, being loaded with Prey and Prisoners. The French, who were coming, hearing of the Defeat of their Fellows, halted up to their Relief, and tho' too late to preserve them, yet they resolutely pursued the English, and set upon them with great Fury, who being in Disorder, and cumbered with their Baggage, were unable to resist, and so fled to the Town, leaving their Captain, Sir *Matthew Gough*, and divers others in the Hands of the French, with all their Spoil that they had taken a little before, yet could not they recover *De Lore* again, but he still remained in the Hands of the English. The Lord *Willoughby*, who lay still before the Town, was much troubled at this Misfortune, and having lost much of his Strength, thought it not safe to continue the Siege, and so he departed unwillingly from it, and in his Retreat was pursued so close by the Belieged, that he lost many Men in his Rear.

The Pope endeavours to make a Peace between the French and English.

Charles taken.

The Wars in France between the English and French thus holding on with almost equal Success, and with small hopes of a Conclusion, it much grieved the Pope, who was then *Eugenius IV*, to see and consider of the great Effusion of Christian Blood made thereby, and therefore that he might put an End to so great Cruelties, and establish a Peace, he sent his Legate, *Nicholas*, the Cardinal of *St. Crucis*, or the Holy-Cross, into France to make a Peace between them, but to little or no effect; for tho' the Cardinal was very earnest and industrious to compose all Differences between the Two Parties, yet he found them so obstinate in their Enmity one to another, that he could obtain no more of them by all his earnest and long Importunities, than a Truce for Six Years, which being very unwillingly granted, lasted scarce so many Months, and so was never ratified; for the Bastard of *Orleans*, lately made Earl of *Dunois*, having an Army of 3000 Men about him, surprised and took *Chartres*, a considerable Garrison belonging to the English, after this manner. A Servant of one of King *Charles's* Financiers had several Relations and Friends among the Inhabitants of *Chartres*, and among the Rest, a Brother, who having obtained Liberty by his Means to buy Provisions out of the Town, and sell them to the Garrison within, had a free Passage thro' the Gates with his Cart to carry it in, and because he often gave the Keepers of the Gates some of his Provisions gratis, could easily gain Admission at any Season. This Servant being instigated by the Bastard of *Orleans*, to tempt his Brother by large Rewards to betray the Town to the French, by many Requests and Promises prevailed with him, that upon Pretence of carrying a Load of Fish into the Town fresh and fair, he might be admitted thro' the Gate at Midnight, and it was contrived, that with him an Hundred Men, whom he had laid ready in a Cellar, which he had hired near the Gate for a Warehouse, should rush in, and having killed the Watch, let in the Rest of the French Detachment which lay in Ambush, and at a Sign gi-

ven, were ready to fall in with them. This was all successfully carried on, and the English Garrison, which was no more than an Hundred and Twenty Men, because they trusted to the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, seeing the Enemy in the City escaped out of the Gate that opens towards *Eureux*, and so saved themselves. The Inhabitants, who having always sided with the Duke of *Burgundy*, knew that they could expect no Mercy from the French, stood to their Defence, but being too weak, especially in that Disorder, to encounter so great a Force, were most of them slain, and among them the Bishop, who with Eighty more, was killed upon the Stairs of his Cathedral Church. After this the whole City was treated as conquered, the Clergy, and chief Magistrates that survived, were made Prisoners of War, never to be released, but for large Ransoms; their Goods were plundered and carried away, their Women were ravished, and all Persons put to Death, who had acted as Magistrates, or Officers under the English. This Breach of the Truce so lately made much offended the English, and so much the more, because the Bastard of *Orleans* defended it, as lawful by the Law of Arms to steal or buy a Town without Invasion. And so the War was again renewed with fresh Hostilities on both Sides. The French having been so successful in taking the Town of *Chartres* by Treachery, made a like Attempt upon the Castle of *Roan*, by corrupting the Captain of it, one *Peter Andebee* with Promises of giving him the whole Revenue of the Castle; which, tho' *Andebee* did as much as in him lay to perform, yet partly thro' the Cowardize and Backwardness of the French, and partly thro' the Courage of the English, who made a brave Defence, tho' surprized, by reason of the Earl of *Arundel's* Presence, they missed of their Design, most of the French being either slain in the Attempt, or taken Prisoners. This ill Success quelled the French a little, and the Truce took effect a while.

In England there was great Rejoycing for the late Coronation of their King, yet, as if the poor Followers of *Wickliffe* were to be their Peace-Offering, the Bishops prosecuted them with the greatest Severity. *Richard Hoveden*, a Woolwinder, and Citizen of London, was burnt for Heresie on *Tower-Hill*, and *Thomas Bagley*, Priest, Vicar of *Monenden*, or *Munden*, not far from *Maldon* in *Essex*, suffered the like Punishment in *Smithfield* for the same Crime. In the Diocess of *Norwich*, *Nicholas Canon* of *Eye*, and several others were forced to abjure their Opinions, and undergo Penance, and so in other Places of the Kingdom. These Cruelties much incensed the Commons against the Clergy, who were always the most zealous and forward in such Prosecutions, and begat a Rebellion; for *William Mandevile*, Bailiff of *Abington* in *Oxfordshire*, a Man who favoured the Opinions of *Wickliffe*, and much disliked the Cruelty of the Clergy to them, having a great Interest in the Commons, stirred them up to Revenge against them, and getting a Multitude of People about him, took upon himself to be their Captain, under the Name of *Jack Sharp* of *Wigmoreland*, in *Wales*, giving out, That he would make the Heads of Priests as cheap as Sheep's Heads, which were then Three, or as others say, Ten a Penny. Some Historians make his Designs to be levelling, and affirm, That he held, that Priests ought not to have any worldly Possessions, and that Christians,

A. D. 1431. Reg. 10.

A. D. 1432.

The Persecution of Wickliffe's Followers in England begets a Rebellion.

Jack Sharp, Captain of the Rebels.

whole



A.D. 1432. Reg. 10. whose Profession engages them upon a universal Charity, ought to enjoy no Properties, but to leave all Things in Common. These Opinions were at that Time thought to be dispersed abroad by their Enemies, to make them more odious to the People, and 'tis not at all probable, that he should attempt such an impossible Thing, as to take away all Title of Possessions. His Hatred was to the Clergy, and 'tis like, that as he would have destroyed many of that Order, if his Design had been successful, so he would have made such as survived poor enough: But his seditious Attempt was no sooner known, than it was suppressed; for the Duke of Gloucester, a watchful and good Governour, having Notice of this Insurrection, immediately sent down a sufficient Force to disperse the Rebels, which was soon effected, several of them were taken Prisoners, and among them the Captain himself, who being punished with Quartering, the Rest upon their Submission, were pardoned and dismissed.

Parl. V. its Acts and Taxes.

About the Time of this Rebellion, the (e) Cardinal of Winchester, a warlike and politick Prelate, who had staid behind in France to assist the Regent, in managing Civil Affairs, there came over into England for some fresh Recruits, both of Men, and Money to carry on the War, which by the late Breach of Truce was likely to be renewed. The Duke of Gloucester, being sensible of the Necessity of a present Supply, immediately called a Parliament, which ordered, That in the first Place a sufficient Number of Men and Money should be raised, and transported with all convenient Speed into France, and after spent some Time upon other Affairs of State. The Principal Matters Enacted were,

1. That whereas under the Colour of Outlawryes, sued out against certain Persons, Occasion was taken to molest others of the same Name, and to seize their Goods and Chattels, especially when they were dead, because there was no Remedy at Common-Law for Executors to recover such Seizures, wherefore it was enacted by this Parliament, in Favour of Executors, that in Defence of the Testator's Goods, a Writ called *Idemitate Nominis*, should be granted to them, and should be as maintainable by them, as by any other Person living.

2. That whereas the Welsh-Men assembled in great Numbers, armed, and did in a riotous and rebellious Manner, intercept, and stop, the Boats, Trowes, Floats, called Drags, carrying Wares and Merchandizes to Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, and other Places, upon the River Severn, and broke the said Vessels, to the end, that the Traders might have their Boats and Vessels of them only; therefore it was enacted, that all the King's Liege People should have free Passage upon the said River, to carry their Goods and Chattels as they please, without any Molestation from the Welsh, and if for the future they any Ways molested them in their Traffick, the Party or Parties aggrieved should have their Action according to the Course of the Common-Law. But that which made the greatest Noise in this Parliament, was a Case of Bastardy, alledged against *Eleanor*, the Wife of *James*, Lord *Audley*, who claimed the Inheritance of *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, as being his Eldest Daughter, and a Legitimate Issue, or *Mulier*, by *Constance* his Wife; for which she had gotten a Certificate from the Ordinary. Against this Claim, the other Daughters of the said *Edmund*, Earl of *Kent*, put in their Peti-

tion to the Parliament, alledging, that the said *Eleanor* was a Bastard, that her Mother *Constance*, the late Wife of *Thomas*, Lord *Despen- cer*, was never married to the said Earl, and that the Certificate brought from the Ordinary was obtained by Fraud. This produced an Act of Parliament, and by which it was ordained, 3. That in all Pleas, wherein Bastardy is alledged against any Person, Party to the said Plea, the Judge, or Judges of, or in the Courts where the said Plea is depending, shall certify it to the Chancellor of England, for the Time being, to the intent, that Proclamation be made in the said Chancery, by Three Months, once in every Month, that all Persons that have any Thing to object against the said *Mulier*, or Person pretending himself a Legitimate-Issue, may put in their Allegations and Objections before any Certificate be given by the Bishop.

In this Parliament also a Peace was concluded with *James*, King of *Scots*, who sent his Ambassador to the Duke of Gloucester to desire it. The Duke not willing to determine so important a Matter without the Consent of the Nation, referr'd it to the Three Estates, who after some Debates, settled a Peace with them, and then the Parliament rose.

The Bishop of Winchester, who had all the Session been very active to raise both the Men and Money appointed by the Parliament for the Service of France, was ready to pass thither about the same Time, and accordingly departed. The Duke of Bedford, having accompanied the King to *Calis*, remained still in *Picardy*, ready to receive the Cardinal; in the mean Time he having Information of a Mutiny among the Soldiers at *Calis*, partly because the Staple of Wool was removed from thence, and partly because in the Time of Truce they had been restrained from pillaging and ravaging the Neighbouring Countries, whereby their Prey grew too narrow to uphold their Extravagant Expences. The Regent knowing the dangerous Effects of such Discontents among the Soldiers, hastned thither, and having diligently examined the Matter, put Four or Five of the chief Mutineers to Death, and cashiered an Hundred and Ten more, banishing them from the Town and Marches of it, and so settled the Garrison in Peace.

While the Duke of Bedford was in these Parts, his Dutcheß, the Lady *Anne*, Sister to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, departed this Life at *Paris*. She had in her Life-time been the Cement of that firm Friendship and Love, which had so long continued between her Husband and Brother, by which the English Interests in France had been chiefly maintained and upheld, and by her Death it was much abated, and in a short Time was utterly dissolved by a second Marriage, which this wise Duke not very prudently made, with *Jaquet*, the Daughter of *Peter de Luxemburg*, Earl of *St. Poll* and Niece, to *Lewis de Luxemburg*, Bishop of *Turain* and *Ely*, and Chancellor of France, for King *Henry*, by whose Perswasion this Match was effected. *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* had never embraced any Friendship with this Family, and had he been consulted about the Marriage, would certainly have been against it, as being not only inferior to the Duke of Bedford's Greatness, but his own; besides, he was not at all acquainted with it, contrary to the usual Custom among Princes, especially of so great Intimacy, which he interpreted as a Contempt cast upon him, and

A.D. 1432. Reg. 10.

A Peace made with the Scots.

A Mutiny at Calis.

The Death of the Dutcheß of Bedford, and the Duke his second Marriage.

(e) This Rebellion, the Calling of the Parliament, and the Cardinal's Return to France, happen'd all before the young King's Return to England.



A. D. 1432. grew every Day more and more cold towards him, till upon other little Occasions of Disgust offer'd, they became open and professed Enemies, which was a chief Cause of losing France. But however this was not discern'd till some time after, and the Duke of Bedford very well pleased with his New Spouse passed into England, and tarry'd there among his Friends, from whom he receiv'd many Congratulations of Happiness, and other Expressions of Love and Kindness, till the latter end of Aug. 1433. when he return'd again to his Charge in France.

The Dauphin's Soldiers break the Truce.

While the Duke of Bedford was Absent and in England, the Dauphin's Soldiers, who by reason of the Truce were almost starv'd, having no Wags, and not being allow'd to live upon the Spoil of others, as they had done in the Time of the War, began again to plunder and rob both the English and Burgundians as they pleased, and taking many Prisoners would not release them but upon great Ransoms. These open Breaches of the Peace being observ'd by the Duke of Bedford at his Arrival so awaken'd his Thoughts, and stirr'd up his Vigilancy, that he prepared an Army to repress the Insolencies of the French, or to renew the War, as occasion should offer; for it seem'd to him unreasonable, that the French should under the shew of a Truce do King Henry's Subjects as much Mischief as they pleased, and make the War cease in the French Dominions only. The News of the Duke of Bedford's Preparations, tho' really no more than what was necessary, was receiv'd by the French as a Prefage of the Continuance of the War; and therefore having gotten a Pretence for their desir'd Arms, they invade the English Territories immediately, before the Duke of Bedford could get an Army together, and by a sudden Surprise took St. Valery, a Town in the Confines of Normandy, lying upon the Mouth of the River Some, and another Party of French under the Command of Sir Ambrose de Lore wasted and destroy'd all the Country about Caen. The Invitation to this Attempt was the great Fair, which was kept on St. Michael's Day in the Fields adjoining to the Town, about St. Steven's Church, which if they could seize upon without any Impediment from the Garrison, would be a great Booty for them. De Lore therefore thus contriv'd the Business. He himself with 100 Cross-bow-men, and 50 Horse went between the Fair and the Town to beat back the Garrison if they should fall out upon them, sending a Party of 500 Men to seize the Booty in the Fair in the mean Time. The Garrison of Caen had not the least Suspicion of this Attempt, and so came not forth to hinder them; whereupon the Merchants and Traders of the Fair became a Prey to the French, who took them all Captives with their Goods, and passed over the River Orne with them, where their Captain made a Scrutiny of the Prisoners, retaining such only in their Hands as could pay a Ransom, which were about 800, and suffer'd the Rest to depart Home, being in Number about 2000. These Hostilities of the French roused the English, who that they might draw them from their ravaging at a Distance, resolv'd to besiege the Town of Laignie upon the River Marne, which being a Place of Importance to the French, and a great Annoyance to the English in hindring their Commerce to Paris, would engage the French wholly upon its Defence, and accordingly sent the Earl of Arundell, the Earl of Warwick's Son, and the Lord Lisle Adam with 1200 Men, and all suitable Arms and Ammunition to besiege it. Laignie was

The English besiege Laignie.

well stored and fortified with Men and Victuals, having 800 Men of Arms, besides other Soldiers and Townsmen in it; so that they were of equal, if not greater Strength than the Besiegers. This did not at all discourage the English, but counting it a greater Honour to conquer those that were superior in Strength, they made many fierce Assaults, and by their Cannon-shot broke down one Arch of the great Bridge laid over the Marne, and burnt the Ravelin; but Winter coming on, and the Besieged making a Vigorous Opposition, they broke up the Siege for the present, and left the Town.

The Duke of Bedford disappointed of his Design in besieging Laignie resolv'd in the Spring to attack it more vigorously in Person; and having gather'd an Army of choice Men for Courage put it under the Command of such Captains as he counted most Valiant and Experienced, viz. Robert, Lord Willoughby, Sir Andrew Ogard his Chamberlain, Sir John Salvin, Bailiff of Roan, Sir John Montgomery, Bailiff of Caux, Sir Ralph Nevill, Sir Ralph Standish, and many others, by whose Conduct he did not doubt of Success. The French were much terrified at the Approaches of this strong Force, which to them as well as to all others seem'd almost irresistible. The Duke led it in Person, and drawing near to the Town fortified himself in a Park adjoining; and having made a Bridge of Boats over the Marne brought his Ordnance so near the Walls, that he might batter them down for an Assault speedily, by which he intended with a full Resolution to make himself Master of it. The Earl of Dunois, commonly call'd the Bastard of Orleans, was not at all terrified at their Attempts; but having animated his Men to stand valiantly to their own Defence, repulsed the English with some Loss several times, inasmuch that the Duke of Bedford not thinking it safe to conquer it by Force, which would cost him the Lives of so many Men, chose rather by Delays and Watchfulness to starve it. The French King seeing the great Danger the Town was in, and knowing of what Importance it was to him to preserve it, being as the Key to the three Territories, Burgundy, the French and English part of France, sent the Count Dunois a Recruit of 6000 Men with Store of Victuals under the Command of Monsieur de Rieux, Marshal of France, Monsieur de Coulant, Admiral of France, the Lords Poitou, Le Hire, and Gavcourt intending by this Force to raise the Siege, or else to victual the Town so, that it should not be reduced by Famine. This Army at their first coming breathed Revenge, and being equal to the Besiegers assur'd themselves of a Victory with the Help of the Besieged. The Duke of Bedford was sensible of the Advantage the French had of him, being fresh Men, and kept himself close in his Camp, which the French gave out they would assault, but the Regent's Courage would not suffer him to wait for that which would have been a Disgrace to him, tho' he had repulsed them, and therefore within a Day or two of their Arrival sent an Herald to them to bid them Battel, but they deny'd, maintaining only some small Skirmishes with the English, till their Men convey'd thirty Oxen and some other Provisions into the Town, and that with no small Damage to themselves; for in the Skirmishes the French lost above fifty noble and valiant Men, among whom were the Lord Saintrilles, and the Lord Gavcourt's Brother. The Town however having receiv'd some Relief, the Army remov'd in the Beginning of August to a Place call'd Fort-underayer, and by a Bridge

A. D. 1432. Reg. 10.

A. D. 1433.

Laignie valiantly defended and held against the Duke of Bedford.

The Duke of Bedford raises the Siege.



A. D. 1433. Reg. 10. of Boats passed into the Isle of France, where meeting with no Resistance they took many Castles and Towns. The Duke tho' very desirous to get *Laignie*, which after the Departure of the Army could not hold out ver long, yet consider'd the various Disposition of the *Parisians*, and fearing least that City should revolt to King *Charles* when the Army drew near to them, raised the Siege in haste, leaving all his Engines, Pavilions and Provisions behind him: The Besieged pursu'd him in his Retreat, slew some of his Men, and took others Prisoners; but the Necessities of War obliging him to save *Paris*, he was forced to undergo that Loss rather than a greater. At *Paris* he sent the *French* another Challenge to fight, but they answer'd, *They had done what they came for, and would fight him when they saw their own Time*; and so retir'd without Battel.

Reg. 11. S. Valery regain'd from the French. The *French* being retreated, the Regent sent *Peter de Luxenburg*, Earl of *St. Poll*, and *Robert*, Lord *Willoughby* with a sufficient Force to besiege and retake the Town of *St. Valery* which the *French* had gotten in the Beginning of the last Year; for the Regent was of that Disposition, that he could hardly sleep till all Losses sustain'd by the *English* were regain'd. *Mesfieurs de Vaucourt*, *De la Torre*, and *De Verfeil* defended the Place, and did for three Weeks space manfully and bravely maintain their Posts against the Besiegers, but at length yielded upon Condition, That the Garrison might depart with their Horse and Baggage. The Earl of *St. Poll* after their Departure put in a Garrison of *English*, of the valiantest and stoutest Men, made *Sir John Aubmond* Captain of it, and then with the Lord *Willoughby* return'd to the Regent at *Paris*, where they were joyfully received by the Army. Not long after their Departure there happen'd a very terrible Pestilence among the Inhabitants, whether by the Infection of the Air, or by any corrupt Victuals, which the Towns People during the Siege had eaten, is uncertain, but it raged so violently, that within a little Time it consum'd two Parts in three of them. The Success of the Earl of *St. Poll* in taking *St. Valery* was an Encouragement both to the Regent and himself to attempt other Places; and accordingly the Duke sent him to besiege the Castle of *Manchas*, which he readily undertook; but being in his March toward it he encamp'd near the Town of *Blangie*, where he was seiz'd with a very violent Distemper, of which he died suddenly, leaving his Title and Possessions to *Lewis de Luxenburg* his Son and Heir. His Obsequies after his Death were solemniz'd with great Devotion both at *London* and *Paris*, because he was Father-in-law to the Duke of *Bedford*; with him died the Design of the besieging the Castle of *Manchas*, and the Town of *Rombarres*.

Sixth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes. On the 8th of *July* the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and sat till *Aug. 1*. when it was adjourn'd to *St. Edward's Day*, *Octob. 13*. and then compleated the Acts, which they had began before, in the former part of the Session, and being most of them about Matters of great Use to the Publick, they may not be unworthy our Observation.

1. It was provided by an Act, That such Persons as were Keepers of the *Stews* or *Whore-Houses* in *Southwark*, should not be impanell'd upon any Jury, nor keep an Inn or Tavern in any other Places, lest Men of such vile Consciences and Practices should corrupt Justice, and propagate their Villanies over the Nation.

2. It was enacted, That even Disseisors should not be put out of Possession by any Collusive Tricks of Law, as was then usual, by making the Sheriff the Disseisor, and then entering upon the Lands for the Default of the Tenant's not answering: Wherefore it was ordain'd, That all such Writs shall be abated and quashed: And,

3. In the Behalf of the Person disseised wrongfully of his Lands, whereas before the Law was, that the Disseisee might sue the Disseisor in his Life-time, if he took the Profits at the Time of the Suit commenced, which to avoid the Disseisors, made over the Land by Feoffments to others, and so avoided the Suit: Whereupon it was enacted, That the Disseisees should have their Action as well against the Feoffee, as Disseisor himself, if either of them take the Profits of the Land.

4. And because divers Tenants of Lands for term of Life and Years, made over the said Lands to other Under-Tenants to the End that they might not be liable to Writs of Waste, for the Damages done upon the said Lands by their Order and Connivance before the Grant of the said Leases; It was hereupon enacted, That the Tenant in Reversion might have his Action against the Tenant for Life or Years, for the Damages done, as well before as after the Lease made to any Under-Tenants, and recover treble Damages for the said Waste, provided that it were prov'd, that the said First-Tenants took the Profits of the Land to their own proper Use at the Time of the Waste done.

5. Whereas divers Suits and Inducements as well for the King as his Subjects were discontinued by making of new Commissions for the Peace, to the great delay of Justice, and wrong of the Subject, it was enacted, That no Pleas, or Processes should be discontinued by any new Commissions, but the Justices so made should have Power and Authority to continue all Pleas depending and determine the same.

6. An Abuse also being crept into the Nation about Measures contrary to the Statutes, and Purveyors, Bakers, Merchants, and Buyers of Corn, taking Nine Bushels for the Quarter; it was enacted, That the Statutes for Weights and Measures should be proclaim'd in every Market-Town, and that there should be a Bushel, common Ballance and Weights in every Market-Town, City and Borough kept by the Mayor and Justices according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*; and if any Person shall presume to Sell or Buy by any other Weights or Measures, they shall forfeit Five Pound to the Person that shall sue for it, and Five Pound to the King.

7. Recognisors having found out a way to defeat the Executions of such Persons as they were indebted to by Recognizance, by bringing their Writs *De Corpus cum causa* out of *Chancery*, and giving Sureties to the King only, are deliver'd out of Prison, and their Creditors are defeated of their Debts; it was therefore ordain'd, That Sureties should be given as well to the Party as to the King, that their Debts may be surely paid.

Other Acts also of less Importance were also made this Session, as about the Measure of certain Cloths, call'd *Sreights*, for the punishing of such as shall dare to assault any Person coming to the Parliament or Council by the King's Command: And lastly, For setting a Price upon Wax-Candles, Images and Figures: But these Acts being only Temporary, and long since out of Use deserve little Regard. We



A. D. 1433. read not of any Taxes, that this Parliament gave the King; but perhaps it was because the Reg. 11. Duty of *Tunnage and Poundage*, which was given the King in his Third Year, was still continu'd: And whereas before they were granted for certain Years only, they were now indefinitely given him for the Charge of the War, and from thence as *Stow* says, They received the Name of *Customs*, i. e. usual and constant Payments.

Customs why so called.

The Council of *Basil*, and its Decrees.

The Council of *Basil*, which, tho' call'd by Pope *Martin V.* and after his Death confirm'd by his Successor *Eugenius IV.* in the Year 1431. was scarcely settled by reason of the Turbulency of *Eugenius*, who took upon him to dissolve it, and bring it to *Ferrara*, began now to assume a Power of acting without the Pope, and in their Eleventh Session, *February* the 27th, made these Decrees or Canons.

1. That the Bishop of *Rome* ought under the Pain of Suspension and Deposition to be present, either by himself, or his Legates chosen by the Consent of the Cardinals, at General Councils, with all other Ecclesiastical Persons.

2. That the Pope cannot lawfully hinder any Man, not so much as a Cardinal from coming to such a Council, but ought to give a License to all that desire it; and that the Pope cannot call a Council, dissolve it, or remove it from one Place to another, without the express Consent of the Council.

3. That the Council of *Basil* cannot be dissolved without the Consent of all the Bishops assembled at it.

And then they proceeded to consult about Ecclesiastical Matters, and made divers Constitutions for the better ordering of the Church, viz.

1. That no Person should be made a Bishop, but such as have been in Holy Orders a considerable time, are of fit Age, and are eminent for their Piety, Holiness and Learning.

2. That Bishops should hold a Diocesan Synod once a Year in their Diocesses about the *Octaves* of *Easter*, and diligently inspect into the Manners of the Clergy, and amend all the Corruptions of their Diocese.

3. That all Monks and other Religious Persons should carefully observe the Three Substantial Vows of their Profession.

4. That in such Places as the *Jews* inhabited, all Bishops should take a particular Care to settle such Pastors, as may be able to convince them of their Errors, and by their Authority draw them to hear the Word of God; with many Canons of like Nature: But the Three chief Canons which they most strongly asserted against the Pope and desired, to be believ'd by all, as the most infallible Truths, calling them, *Veritates Fidei*, were these, viz.

The Canons called, *Veritates Fidei*.

I. That a General Council is above the Pope, and any other Person.

II. That the Pope cannot dissolve or remove a General Council lawfully call'd without their Consent, by his own Authority, or at his own Pleasure.

III. That whosoever opposes these Assertions is an Heretick.

This Council sat many Years after this, and stoutly maintain'd its own Power against *Eugenius*, who sought to dissolve them, and by its Authority the Christian World hath armed itself against the Pope's Supremacy, as usurped and against the Word of God.

The Death of *Peter de Luxemburgh*, who after certain Funeral Ceremonies perform'd at *Paris* was sent over into *England*, and enterred with much Solemnity in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*, causing some short Cessation of Arms on the *English* Part, gave an Opportunity to the *French*, who watch'd all Advantages, to commit some Outrages upon them and their Allies. Into *Burgundy* they entred with a strong Body of Men, and burnt, took and destroy'd many Towns. The *Burgundians* much enrag'd at their Losses gather'd a great Army to revenge their Quarrel, and recover their Towns, and the Duke of *Bedford* being much troubl'd for the Loss of his Friends, sent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell* with a good Force to their Assistance. These joining the *Burgundians* fell upon the Enemy in *Lyonnois*, and after a long Battel vanquish'd them, and recover'd all the Places to the Duke of *Burgundy*, which they had gain'd from him. *Le Hire* also accompa-

A. D. 1433. Reg. 12.

The Lord Willoughby and Sir Tho. Kiriell's Acts in *Burgundy*.

*Le Hire* infects the *English* much.

ny'd with many Gentlemen and 1500 Soldiers at the same time acted his Part with great Violence, taking the Town of *Somme*, and in it a great Number of Prisoners, by whose Ransoms he maintain'd his Soldiers, better than by their Pay. He afterwards divided his Men into two Parts, sending one of them into the County of *Cambray*, and conducting the other himself in those Parts. The former being inform'd of a great Concourse of People, met at *Hapsre* at a Feast, set upon them unawares in the midst of their Mirth, took many of them Prisoners, (the rest of them which were of better Condition saving themselves by getting into a strong Tower adjoining) and having plunder'd the Town, and burnt the Church and Abby, with many Houses they retreated to Mount *St. Martin*, where *Le Hire* and his Men expected them, who in the mean time had not lain still, but done as much or more Mischiefs; for they burnt and plunder'd the Town of *Beaurevoir*, and *La Motta*, an House of Pleasure belonging to the Countess of *Laigni* near by it, secur'd all the Champion Country about it, and having gotten much Booty went to *Laon* to divide it; which done he dismissed them to their Garrisons laden with spoil without the Loss of so much as one Man, because they met in all their March with no Opposition. *John de Luxemburgh*, Count de *Laigni*, to whom the Defence of those Parts belong'd, being otherwise busied at that Time by reason of the Death of the Old Count *Peter* his Brother. The Success of *Le Hire* encourag'd

*Pawn-sach*, the Captain of *Laon*, who envy'd his good Fortune, to make the like Attempts, that he might enrich himself and his Garrison; and to that end he march'd with 400 Soldiers towards *Marle* intending to surprize *Vervins*, a Town belonging to *Giovanna de Barr*, Daughter-in-law to *John* of *Luxemburgh* above-nam'd. Passing by *Marle* he burnt the Suburbs, and plunder'd them, but stay'd not to attack the Town, being mindful of his richer Booty at *Vervins*. *John de Luxemburgh*, who was before alarm'd at the Insults of *Le Hire*; having now gotten to his Charge again, and rallied his Men, set upon them, and gave them Battel. The *French* scarce suspecting any Opposition soon fled, leaving 160 of their Brethren slain upon the Place, and 80 Prisoners. It is said, That *John de Luxemburgh* himself fought with that daring Courage and Resolution, as if he would have conquer'd them alone, and slew many of them with his own Hands. He had with him in this Skirmish a young Nephew whom he was training up for War, for whose sake he was the more ven-

*Pawn-sach's* Design upon *Vervins*.

*John de Luxemburgh* routs him.

turous



A. D. 1433. Reg. 12. *turous himself to give him a good Example of Valour, and the more glad of the Victory, as an Encouragement to his future Proceedings; and that he might embolden him the more in Warlike Atchievements, he caused him to slay several of the Prisoners then taken with his own Hands, which 'tis said, he did with so much Unconcern and Readiness, that he shew'd a natural Disposition in him to be a Soldier; especially, if that Maxim be true, That a Man cannot be a good Warrior unless he be very Cruel.*

A. D. 1434. *Whilst these Things passed in France, the Valiant Lord Talbot, who had been some time in England among his Friends, was very busie in gathering a Recruit of fresh Men to carry with him into France, and having gotten a Body of Eight Hundred, march'd thro' London, March the 9th, in order to his Journey with them thither. He landed in Normandy, and took his Way by Rouen to Paris, but the Active Spirits of both Captain and Soldiers could not be idle in an Enemy's Country; and therefore passing by a strong Castle, call'd Joing belonging to the French King, and lying between Beauvais and Gisors, he besieged it, and having taken it hanged up all the French he found in it, razed the Castle, and then proceeded directly in his Journey to Paris, in which he had an hearty Welcome from the Duke of Bedford and the English. The Lord Talbot having rested himself and his Men at Paris a while, and consulted with the Regent and other Nobles, which way it was best for him to proceed against the Enemy without prolonging Time, was at length sent with the Lord Lisle-Adam, and 1600 Men in their Army to besiege the Castle of Beaumont upon the River Oise, of which Sir Amadour de Veignolls, Brother to Le Hire, was the Captain: But whether the French were terrified at the News of the Approach of the English Forces, or whether they found themselves too weak to oppose them is uncertain; for they had left the Castle, and were all withdrawn to the next French Garrison at Creil. The Lord Talbot follow'd them thither, and laid close Siege to it; but Sir Amadour the Captain of it being slain by the English in a Skirmish, the Town and Castle soon yielded it self upon a Composition, and the Terror of it so awed the adjoining Towns, as Pont St. Maxence, Neuville and Rouge-Maison, that they all submitted without any Resistance at all. Crespi in Valois made a small Opposition, but was soon forced to surrender, and Clermont follow'd their Example; which Towns having been formerly subject to the English, but revolted, were used the more severely by the Soldiers, who plunder'd many of the Inhabitants, with whose Spoils they return'd Rich to Paris.*

The Earl of Arundell takes several Places. *The same Success had the Earl of Arundell at the same time in propagating and enlarging the English Power, by taking several Towns then in the Possession of the French; for he besieged the Castle of Bommolins, and took it by Surrender, and least it should harbour the like Enemies for the future, he demolish'd it. From thence he march'd to Orle in the County of Mayne, and after a sharp Attack with his Cannon brought it to a Composition, which being put in Order he set forward toward St. Selerine, of which Town the Lord Ambrose de Lore was Captain. This Man being a Person of signal Valour, and not willing to bring the Place to the Hazzard of a Siege, fall'y'd out with a considerable Body of Men, and fell so eagerly upon the English, that he made them give back a Bow-shot; and as the French History relates, slew about 100 Men, and got their Artillery, Victuals and*

*Tents into his Possession: But the Earl of Arundell encouraging the English Soldiers to return and retrieve their Honour by Fight, which would be irrecoverably lost if their Artillery remain'd in the Enemies Hands, so raised their Courage, that they made Head again, slew a great Number of them, and drove them back into the City, recovering all they lost in about an hour's Time. Though he resolv'd to besiege the Town, yet thinking it also convenient to take some Places adjacent, because he thought it would cost him some Time, he pass'd it by and besieged Louviers. Le Hire and his Brother Amadore de Vignolls were Captains of it, and there were many other Persons of Valour and worth in it, who defended it very bravely; but the French Historians say, the English Army was 12000, much too great for the Garrison to grapple with, and therefore they yielded the Place; and the English being in the Possession of it, broke down the Walls and Fortifications. Having reduced Louviers the Earl of Arundell returned to St. Selerine and closely besieged it; but the Besieged defended themselves so valiantly for Three Months together, though the Earl every Day almost attempted somewhat, that he was at last forced to take the most desperate Courses he could, and by Assault make himself Master of it. In entering the Town John D'Almain, and William De St. Albin, two of the chief Captains, and 800 Men of the Garrison were slain. The Children of the Lord De Lore were taken Prisoners. The Earl put in a new Garrison of the English, and made Sir John Cornwall Captain of it. This Success stirred him up to try his Fortune further; and thereupon he went to the Town of Silly, and pitched his Camp by it. The Terror of the Fate of St. Selerine had seized the Inhabitants so much, that they immediately offered him Hostages to submit to him within thirty Days, if they were not relieved, their Lives only saved. This Agreement the Besieged advertised the King of France of, that they might have Succour within the Time appointed, and were not only promised it, but as if that King had been as Zealous to save it, as the English were to take it; he appointed the Duke of Alençon, Arthur, Earl of Richmond, Charles D'Anjou, and a Marshal of France, who at the importunity of the Lord De Lore had gotten together a considerable Body of Men to succour St. Selerine, but too late to undertake the Rescue of Silly, and with all convenient haste to march thither for that End. These Orders were readily obey'd, and the French Army within the Time appointed presented it self before the Town, and incamped so near the English, that only a small River parted the Camps. The English seeing this Bravery returned their Hostages and prepared for a Battel; but the French, though to rescue the Town they ought to have refused no small Dangers, finding the English posted to Advantage, only entertain'd them a few Days with smart Skirmishes, and then in the Night broke up their Camp and departed. The Besieged in Silly being mightily disappointed of their Hopes immediately after their Retreat surrendered the Town to the Earl of Arundell according to their Agreement, and were well received by him, who restor'd them to their Houses and Possessions, and leaving a Garrison with them departed towards Mans, and in his Passage having taken the Castles of Millay, and St. Laurence, and clear'd the Country of Main of some straggling Enemies which much infested it, as soon as he was arrived, dismissed his Men to*

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12.

St. Selerine taken by the Earl of Arundell.

Silly surrendered.



A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. to their Ease for a while in their wonted Garrisons. About the same Time the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Thomas Kiriell returned out of Normandy with Honour and Victories, and with their Men supplied *Louviers*, a Town lately brought into Subjection to the English with a sufficient Garrison and Ammunition.

A Rebel-  
lion in  
Norman-  
dy, sup-  
pressed by  
the Earl  
of Arun-  
dell.

While these open Hostilities were maintained by both Sides, one against the other, the French King was busie Under-hand to disturb the English Settlement in Normandy, and by his Instigation raised a formidable Rebellion there; for a great Number of the common People about the Sea-Coasts, discontented at the English Yoke (and the French never could heartily love the English, or patiently live in Subjection to them) took Arms, and under the Conduct of the Marshal de Rochfort, Walter de Brusack, and Charles de Mares (who were laid with some Troops to joyn with them, and form them into some Military Order for their Enterprize) march'd to the English Garrisons, publishing and proclaiming it in all Places where they came, That it was their Resolution and Interest to expel the whole English Nation out of their Country and Coasts; and pursu'd this their Design so furiously at first, that in a few Days they took the English Garrisons of *Deip*, *Fescamp*, *Harfluer*, *Montrevilliers* and *Tancherville*, with all the Country of *Caux*, except *Arques* and *Candebece*. This Success increased their Boldness, and they went on to *Caen*, a chief City on the Sea-Coasts, purposing to make themselves Masters of that Place, to the End, that they might not only increase their Numbers, but have a fit Rendezvous from whence to pursue their Enterprize. The Dukes of Somerset and York, who commanded in that Province, and lay there with an Army, having Intelligence of their Proceedings, sent the Earl of Arundell and the Lord Willoughby with 6000 Bow-men, and 1300 Horse to lie in Ambush for them in their Passage. The Lord Willoughby accordingly with 2000 Archers, and certain Horse-men went before, and lay with his Men in covert by the Way which they were to pass, the Earl of Arundell pursuing them at some Distance behind with the rest of the Forces, a Sign being agreed to between them, when they should both set on them. The Rebels were ignorant of the Design, and securely march'd toward *Caen*; but when they came at the Lord Willoughby's Ambush, the English under his Command having shot off a Gun, which was the signal for the Earl of Arundell's Men, fell on the Rabble both behind and before with that Fury, that the poor Wretches unable to withstand their Forces threw down their Arms and begged Mercy and Pardon. The Earl knowing them to be instigated to this Enterprize by other Heads, and much pitying their Ignorance gave command immediately to his Soldiers to stop their Hands from Slaughter, and apprehending such as were thought the Incentives of this Rebellion, he permitted the rest to depart to their Houses; but such was the Fury of the Soldiers, that before they could be recalled to their Standards they had slain above 1000 of the Rebels. The Authors of this Insurrection being upon a strict inquiry found out, were put to most cruel Torments, as their Crimes deserv'd, and the Places which had been taken by them being badly treated by the Commanders, who were left in them, revolted, and recall'd the English, and so this Storm, which made an huge Blustering for the present, was soon blown over and quiet. The Earl of Arundell having thus successfully settled the Distur-

The Re-  
bels sup-  
pressed by  
the Earl  
of Arun-  
dell and  
Lord Will-  
oughby.

bances of Normandy return'd to the Earl of Bedford to give him an Account of it, who much fear'd the ill Consequences of it, and by the good News of the Victory was so much refresh'd and pleas'd with the Earl, that as if the English Affairs could thrive in no other Hands, he immediately dispatch'd him upon another Enterprize of almost equal Importance, viz. the Recovery of the Fort of *Rue*, lately taken by John de Bressay, Lieutenant to the Marshal de Rieux. This was a Loss of very great Consequence to the English, because the Garrison put into it by the French very much annoy'd the Countries of *Ponthieu*, *Artois* and *Bolonois*, and therefore the Recovery of it was absolutely necessary. The Earl of Arundell willingly undertook it, and with 800 Men began his March to besiege it; but being come as far as *Gournay* he alter'd his Resolution for a little time, upon this Reason. There was an Old Fort near *Beauvais*, call'd the Castle of *Gerberoy*, which had been lately dismantled and demolished, but being observ'd by the French King to stand very commodiously for a Garrison against the English on those Frontiers, he commanded Sir Stephan de Vignails, commonly call'd *Le Hire*, to repair and newly fortifie it. The Earl of Arundell in this Expedition taking Notice of the Building, and knowing that it would be very prejudicial to the English, resolv'd to dispossess the Enemies of it immediately; thinking, that in so short a Time as it had been built, it could be in no Condition of Defence, or if it were, it would be easier and better gained now than hereafter. Upon this Presumption, which was badly grounded, he march'd up to it only with 500 Horse, leaving his Foot behind him to follow him at Leisure, and question'd not to take it with small Resistance, but it prov'd a very fatal Mistake; for *Le Hire*, who was there himself in Person, and had a Body of 3000 Men, which the Earl was ignorant of, observing, that the Earl's Force was small, and his Horses tired, resolv'd to set on them before they could refresh themselves, or the Foot could get up to them to their Assistance, and to animate them in the Attempt, he sent out to them Fifty Horse, as if there had been no more in the Castle. Sir Ralph Standish with an Hundred Men was sent by the Earl to encounter them; but before the Battel between them was begun, the rest issued out of the Castle, and having slain Sir Ralph and his Men, they set upon the Earl and the Horse-men about him, who fought very manfully in their Defence; but *Le Hire* ordering three Culverins to be discharg'd in the midst of the English as they were fighting, many were swept away by that means, and at the second shot was the Earl's Leg broke a little above the Ankle, which so pain'd him, that he fell from his Horse in a Swoon, and the French pursuing the Advantage, put the English to Flight, taking the Earl himself, Sir Richard Woodville, and 120 others Prisoners with their Horses. 200 were slain, and the rest escaped. The Earl himself was carry'd to *Beauvais*, where he dy'd within a few Days of his Wound, and was buried in the Church of the *Friers-Minors*. His Death was much lamented by the English, being their Glory in present, and Hope for the future. He was the Fifth Earl of the Noble Family of *Fitz-Allen*.

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. The Earl of Arundell sent to recover the Fort of Rue.

The Earl of Arundell in taking the Castle of Gerberoy, and is slain.

About the Beginning of June, John, Duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, who had been taken Prisoner at the Battel of *Agincourt* Eighteen Years before, was admitted to pay a Ransom of 18000 *l.* Sterling, and be freed from his long Years, Im- dies there.



A. D. 1434. Reg. 12. Imprisonment and Captivity; which being done, he made all Haste to return into his Native Country, *France*, again; but Providence had order'd he should never see it; for, upon the Day appointed for his Departure, he was seiz'd with a violent Disease, of which he died in *London*, and was buried in the Church of the *Gray-Friers* in that City.

The Breach between the Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy.

With this Year concluded the long Friendship and Confederacy between those Two Great Princes, *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, which had been slacken'd for some time before by the Death of the Duke of *Bedford's* Lady, and new Marriage, but at this Time was quite dissolved by many fresh Distastes and Grudges taken one at another, which had been rais'd and fomented to so high a Pitch by the Tales of Court-Parasites, that they both thought it dishonourable for them to hold any League or Amity longer one with another: But some there were, who being sensible how fatal this Breach would prove to *England*, as well as mindful of King *Henry* the Fifth's Charge given to his Lords upon his Death-Bed, viz. *That by all means they should be very careful to retain the Duke's Friendship and Amity*; used their utmost Endeavour to make up the Breach, by bringing them to an Interview, that by producing the Causes of their Displeasure, they might, if possible, be removed, and they made Friends. *St. Omer's* was the Place appointed; a Town, which being in the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy*, might seem a Condescension, and an Earnest of the Duke of *Bedford's* Desire to be reconciled, for him to meet at it. The Duke of *Burgundy* ought in Compliance, when the Duke of *Bedford* had stoop'd thus low, to have visited him first, and gave him a Welcome into his Dominions, since it hath been always accounted Rudeness to affect Priority in our own Houses and Territories; but *Burgundy's* Mind was so inflamed, that he would be first visited, as the Lord of the Town, and Sovereign in that Place, a *Punctilio*, which when the Duke of *Bedford* consider'd, he began to think with himself, that he was not only the Son, Brother and Uncle of Kings, but being Regent of *France*, he sustained the Person of one of the greatest Monarchs of *Europe*, and 'twould be a Disgrace for his Master, if not to himself, to stoop to the Humour of a petty Prince, especially since he had obtain'd *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Frisland*, by the Aid of the *English* only; and for these Reasons he would not give him the first Visit. *Burgundy* was not insensible of these Reasons, yet would not bend: However, to end the Dispute, propounded, that the Matters in Difference might be discuss'd by Third Persons, which the Duke of *Bedford* not hearkening to, they departed without the Sight one of another, in great Anger and Discontent, and lived ever after it, as if there never had been any Affinity or Friendship between them, in the most inveterate and implacable Enmity, which though indeed it had been *Bedford's* Prudence and Policy, by any Acts of Condescension, to have prevented, (and that he did not do it was thought highly blame-worthy) yet it may bear a Dispute, whether any thing would have prevail'd, since that Duke had given many wide Proofs of his good Inclination to the *French* Side, by allowing his Brother-in-Law, the Earl of *Richmond*, to be Constable of *France*, and

consenting that his Sister *Agnes* should marry the Duke of *Bourbon*, a great Friend of King *Charles*; so that it is to be thought, the Breach was unavoidable.

While this Treaty was on Foot between the Dukes, the Earl of *Dunois*, commonly called the Bastard of *Orleans*, the Lord *Rochfort*, Marshal of *France*, and some others, having had Information from one *Reginold de S. John*, a Gentleman born in the Isle of *France*, but a Soldier in *S. Dennis*, with whom they had a Correspondence, how they might surprize the Town, sent Captain *Deinville* with a sufficient Number of Troops thither, who scaled the Walls by Night, and made himself Master of it, turning out the *English* Garrison, commanded by Sir *Matthew Gough* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*. This Action is interpreted by Some, as if the Duke of *Burgundy*, tho' he pretended a Willingness to be reconciled to the Duke of *Bedford*, never really intended it, because the King of *France* at that Time so highly courted the Duke of *Burgundy's* Favour, that he would never have permitted such an hostile Action in the Time of Treaty without his Leave, tho' this may be allowed only conjectural, yet 'twas suspicious in the Duke of *Bedford's* Absence. However that be, 'tis certain the Loss was very great to the *English*, being upon the very Gates of *Paris*, and if kept by the *French* King, it would be a perpetual Molestation to that City, especially, since the *French* would be obliged to keep a very strong Garrison in it. These Thoughts induced the *English* to resolve upon the speedy Recovery of it, which Sir *Matthew Gough* and Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, whose Honour was much impaired by the Loss of it, were ready to undertake, and accordingly did by the Assistance of the *Parisians*. The Bastard, who yet continued at *St. Dennis*, had Notice of the Design of the *English*, and being sensible it was as much the Interest of his Master to keep it, as of the *English* to regain it, left the Marshal *De Rieux* to defend it, if the *English* besieged it, while he went himself to raise greater Forces for the Relief of it. The *English* soon after his Departure began the Siege under the Command of the Lord *Talbot*, Sir *Matthew Gough*, Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, the Lord *Lisle Adam*, and others, with a full Resolution to take it; and tho' the Bastard joining with the Forces of the Counties of *Champagne* and *Valois*, took the Towers of *Houdan*, and *Montmeulan* (f) to draw them from it, yet the *English* held on the Siege, and would not be drawn from it. The Constable of *France*, the Bastard of *Bourbon*, *Monsieur de Loheac*, and others were sent with a great Army to raise the Siege, but seeing the Resolution of the *English*, they dar'd not to set upon them, which when Marshal *de Rieux* saw, he yielded up the Town to them upon as honourable Conditions as he could: *Reginald de S. John*, who had betrayed the Place, and *Dionegius de Voucourt*, a Person of great Valour and Conduct, upon whom the Governours chiefly relied in the Siege, were both slain. The Walls of the Town were all beaten down, unless on the Side next the Abbey, and the Tower of *Veneno*, which remained all the while in the Custody of *Simon de Morior*, Son to the Provost of *Paris*, with the *English* Soldiers with him, and so the *English* recovered but a very shattered Place of it.

October the Tenth in this Year, (as *Fabian* relates, but our Statute-Books place this Parlia-

A. D. 1434. Reg. 12.

Reg. 13.

S. Dennis taken by the French.

But retaken by the English.

Seventh Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

(f) *Pont Meulan* it should be. This Town was taken by Surprize; Two Fishermen entered it at a Common Privy standing on the Wall, and open'd the Gates to the French.



A. D. 1434-  
Reg. 13. ment in the Fourteenth Year of King Henry the Sixth, by Mistake) the Parliament met at Westminster, and continued till the latter End of December. The Business of this Session seems to be only to regulate some Abuses of other Acts of Parliament, or interpret them, for it was therein enacted,

1. That the Judges in their Circuits, shall have Power to give Judgments in all Cases of Felony and Treason, as well upon Persons acquitted as attainted, and award Executions according to that Judgment.

2. That all Wools and Woolfells, that shall be shipped to be transported, shall be carried to *Callis* only, and no License shall be granted to the contrary, but by the King, with the Advice of the Council.

3. That the Justices of Peace in *Cumberland* should hold their Sessions Quarterly at *Carlisle* only, and in *Middlesex* only twice a Year, because of the Terms.

4. That all Wool and Woolfells, and other Merchandizes of the Staple, which shall be shipped in any Creeks or Ports, clandestinely to cheat the King of his Customs and Subsidies, shall be forfeited to the King.

5. That all Persons, who shall dare to disturb any Foreigners, in selling Fish, or other Victuals, either by Whole-sale or Retail, shall forfeit Ten Pounds, one Moiety to the King, and the other to the Person, that shall sue for the same.

These Acts being finished, the King had a Fifteenth given him to carry on his Wars with France, and they were dissolv'd. During the Sitting of this Parliament, on the Eve of St. Katherine, November the 24th, began a Frost, which lasted to the Feast of St. Scholastica, February the 10th, and held with so great Violence, that the *Thames* was frozen over, so that the Merchandizes and Provisions brought to the *Thames's* Mouth, were conveyed to London by Land thro' Kent.

A great Frost, by which the *Thames* was frozen over.

A. D. 1435.

The Council of *Basil* endeavours to make a Peace between England and France.

In the Council of *Basil*, which still continued Sitting, there was a Motion made by *Sigismund*, the Emperor, and assented to by the Rest of the Christian Princes, who were all present to compose the Difference between the Scismatical Popes, *Felix* and *Eugenius*, That a Mediation should be made for a Peace between France and England, since so much Bloodshed among Christians was a great Scandal to their Holy Profession, and this they had a great Encouragement to do, because the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had been the Support of the Quarrel from the Beginning, was now willing to be reconciled to the French King upon honourable Terms, provided that it could be so managed, as that it might seem not so much his own, as that King's Desire. The Settling a Peace at this Juncture between Two such great Nations, was indeed a Work worthy the Endeavours of the Council, and the great Danger that all *Christendom* was in, from the Arms of the Turk, whose Emperor, *Mahomet* the First, having not many Years before made *Adrianople* in *Thracia* his Royal Seat, left *Amurath*, his Son, an ambitious and aspiring Prince, to propagate his Victories further into Europe, made it necessary, if possible, for all the Christian Princes to unite among themselves, and join against this common Enemy: And to this End, *Nicholas D'Albergat*, a *Carthusian* Frier, Cardinal de *Sancta Cruce*, or the Holy Cross, and *Hugh de Lassignan*, a Cypriot, Bishop of *Praneste* in Italy, were sent to the Princes at Difference, to come to a Conference in order to a Peace, and obtained by their

earnest Sollicitations, that they would send their Ambassadors to an Assembly at *Arras*, a Town in *Artois* to conclude all Matters in Controversie between them. The Commissioners sent by Henry, King of England, were *Henry Beaufort*, Cardinal and Bishop of *Winchester*, *John Kemp*, Archbishop of *Tork*, *William de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, the Bishops of *Norwich*, *St. Davids*, and *Lysieux*, with divers other Knights and Gentlemen. For the French came *Charles*, Duke of *Bourbon*, *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Constable of France, *Lewis*, Earl of *Vendosme*, the Archbishop of *Rheims*, Chancellor of France, for the French King, with many other Persons of Note. The Emperor, the Kings of *Cyprus*, *Portugal*, *Castile*, *Sicily*, *Navarr* and *Poland*, sent also their Ambassadors to assist at it, and further the Agreement, as Occasion should offer. *Nicholas* also Cardinal of the Holy-Cross was ordered by the Bishop of *Rome*, to perswade an Union in the Name of his Master, the Vice-gerent of the Prince of Peace. The Duke of *Brittain* had also his Deputies, the Earls of *Alençon* and *Barr*. But the Duke of *Burgundy* was there in Person, attended by the Duke of *Guelders*, his Chancellor, the Bishop of *Cambrays*, with divers other Earls and Barons, and a gallant Train of Courtiers. The Cardinal of Holy-Cross opened the Assembly with a pathetick Speech to the Parties in Difference, representing to them the great Mischiefs that had redounded to all *Christendom*, by the continual Wars between Two such potent Kingdoms, and exhorting them by the Honour of God, and for the Love they had to Religion, that they would lay aside all Enmity one to another, and embrace such a Peace and Union, as might be for the Glory of God, and the eternal Advantage of their Souls; which Speech being ended, Consultations were entred into by the several Ambassadors to bring in their Demands and Proposals. The English Ambassadors brought in their Demands first, and urged, 'That King *Charles* should lay down 'his Pretences to the Kingdom of France, and 'should enjoy no Part of it, but what the King 'of England should out of his mere Favour allow him, and those should hold of him, as 'his Homager and Feudary. The French Ambassadors on the contrary, as positively 'Demanded the whole Kingdom of France, as their 'Master's Right, and required, that the King 'of England should lay aside the Name, Arms, 'and Title of the King of France, and relinquish *Paris*, and all the Towns which he 'held in France, being content with the Dukedoms of *Aquain* and *Normandy*, with such 'Part of *Guienne* as they were now in Possession 'of, yet to pay homage for them to the King 'of France, as the Supream Sovereign of them. These Propositions seeming more to incline to a War than Peace, the Cardinal of *S. Cross* endeavoured to mitigate them on both Sides, and bring them to more near Terms, but all proved in vain; and because he saw, it would be next to impossible to make a Peace between them, he offered them reasonable Conditions for a Truce, but this was also rejected on both Parts, and the English displeased with the great Demands of the French, whose Spirits they supposed to have been more humble, departed to *Callis*, and so returned into England. The Cardinal de *Sancta Cruce*, seeing all Hopes of Concluding a Peace between England and France to be to no Purpose, turns all his Endeavours to work an Accommodation between the French King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, which he did with

A. D. 1435.  
Reg. 13.

The King of France and Duke of Burgundy made Friends, and upon what Terms.



A. D. 1435. Reg. 13. with no great Pains, the former being ready to stoop almost to any Terms to win him, and the latter ready to embrace any Thing honourable and advantageous, so that a Peace was immediately agreed on upon these Conditions, viz.

I. That King Charles, tho' he excused himself from the Murther of the Duke of Burgundy, his Father, yet should make Satisfaction for his Death, by punishing all that were found guilty of it, if they could be discovered and apprehended, by Death, if not, by perpetual Banishment, and should build a Church in *Monberran*, with a Monastery of Twelve Monks, and a Superior, which he should endow with a sufficient Maintenance, to pray for his Soul for ever.

II. That King Charles, should pay to the Duke of Burgundy 50000 Crowns for the Jewels, that were taken from his Father at his Death, and should have Liberty to recover those that were not named, particularly the Fleece, which was of a very great Value, from any, in whose Possession they were found.

III. That the following Countries, Cities, and Towns, with all their Præeminencies and Jurisdictions, should be immediately delivered up to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and settled upon him and his Heirs, whether Male or Female, viz. *Mascon* in *Xantaigne*, the City of *Auxerres*, with the Jurisdiction of *Barr* upon the *Seine*, the City of *Castel*, with the Lay-Patronage of the Church and Abbey of *Leuxenle*, pretended to, but never possessed by the Dukes of Burgundy before, the Cities of *Montdidier*, *Perron*, *St. Quintin*, *Corby*, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, the County of *Pontian* and *Poictou*, with the Outbounds of *Champaign*.

IV. That in Case the King of England should make War upon the Duke of Burgundy and his Subjects, King Charles should assist him both by Sea and Land, as in his own Cause, and should not make Peace with him, unless he included him in it; and that if King Charles should not fully keep to this Agreement, his own Subjects should not be bound to obey him, but being freed from all Oaths of Allegiance to him, might assist the Duke of Burgundy against him.

V. Lastly, That Charles, Count *Carolois*, Son to Duke Philip, should marry the Lady *Katherine*, King Charles the Third's Daughter, and have with her in Portion 120000 Crowns; but this Marriage was not consummated till Four Years after, by reason of their tender Age, not being above 7 Yearsold.

By these Articles the French King may seem to have bought the Duke of Burgundy's Friendship dear, but he being the Hinge upon which the Kingdom of France turned, nothing could be too much to gain his Friendship, which being obtained, all must soon follow, as indeed it did.

The Duke of Burgundy being thus united again with the French, to whom he had a long time born a good Affection, knew very well that the News of it would be very surprizing to the English, his old Confederates, and would certainly produce some ill Effects, if they were not pacified with some palliating Excuses, whereupon he sent *Joison d'Or*, his chief Herald, into England, to give an Account of this new Confederacy, and his Motives to embrace it, which were, 'Not any real Disaffection to the English, but merely to satisfy his People, and in Compliance with the earnest Entreaties of the general Council at *Basil*, the Pope

and other Princes of Christendom. For by the Continuance of the Wars, his own People with bitter Lamentations complained to him, That they were utterly ruined and impoverished, and the whole Kingdom of France in a manner destroyed, which because all Men laid upon him as the Cause of it, he thought it his Duty to yield to the Exhortations of so many grave Persons, to unite with King Charles, and so avoid the Guilt of so much Bloodshed, as would else be laid to his Charge. And these Reasons he thought so strong, in reference to King Henry, that he could not but heartily wish, he would accept of a Peace upon honourable and reasonable Terms, that so these cruel Wars, which were so displeasing to God, and prejudicial to both Nations, might have an End, and Peace be established amongst them. This Message, which was delivered by Letter to King Henry's Council, was very amazing, and so much the more, because the Superscription was very unusual. For, whereas before he used in his Writings to stile King Henry, King of France and England, his Lord and Master (g), now he entitiled him only, The High and Mighty Prince, Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, his Well-beloved Cousin; as if he had been no longer King of France, and the Duke by joining with Charles, had utterly disowned his old Master. This Letter being read, and considered on well by the Council, raised such Indignation in them against the Duke, that they would not let the Messenger see the King, but sent him back to his Master without any Letters, telling him, that the Duke was a perjured Traitor, whom they could not think worthy of Answer. But the News of this Peace was received with much greater Disgust by the Citizens of London, who were more heady and furious, and because they could not revenge themselves upon the Duke himself, fell heavy upon his Subjects, who, for Traffick sake retided in, or about their City, and slew many of them. King Henry, whose mild Temper better qualified him for Mercy, than Revenge, was much troubled for the Outragious Facts of his Subjects, and put out his Proclamation, strictly charging all his Subjects, under severe Punishments, to forbear the like Disorders for the future; which stopp'd their Hands from Bloodshed, but did not restrain their Tongues from charging Philip with the grossest Perjury, Treachery and Hypocrisy, who, contrary to all his repeated Oaths and Promises to obey King Henry, as his lawful Sovereign, had deserted him, and reconciled himself to his Enemy, in which, tho' the Pope's Legate had given him Absolution to pacifie his guilty Conscience, yet that was but a delusive Salve for so foul a Breach of Fidelity in the Sight of all the World; but Burgundy had served his Turn by Siding with the English to revenge his Father's Death, and now had another Game to play, which was to raise his own Greatness, which he did effectually by making up with France, whereby he gained many large Countries and Territories, which his Ancestors had no Title to, nor could he himself by any other Means have gained, and for this Reason he held firmly ever after to the French Interests. Reg. 14.

Seven Days after the Conclusion of this Peace, between Charles, King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy, John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, died at Roan, September the Fourteenth, a wife and warlike Prince, who by his Courage,

A. D. 1435. Reg. 13.

King Henry's Council angry with the Duke of Burgundy, and the Londoners say the Burgundians.

Duke of Bedford's Death and Burial at Roan.

(g) He used to stile him his Sovereign Lord only, Lord and Master, not being usual from Feudatary Princes to their Superiors.



A. D. 1435. and prudent Conduct had kept up the English Power in France almost alone, it is thought, that the Prospect of the Change, which would inevitably follow upon the League between the French King and Duke of Burgundy, was a Means of hastening his Death; for he easily foresaw, that their Union would root the English out of France. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of our Lady in that City, with all Funeral Solemnities, on the North-Side of the High-Altar, under a sumptuous and costly Monument, which remaining whole and entire many Years after, in the Reign of Lewis XI. Son of King Charles, some of his Courtiers advised him, being then at Roan, to demolish it, because his Memorial was a Shame to France. But King Lewis generously reply'd, *God have his Soul, and let his Body lie now at Rest, who, when he was alive, would have made the proudest of us to tremble. As for his Tomb, it is not so decent and convenient, as his noble Achievements deserved, and I am sorry it is no more stately, that its Richness might answer his Worth.* The News of his Death caused great Grief in England, not only for the Loss of so excellent and great a Person, but for the Danger France was in by his Death, there being scarce any Man left behind him equal to him in Courage and Wisdom, and none of Experience to manage so difficult a Station; but Necessity required, that one should immediately be put in his Place; and therefore K. Henry's Council proceeded to an Election (b). The Dukes of Somerset and York became Competitors for it, both of them nearly related to the Crown, and therefore might be thought to have an equal Zeal for the Support of it. Somerset was most desirous of it, but York had the Votes of the Council, because he had the fairest Pretences to the Crown, and so he was elected; yet with so great Offence to Somerset, that he sought all Ways to obstruct his Commission, and hinder his speedy Passage thither, which though it might prove the common Loss, yet he thought would turn to York's Disgrace with the Commons, who, not knowing the secret Causes, hate or love for what appears. And, indeed, Somerset was not out in his Politick Design; for before the Duke of York could get his Dispatch into France, Paris, and many other chief Towns, for want of a Governour, were revolted to the French King; and though he was not really in Fault for it, he was forced to bear much of the Blame, upon the Account of his Delays. The Duke of York was not insensible as well of the Cause, as of the Effect, and tho' he would not at present seem to resent it, yet he laid it up in his Memory, that when Occasion should offer, he might revenge it upon the Duke of Somerset, who bearing an equal Hatred to him, they wrought each other's Destruction in a few Years, and entailed the Quarrel upon their Posterities, to the Ruin almost of both Families.

Isabel, Queen of France, died.

In the same Month with the Duke of Bedford, died Isabel, late Queen of France, Mother of Charles, the present King, and Catherine, Queen of England, at Paris, and was buried by her Husband at St. Dennis, without any Funeral Pomp or Solemnity, the Times not permitting such Ceremonies. She died hated by the French, and not much regarded by the English; for tho'

indeed she had been the main Instrument of the Success of the English in France, and their Establishment there, yet they being sensible, that what she did for them was not out of any real Love to them, but out of an insatiable Desire of Revenge upon her Son Charles the Dauphin, could not affectionately requite the Kindnesses they received, because they were intended chiefly to gratifie her own Malice, and the English were used but as Instruments for her unnatural Cruelties.

The Death of the Duke of Bedford was no sooner known in France, but, as though he had been the only Restraint upon the French to yield Obedience to the English, they began almost in all Places of the English Dominions to think of a Revolt to their natural Prince. Normandy began first to shew its Inclinations to King Charles; and having given Intelligence of their Design, invited his Army to come among them, under the Command of Marshal de Rieux, Charles de Marest, Messieurs de Bausack and Longueville, to whom they immediately surrender'd Deise, Roan, (i) Bois de S. Vincennes (k), and several other considerable Places; in which though there were English Garrisons, yet either being overpowered, or betray'd by the treacherous Inhabitants, they were forced to relinquish them, and shift for themselves as well as they could; but some were taken Prisoners; and the Citizens, who had been for the English, were either plunder'd of their Goods immediately, or made to take an Oath of Fidelity to the French King. This Success drew Multitudes to them. The Lords Sentraglie, Estouteville, and many other Lords, brought an Army of between 3 and 4000 to join with them; and one Kernier, a Captain of the Rabble, follow'd them with 6000 Commons, who all readily took the same Oath; so that Charles's Party became very strong, and able to take the remaining Towns by Force, if they should stand out against them, which it could not be thought that many would no, since the strongest Towns had submitted. Fescamp yielded it self on Christmas-Eve, without Assault, and the Captain of it, Monsieur Villiers, a Gascoigne, was so zealous for his new Master, that he assaulted Harfleur on St. Stephen's Day to reduce it. The Garrison repulsed him at first valiantly, and beat him off at the Onset with the Loss of Forty of his Men; but while he was putting himself in Order for a Second, the Inhabitants capitulated to surrender the Town to the French, upon Condition, that the English Garrison, which consisted of 400 Men, should be suffer'd to depart peaceably with all their Goods; which being granted and accepted, many other Towns follow'd their Example, as, Beurespin, Tancherville, Gomeffeule, Loges, Vallemont, Graville, Longeville, Neneville, Lamberville, and many others, into which the French having put Garrisons, became almost absolute Masters of Normandy.

Things being thus settled here, Charles cast an Eye upon Paris it self, which being kept only by 2000 Men, a weak Garrison, under the Command of the Lord Willoughby and the Bishop of Turwin, was easie to be recover'd, the Citizens, as he was inform'd, being well affected to him, and willing to submit; whereupon he commanded the Constable, Arthur of Brittain, the Earl of Dunois, the Lords de la

(b) He was appointed by Parliament to be Regent of France. Hol. p. 613.

(i) Roan was not yielded to the French King till Twelve Years after, Anno 1447. as will be seen in the Course of this History.

(k) Bois de St. Vincennes is no Part of Normandy.



A. D. 1436. Roche and Lisle Adam, with a good (1) Body of Burgundians and French Men, to present themselves before it, hoping to get the Possession of it without much Labour; but when they arrived, they found their Friends so carefully watch'd by the Garrison, that they could not betray the City to them, as was designed; and therefore they retreated to St. Dennis, which they besieged. The English Garrison there was 400 strong, but the Place weak, being wholly dismantled, unless it were on the Abbey-Side; yet they withstood a very powerful Assault, wherein they lost 200 Men, and were forced to flee into the Abbey and Tower *Penin*, in which they only kept themselves, till they could gain a Composition to render up the Place with the Safety of their Lives.

St. Dennis taken.

The Lord Beaumont, who was lately come out of Normandy with 600 Men, hearing what Danger St. Dennis was in to be lost, but not knowing that it was yielded, sallied out of Paris, with some Addition to his Forces, to observe the Posture of the Enemy, and if they could relieve the Place; but being discover'd by the French Army, they so encompass'd him on every Side, that though both himself and his Men defended themselves valiantly, yet 300 were slain, and himself, with Eighty of his Men, taken Prisoners; the rest fled, but were closely pursued to the very Gates of Paris.

This Loss on the English part not only weaken'd the Garrison, but made the Citizens, who stood in Fear chiefly of the Lord Beaumont, to resolve upon a Revolt, which having acquainted the Lord Lisle Adam with privately, and obtain'd an Assurance of him and the Constable, That their former Offences should be pardon'd, and their ancient Liberties and Privileges confirm'd to them, on their part they promised to receive them into the Town. The Constable delay'd no Time, but drawing up his whole Army, presented himself before the City, displaying the Charter of their Pardon to the View of the Citizens, and requiring them, as it were, to open their Gates. The English Garrison, suspecting the Treason, endeavour'd all they could to keep them shut; but the Citizens had drawn up the Chains in every Street, and oppos'd them not only themselves in Armour, but even their Wives and Children from their House-Tops so annoy'd them with Stones and Scalding-Water, which they pour'd upon them, that they could not prevent their Design; so the French Army partly got Admission at the Gates of St. Dennis and St. James, and partly scaled the Walls. The Parisians in a great Tumult meeting them, cry'd out with Joy, *Long live King Charles, and the Duke of Burgundy*. The English, seeing all Opposition in vain, retired into the Street of St. Anthony, where they remain'd safe for the present under the Cannon of the Bastile, which they victualled as much as they could in so short a Time, and then betook themselves to it for their Defence. The Constable and his Forces pursued them to their Fortrefs, and closely besieged them; but they defended themselves very bravely for Ten Days, in Hopes of Relief; their Victuals failing at the End of that Term, and no Assistance appearing, they agreed to yield up the Place, their Goods and Lives being saved, and so they were safely conducted to Roan.

Thus the Capital City of France submitted to King Charles, Sixteen Years after the Duke

of Clarence had placed a Garrison in it for the English; but not by the Valour of the French, 1436. but by the Perjury of the Citizens, who, contrary to their frequent Oaths and Promises of Fidelity to Two Kings, most treacherously revolted from them, shewing themselves a false and inconstant People.

The English being gone, the French seized on and shared such Goods of theirs, as they found in the City, and confiscated the Estates of such of the Citizens as had sided with them, displacing all the Officers and Governours that had not further'd their Attempt, and putting new ones in their Places.

While Fortune thus prosper'd the French in some Places, the English were not inactive in others to recover their Losses, or, if that could not be, to endamage them so, that they might not be so great Winners. The Garrison of Calais issued out, and made a sudden Assault upon Bullen, and had almost taken the Lower Town, but failing of it, they burnt many of the Ships that were in the Haven, and pass'd from thence into the Confines of Gravelin, and destroy'd all the Country round about it. The furious People, impatient of their Losses, got together, and took Arms to oppose them, but being unskilful and undisciplin'd, were soon routed by the English, 400 of them being slain, and 120 taken Prisoners, the rest flying into the Country for Safety, while the English, with their Spoil and Prisoners, return'd to their Garrisons.

Other Advantages the English had in other Places against the French, which something abated the Glory of their Victories; for at the Siege of the Town of Crail upon Oise, Sir William Chamberlin, Governour of the Town, issued out of it with 500 Men upon the French, who assaulted it, and, after a long Fight, routed them, slew 200, and took a great Number Prisoners, the rest flying into Champaign, and the adjoining Countries. Nor was La Hire more fortunate at Gisors, which Twelve of the Burgesses had betray'd to him for a Sum of Money; for tho' he got a quiet Possession of the Town by their Treachery, yet the English Garrison, who had fortified themselves in the Castle, and sent to the Lords Talbot and Scales, who lay at Roan, with a good Force, to assist them, stood out firmly against all the French Forces, in Hopes of Succour, which coming timely to them, while the Enemy were in the Heat of their Opposition, freed the Castle, drove away the French with Loss, recover'd the City, and punished the Traitors.

Gisors recover'd with Loss to the French.

While these Things were doing, the Duke of York, though later than he would, landed in Normandy, with an Army of 8000 fresh Soldiers, being accompanied with the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the Lord Falconbridge, and several other famous Captains. It was no small Trouble to the new Regent to hear of the Losses of the English in this Vacancy of the Government, and therefore upon his Arrival he doubled his Diligence to regain as much of them as he was able. The Earl of Salisbury he dispatched to besiege the Castle of Chambois, which he soon regain'd by Surrender. The Lords Scales and Hoo, with Sir Thomas Kiriell, he sent to suppress the Rebels of the Country of Caux, which they did so effectually, that they left no Fears of like Disturbances from those Parts; for they slew 5000 of the Rebels, burnt all the unwall'd Towns and Vil-

Duke of York arrives in France, and recovers several Places.

(1) This Officer had lately dispersed the English.



A. D. 1436. lages in the Country, and brought away all their Cattle to *Candebec*, where they sold a Sheep for an *English* Penny, and a Cow for Twelve Pence.

The Regent himself took his Way to *Roan*, where, after he had put Things in good Order, and settled some Differences among the Inhabitants with admirable Lenity and Justice (for which the *French* Chronicles highly extol him to this Day) he went to besiege *Eiscamp*, which he in a short time recover'd, and brought in Subjection to the *English*.

Duke of Burgundy seeks the English Friendship again

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had so lately joyn'd himself with the *French* Interests, tho' his Subjects had been much wrong'd and abused by the *English*, as well in *France* as *England*, yet shew'd no open Acts of Hostility, but as if he had repented of the Fact, and were willing to be reconciled to his Old Friends, permitted the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, who suffer'd very great Losses by his League with the *French* King for want of the Commerce, which they formerly had with the *English*, to endeavour a Restoration and Continuance of the Peace with them, who thereupon employ'd *John de Luxembourg*, Count de *Ligni* to write to his Brother the Arch-Bishop of *Roan*, who was one of King *Henry's* chief Counsellors in *France*, to propound it to, and obtain it of King *Henry's* Council in *England*, which he did so earnestly and effectually, that he found no unwilling Compliance with the Proposal. But because in the mean time the *English* in *France* had not desisted from making Invasions upon his Territories, and destroying his Subjects, and King *Henry* had at the same time written to the *Hollanders* to offer them the Continuance of his Friendship, *Philip* being highly offended at these Things, and especially at the latter, which he interpreted to be done to seduce his Subjects from their Obedience to him, receded from his Word, and told *Ligni* plainly, That he would never more entertain any Thoughts of Peace with the *English*, because they had very much injur'd him in his Honour, ravaged and plundered his Subjects upon the Confines of *Flanders*, endeavour'd to surprize *Ardes*, sent Ambassadors to the Emperour to provoke his Imperial Majesty against him, sought to seduce and withdraw his Subjects from their Allegiance, and done many other Things not to be passed over without the highest *Repentments* by any Prince. These Things he writ in a Letter to King *Henry* and his Council in *England*, and in it he declared War against him for the said Wrongs and Injuries; which tho' many of them were falsely charg'd upon him, as was prov'd by the Answer given him by King *Henry* and his Council, yet they serv'd for a Pretence for the irreconcilable Enmity that ensued upon it: For the Duke of *Burgundy* immediately call'd a great Council of his chief Men, and represented to them the Mischief done to himself and Subjects by the *English*, desiring their Advice and Assistance to revenge him and themselves upon them, and remove so troublesome an Enemy, if not out of *France*, yet from their Confines. *Calis*, he said, belong'd to his Jurisdiction, as a part of the Province of *Artois*; and as it was now the greatest Annoyance to his Dominions, being in the Hands of the *English*; so if they could recover it, it would be as great an Advantage to them, for it would perfectly secure *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Picardy*, and the Country about *Bullen*. Indeed it was a very strong Fort, and very well mann'd and provided, and therefore the Siege was not to be undertaken without

Duke of Burgundy declares War with England.

Duke of Burgundy resolves to besiege Calis, and raises an Army for that End.

sufficient Forces, but he did not doubt they would assist him with all Things necessary to effect it, if they concurred with him in the Design. These Proposals the whole Assembly approv'd of, and assur'd him of their Readiness to lend him all the Assistance they could in it; and because they judg'd sufficient Forces might be rais'd out of *Holland* and *Flanders* to effect their Purpose, it was advis'd, That the Duke should in Person go into those Provinces and solicit their Help in so advantageous an Attempt, which he immediately upon the Dissolution of this Council did. He began with *Gant* the head City in *Flanders*; and having assembled the Magistracy there publish'd his Resolution to them, and met with such a general Approbation from them, that they easily granted his Desires, and thought long till it was put in Execution; and the like Concurrence it had in all the Province of *Flanders*. The *Hollanders* indeed shew'd not that Forwardness and Readiness in the Design as the *Flemmings* did; but at length they consented to satisfy their Prince's Desires, and so all Things were provided for so great an Attempt, which either Invention or Caution could devise. These Preparations and the Intent of them were certified to King *Henry* and his Council by Sir *John Ratcliff*, Deputy-Governour of the Town of *Calis*, who was as careful to provide for the Defence of it, as the Enemy to assault it, and there were sent over with all Expedition 1500 Men, with good store of Provision, under the Command of the Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Camois*. This strong Garrison, that they might make the Country about it unfit to harbour and receive the Enemy, pillag'd and destroy'd all the Villages and Corn; and though they were encounter'd first by a strong Body of *Flemmings*, and then by a Party of 1500 *French* under the Command of the Lords of *Warren* and *Bado*, yet they were Victorious over them, killing many, and taking almost an equal Number of Prisoners.

The Duke of *Burgundy* having spent some considerable Time in fitting out his Troops, and ordering his Men, at length began his March towards *Calis*. His whole Army which consisted of Men out of several Provinces, as *Picardy*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Hannault*, to the Number of 40000, was furnish'd with such an Abundance of Victuals, Arms and Artillery, that they may seem to be fit to conquer a Nation, and not a Town, which they themselves thought so inconsiderable an Attempt, that they supposed the very Approach of their Captains would fright the Inhabitants out of it, and it would be taken without Resistance; but they found their Mistake soon after, the *Calisians* neither fearing their Numbers nor Strength. In their Passage towards *Calis*, when they drew near *Gravelin*, they beat down Two Mills, imputing the late Loss of the *Flemmings* to their Situation; and though *Philip* himself dissuaded them from such an inglorious Attempt, yet they would not desist. Being passed the Waters of *Gravilin*, and come into the *English* Territories, the Duke thinking it not convenient to leave any Thing behind him that was held by his Enemy, besieged the small Castle of *Oye*, which had but Fifty Soldiers in it. These defended that Fort very courageously, till twelve of the Chief being slain, the rest yielded themselves up to the Dukes Mercy, but found little or none; for he giving the Castles and Captives to the People of *Gant*, who were the greatest part

A. D. 1436. Reg. 14.

Calis fortified against the Siege.

Duke of Burgundy's Army raised to besiege Calis.

The Castle of Oye yielded to the French.



A. D. 1436. Reg. 14. part of the Army and had suffer'd much by their Resistance, they to revenge the Blood of their Country-men hang'd up Twenty Nine of them immediately, and razed the Castle down to the Ground. The residue of the Captives were condemn'd to Death; but the Duke being offended at their Cruelty in slaying the former, sav'd their Lives by much Intercession. Within the Prospect of *Callis* stood another Castle, held by the *English*, call'd the Castle of *St. Mark*, of greater Strength than the former, containing a Garrison of 200 Soldiers, under the Command of Sir *John Gedding* their Captain, who made a bolder Resistance than the Governour of *Oye* was capable to do, and slew many of the Duke's Forces. But was at last over-power'd, and despairing of Relief from the People of *Callis*, to whom he had in vain given Signs of the bad Condition of his Garrison, by ringing their Bells, and hanging out Colours, (for tho' they would, they could not do it) he resign'd upon Condition, That his and his Men's Lives should be sav'd; and so being made Prisoners of War, they were sent to *Gaunt* to be kept for an Exchange, if any of them should happen to be taken. The Way to *Callis* being thus clear'd, the Duke of *Burgundy* accompany'd with the Duke of *Cleves*, the Earl of *Estamps*, the Lords of *Dantoing*, *Croy*, *Crisquie*, *Humières*, and many others of Note, laid Siege to the Town on *July* the 19th, as was most to his Advantage, and at his first coming caused three Assaults to be made, but with so much Loss, that he was forced to draw off his Forces further from it. The *English* entertained them with continual Sallies, and in most of them were Victorious. The Duke of *Burgundy* was not much dishearten'd at these first Successes of the Enemy, but he look'd upon them as flashes of Courage, which by length of Time, and the Straights of a Siege would much abate; and therefore in the mean time he was careful to block up the Haven, that no Supplies of Men or Victuals should come to the Besieged out of *England*, which to his great Grief he had hitherto seen done, because the Fleet from *Holland* and *Zealand* was not come up, as he had appointed and expected, and to that end he caused Four great Hulks, fill'd with great square Stones cemented together with Lead, to be sunk in the Haven at High-Tide, but with no Damage to the Harbour as it happen'd. He also diligently survey'd the Walls of the Town and the Castle, that when occasion offer'd, they might repeat their Assaults with better Success. But the Besieged were on the other side as watchful of all Advantages; and seeing the Duke observing their Town shot at him, kill'd his Trumpeter, and three Horses of such Persons as were next him.

While the Army lay before *Callis* the Lord *de Croy* was sent with a good Party to besiege the Castle and Town of *Guisnes*, of which he soon took the latter, but was kept so long in the Siege of the former, that he was forced to quit what he had gotten and leave them. In the mean time the Duke of *Gloucester*, who knowing the Importance of the Town of *Callis* to the *English* in *France*, was resolv'd to raise the Siege, sent over his Herald, call'd *Pembroke* to tell the Duke of *Burgundy*, That the Protector of *England*, his Master (if God favoured him with Wind and Weather) intended with all convenient Speed to pass over to him and give him Battel, either before *Callis*, or in any other Place in his own Country which he should appoint, and if he refused would seek him where he could find him. The Duke

of *Burgundy* answer'd the Herald, Tell your Master, that his Challenge is both Honourable and Reasonable, and that I will save him the Pains to seek me, for (God willing) I will not leave the Town till I have my Will of it, and if he comes here he shall find me ready to encounter him with all the Forces he can bring. After the Duke of *Burgundy* had given the Herald his Answer, he took him to his Tent, and having feasted him plentifully gave him a Silver Cup, and an Hundred Pieces of Gold, and so sent him back again. The Herald departed to *Callis*, and so home to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was hastening with all speed to get an Army, and all other Things necessary for his intended Expedition.

The Duke of *Burgundy* also, as soon as the Herald was gone, call'd a Council in the chief Tent of the *Gantois*, and summon'd all the *Flemish* Commanders and Cavaliers to it, to whom having declared the substance of the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Embassy and his Answer to it, he entreated them for his Honour's sake and their own, not to desert him, but stand by him, and defend themselves manfully upon this Occasion, which they all voluntarily and readily promised. This encourag'd the Duke so, that he forthwith sent into *Picardy*, *Artois*, and *Henault* to levy new Forces, and augment his Army to such a Proportion to the *English* Army (which he fear'd would be great) as they might be able to oppose them. But as the News of the Duke of *Gloucester*'s coming begat Caution in the *Burgundians*, so it rais'd the Courage of the Belieged so much, that they made many brisk and fortunate Sallies; and among other Things wana Fort built by the Duke of *Burgundy* upon an Hill so near the Town, that they could see all the Transactions of the Belieged, and by that means much annoy'd them, which Loss damp'd the Besiegers Spirits, and made them despair of carrying the Town, especially since the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Arrival was daily expected. In the midst of these Terrors and Fears the Duke of *Gloucester* had fortunately pass'd the Seas with 500 sail of Ships, and landed at *Callis* with a powerful Army on the Second Day of *August*, intending on the Day following to have issued out of the Town and gave the Duke of *Burgundy* Battel; but when that Day was come the Enemy was departed, the very News of his coming so affrighted the *Flemings*, that no Perswasions of their Prince could prevail with them to abide the Battel, and so they all departed and left the Siege the Night before to the great Grief of the Duke of *Burgundy*. *Gloucester*, when he brought forth his Army found some of their great Ordnance, which were too heavy for their Flight, with much Victuals and Ammunition; but thinking he might overtake them, he pursu'd them Eleven Days; but not being able to do it, he ravag'd part of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Country, and having burnt two Towns, *Popering* and *Bell* he return'd again to *Callis*. The Lord *de Croy* also at the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Command left *Guisnes*, and the *English* repossessing themselves of the Town took some of their Baggage and Artillery, and among the rest a great Gun of Brass, call'd *Dijon* from the chief Town of *Burgundy*. And thus the Duke of *Gloucester* finish'd his Expedition, and return'd into *England* with Honour and Triumph.

In the Absence of the Duke of *Gloucester*, Scots and the former Discontents between the Scots and *English* broke out into open War. *James*, King of Scots, having married his Daughter to *Lewis* the Dauphin, gave great Suspicion to the

Duke of Gloucester challenges the Duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1436. Reg. 14.

Duke of Burgundy prepares to fight the Duke of Gloucester.

Duke of Burgundy's Army flies.



A. D. 1436. the English of such an Affinity and Confederacy between them, as might prove very prejudicial to them: Whereupon they first endeavour'd to intercept her, and take her Prisoner in her Passage into France; but missing of that, they began to treat the Scots as no fast Friends, and did some Damages to them upon their Borders. These Things incensed King James so much, that he sought Opportunity of Revenge, and in the Duke of Gloucester's Absence besieged Roxborough Castle with an Army of 30000 Men. Sir Ralph Gray, a Person of great Courage and Fidelity, commanded the Castle at that Time, and defended it for Twenty Days against so powerful an Army, which though he could not have withstood much longer, yet his holding it out so long prov'd the Cause of its Deliverance; for the King of Scots being advertised, that the Earl of Northumberland was coming with an Army to raise the Siege, but chiefly, his Queen being come into his Camp to give him Notice of a Conspiracy form'd against his Life, by certain Persons whose Names she could not at present find out, chose rather to release the Town, than lose his Kingdom and his own Life, by giving his Enemies Time and Opportunity in his Absence to bring their wicked Contrivances to Perfection, and so he left the Siege. But this Design, though seemingly prudential enough, prov'd fatal to him: For Walter, Earl of Athol, the King's Uncle, who was the Chief in the Conspiracy, being fearful of being discover'd by the Diligence of such as the King had employ'd to find him out, with his Associates, desperately put them forward to a more speedy Execution, which by the Help of one John a Frier Preacher of Pearth, into whose Monastery the King was fled for Safety, they effected; for by his Means the Porter being corrupted, and the King's Chamber being left unbarr'd, the Conspirators boldly and violently rush'd into the King's Presence, and giving him 28 Wounds, slew him. Three of the Chief of them, The Earl of Athol himself, Robert his Grandson, and Robert Grimes, were very severely punish'd for the Murther by the People, and his Son James the Second, a Child of about Seven Years old, was raised to his Throne in the Right of Succession.

James,  
King of  
Scots, kil-  
led.

Reg. 15.  
Duke of  
Burgundy  
seeks a  
Neutra-  
lity.

After the disgraceful Departure of the Duke of Burgundy from Callis, the English, in all Parts of France, became very troublesome to him and his Subjects. At Bruges they rose in a tumultuous manner against him, and slew a Captain of his Guard, the Lord Lisle Adam himself very hardly escaping with his Life. These Dangers made him employ his Neighbouring Princes to solicit a Peace between him and the King of England, That he should remain a Neuter between England and France. The Perfidiousness of the Duke was an invincible Objection against their Petition; but an Expedient being found out, that the Dutchess should act for her Husband, and should be admitted to a Treaty for him, Commissioners were appointed on both Sides to meet at Gravelin, viz. The Dutchess of Burgundy, the Bishop of Arras, Lord Croy, and others for the Duke: And Henry, Cardinal of Winchester; John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, and divers other Persons of Honour, for King Henry. After some Debates, a Truce was concluded between King Henry and the Dutchess of Burgundy, her Husband not being so

much as named in it; but it lasted a little time, the Duke taking Liberty to break that Covenant, in which his Enemy would not have him tied; and so it only served a Turn, till he could better secure himself against the English Enmity.

On the 2d Day of January this Year died (m) Queen Catherine, the Wife of that renown'd Prince King Henry the Fifth, and Mother of this King Henry the Sixth, at Bermundsea in Surrey, and was, with all due Solemnity, buried at Westminster, in the midst of our Lady's Chappel, under a Marble-Tomb, by her Husband, where she rested, till King Henry the Seventh pull'd down the said Chappel, and erected that most sumptuous Pile of Buildings, which retains his Name to this Day. She had in her Life privately married a noble Welch Gentleman, of the Lineage of Cadwallader, the last of the Brittainish Kings, named Owen Tudor, or Theodore, a Person of rare Beauty and Parts, but of small Fortunes, and therefore accounted a very unequal Match for this Great Princess; yet it was wink'd at by the Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford. By him she had Three Sons, Edmund, Jasper and Owen; the last was a Monk at Westminster. Her Daughter by him died in her Infancy. After her Death, Owen was apprehended (n) and imprison'd, because that, contrary to an Act of Parliament made in the Sixth Year of this King's Reign, he had presumptuously married the Queen, without the King's special Assent. He escaped twice out of Prison, and let out others with him, but the Third time, it is said, he lost his Life. However, his Children which he had by the Queen sunk not by the Misfortune of their Father; for King Henry, either out of Respect to his Mother, or in Recompence for the too great Severity against his Father, soon after his Death, created Edmund Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and married Edmund to Margaret, Daughter and sole Heiress to the Duke of Somerset, of whom he begot Henry, Earl of Richmond, who afterwards was King of England, by the Name of Henry the Seventh.

A. D.  
1436.  
Reg. 15.

A. D.  
1437.  
Queen  
Catherine  
died.

Biendi  
Hist. of  
the Civil  
Wars of  
England.

About the same Time, the Dutchess of Bedford, Sister to Lewis, Earl of St. Poll, as if of Queen Catherine's Example had taught her to marry for Affection rather than Honour, married a brisk young Knight, Sir Richard Woodville, afterwards created Lord, and Earl of Rivers, to the great Displeasure of her Brother, and Uncle, the Bishop of Turwin, whom she had not acquainted with it. By him she had many Children, both Sons and Daughters, and among them the Lady Elizabeth, who being married to King Edward the Fourth, was afterward Queen of England.

Dutchess  
of Bedford  
married  
Sir Richard  
Woodville.

Whilst this Marriage was in the Celebration, Jane, the Wife of Henry the Fourth, and Daughter of Charles, King of Navarre, surnamed, The Wicked, died at Bermundsea in Surrey, and being carried to Canterbury, was there interr'd by her Husband King Henry. Some remarkable Accidents also happened about this time, viz. the furthest Gate upon London-Bridge next Southmark, with the Tower upon it, and Two Arches upon which it chiefly depended fell down suddenly, but did no Harm, all the Lions also in the Tower died.

On the 21st Day of January, King Henry assembled his Parliament at Westminster. This Par-

Parl. 8.  
its Acts  
and Taxes

(m) In the 38th Year of her Age.

(n) Owen Tudor was beheaded after the Battel of Mortimer's Cross, for fighting in the Quarrel of the House of Lancaster, Anno 1460. Hist. 660.



A. D. 1437. Reg. 15. Parliament was first appointed to meet at Cambridge, but for some Reasons of State it was recall'd to Westminster.

In this Parliament, 1. A Remedy was provided against vexatious and troublesome Suits of such Persons as were not of the King's Household, in the Court of Stewards and Marshals in the King's House, and it was allow'd as an Exemption from their Jurisdiction to plead and aver, that they are not of the King's House.

2. An Allowance was given to all the Subjects of England to transport Corn of small Price out of the Realm, viz. Wheat at Six Shillings and Eight Pence, and Barley at Three Shillings and Four Pence the Quarter.

3. An Injunction to all Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Franchises and Coroners, that in Actions, or Writs of Attaint of Plea for Lands of the Yearly Value of Forty Pounds, they do not return nor impanel any Persons, but such as be inhabiting in his Bailiwick, and have an Estate to their own Use in Lands and Tenements, to the Yearly Value of Twenty Pounds or more, upon the Penalty of forfeiting Ten Pounds to the King, and Ten Pounds to the Plaintiffs in the said Action, or Writs of Attaint; and that no Person of less Sufficiency of Freehold than Twenty Pounds a Year shall be sworn in the King's Court upon any Issue in the said Actions, if he be for the same by the Plaintiffs in due Form challenged.

4. A Permission was given to all Persons, as well Religious as Secular, to appoint themselves General-Attornies to sue or plead for them in every Hundred and Wapentake. And,

5. A Prohibition was laid upon all Merchants to ship, or cause to be shipped, any Wool, Woolfells, or other Merchandizes belonging to the Staple, in any Place within this Realm, except at the Keys and Wharfs assigned by the Statute, where the King's Weights and Wools be set, excepting the Merchants of Genoa, Venice, Tuscany, Florence, Catalonia, and the Burghesses of Berwick. To this Parliament came the Bishop of Terwin and the Earl of Arminack out of France, but their Business was not known, and if important, was soon dispatch'd, and the Parliament soon after dissolved.

Harflure  
believed  
by the  
English.

In the late Insurrection in Normandy, the English had lost Harflure, a Town of great Consequence for the Preservation of that Province, which being found to be extremely inconvenient in the Enemies Hands, they resolved upon the Recovery of it. The Duke of Somerset, attended with the Lords Falconbridge and Talbot, were sent with a strong Force to besiege it. The Captain of the Town was Sir John D'Estauteville, and the Garrison was 600 strong. The English at their first Approach were sensible, that they should meet with a strong Opposition, as well from the Besieged as the French King's Party, whose Interest it was to preserve the Town, as much as the English to gain it; and therefore they strongly intrenched themselves before the Town, and then began to batter the Walls, that they might gain an Entrance into it, but were so valiantly opposed and repulsed, that tho' the Town suffered much Damage, it held out, and kept them from an Assault. The French King in the mean Time was very desirous to relieve it, and to that End sent the Earls of Ew and Dunois, the Valiant Bastard of Bourbon, and the Lord Gaucourt, with an Army of 4000 Men to raise the Siege; but when they came, they found their Enemies so strongly entrenched, that they could molest them ve-

ry little by all the Means they could devise, and so saw it next to impossible to do their Friends within the Town any good, whereupon they fearing lest their Delays might prove dangerous to themselves, left the Town to its own Defence and the Enemy's Mercy: The Governour seeing it past all Hopes of being saved, thought it better to surrender the Town upon some honourable Terms, than hazard all to no Purpose, and therefore capitulated for the Lives of himself and Soldiers, and left the Place in the Hands of the English, who joyfully received it, as their desired Prey. The Duke of Somerset committed it to the keeping of Thomas Pawlet, Christopher Barber, William Limerick and George St. George, who manfully defended the Town and Haven many Years. The Lord Talbot, after the Taking of Harflure, was left Captain of the Army to carry the Victory on, as his Courage should lead him, who thereupon besieged Tankerville, which he took in Four Months, being delivered up to his Discretion, and soon after Beauchastan and Maleville, which following the Example of Tankerville, yielded without Blows. But the English by all these Victories were no Gainers, for Charles, the French King, passing over the River Loire, besieged the strong Town of Monstreau Fault Tonne, of which Captain Thomas Gerard was Commander, who forgetting his Honour and Trust, sold it to the French King for a Sum of Money, as was afterwards discovered. The French that were in it, were all hanged for their Treason to him, and the English at the Dauphin's Request set at Liberty. After the Taking this Town, some smaller Garrisons, as Chasteau, Landone, Charmi and Nemours, yielded to him without Resistance, and then passing on, he took his Way to Paris, where having not been since it returned to his Obedience, he made his Entry with Solemnity, and loud Acclamations. The English, tho' not unconcern'd at these Losses, were under no possibility of Regaining them thro' the Change of the Regency, which unfortunately happen'd in this Juncture, otherwise Monstreau had not been so easily parted withal. The Duke of York, who had held the Place with great Applause, tho' he was never personally present at any Battel or Siege, unless at that of Fescamp, was displaced, and the Earl of Warwick put into his Room, a Person every ways qualified for so great a Charge, but being detained Seven Weeks by cross Winds from arriving in France, they wanted a Power in York to oppose the Current; and so the French King carried on his Victories without Controul. At the sametime Arthur of Brittain, Constable of France, John, Duke of Alençon, and La Hire, with a great Army, made divers Attempts in Normandy, first upon the Town of Auranches, and then upon the City of Roan, but fail'd in both by the Courage and Diligence of the Lord Talbot, Lord Scales and Sir Tho. Kiriell, who set upon the French suddenly, and routed them at a Town called Riz, not far from Roan, killing above 200, and taking a great Number Captives, among which were the Lord of Fountains, Sir Aleine Geronne, Sir Lewis Balle, and Sixty Knights and Esquires, by which Normandy was preserved to the English.

The Earl of Warwick, Richard Beauchamp, who had been endeavouring a Passage into France for several Weeks before, and in order thereto had Seven times taken Ship, but was asoften driven back again, at length arrived at Honflue, Nov. 6. with a Thousand fresh Soldiers, and from thence went to Roan, where the Duke of

A. D. 1437. Reg. 15.

And surrendered upon Articles.

The Lord Talbot takes several Places.

The French gain on the Loire.

Earl of Warwick made Regent of France.

Reg. 16. Earl of Warwick arrives at Honflue.



A. D. 1437. of York having received him with a kind Welcome, resign'd his Dignity to him, and returned by the same Ships, with all his Train, into England. This new Deputy was no sooner in his Place, but he was forced upon Action; for *Florimand de Brimau*, Bailiff of *Ponthieu*, having private Advertisement, that *Crotoi*, an English Garrison, was in great Want of Victuals, and could not hold out, if suddenly besieged and begirt round, gave Notice of it to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who immediately sent an Army of above 10000 Men, with Guns and other Materials, under the Command of Messieurs *D'Archi*, *Crovi*, *Kenti*, *Faques de Brimeau*, and others, to lay close Siege round it. The Garrison, who fear'd nothing but Hunger, seeing their Danger, began to provide against it, and finding the Sea open, sent out a Ship immediately, which by its nimble Sail in a Day or two supplied them with Plenty of Provision. The Duke of *Burgundy* saw his Error too late, and endeavour'd to prevent it, by sending Four Ships to lie at the Mouth of the Haven; but the Inhabitants of *Crotoi* would not endure this Blockade, and sending Six Ships out, routed them, and kept the Sea open for their continual Relief. By this means they were in no Fear of Want of Victuals, but could hold out till Aid should come. The Earl of *Warwick* had News soon of this Attempt, and immediately dispatch'd the Lords *Talbot* and *Falconbridge*, Sir *Tho. Kiriell*, and divers other Knights and Esquires, with an Army of 5000 Men, to raise the Siege, who were also so zealous to deliver the Town, that they all waded thro' the River, some up to the Chin, to get the nearest Way to it, resolving either to drive the Enemy from it, or die in the Quarrel. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay with his Forces beside the City, had News of the Approaching of the Lord *Talbot*, with all his Power, and thereupon drew off his Forces, as if he would have confronted his Army and fought them; but when they came nigh one another, the Duke and his Forces retreated to *Abville*, and left the Town; but being unwilling to lose the *Bastile*, which he had lately built to annoy it, he left 400 Men to keep it. The Lord *Talbot* kept on his Way, and came to *Crotoi*, but not finding the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army there, he assaulted the *Bastile*, and took it, all the Men being either slain, or made Prisoners. Then he sent Messengers after the Duke of *Burgundy* to challenge him to a Battel, threatening, that if he refused, he would destroy all his Country of *Picardy* with Fire and Sword; but the Duke, stricken with a Panick Fear, fled the faster from him, and passing by *Aniens*, lodged himself and his Army at *Arras*. The Lord *Talbot*, enraged at this Cowardize, staid Twenty Days in *Picardy*, burning Towns, slaying the People, and taking what Spoil and Prisoners he could, and so return'd to the Earl of *Warwick*, who highly extoll'd his Courage and Conduct.

*Crotoi* besieged.

*Crotoi* relieved.

Lord *Talbot* challenges the Duke of *Burgundy* to a Fight.

A. D. 1438. An Obit for the Emperor *Sigismund*.

One *John Gardiner* burnt for Heresie.

About *Christmas*, in this Year, King *Henry* caused a solemn Obit to be celebrated in *St. Paul's* Church in *London*, for that eminent and wise Prince *Sigismund*, the Emperor of *Germany*, who died a little before, and left the Empire to *Albert*, who had marry'd the only Daughter of the said *Sigismund*.

On *Easter-Day*, one *John Gardiner*, a Person that favoured the Doctrines of *Wickliff*, but yet conformed outwardly to the *Romish* Ceremonies, either out of Fear or Interest, was discovered to convey the Sacramental Bread from

his Mouth, after he had received it from the Priest's Hands, in a foul Cloth, in *St. Mary Ax's* Church in *London*. This Fact was observed with Abhorrence by all his fellow Communicants, and he being examined, was found to be an obstinate Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield*, May 14. for his Crime.

In the Spring of this Year, *Henry*, Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerset*, sail'd out of *England* with 400 Archers, and 300 Spears, and landed at *Cherbourg* in *Normandy*, and passing through the Country of *Main*, he besieged and took the Castle of *St. Anian*, putting the *Scotch* Garrison of 300 Men to the Sword, and hanging up all the *French* Men he found in it, because they had formerly taken an Oath of Fidelity to King *Henry*, and had falsified it. The Lord *Talbot* also, about the same Time, gat several other Places more thro' the Terror of his Name, than by his Sword; for *Longaville*, *Carles*, *Mammille*, and many other Towns, yielded themselves to him without any Resistance. The Earl of *Mortaigne* further advanced his Success, and took the Castle of *Algerche*, and the Lord *Camewis* in an Ambush, who came to the Relief of it; but the *English* were not the only Gainers, what they got in one Place, they lost in Another; for *Montarges*, and *Cherosie* submitted themselves to King *Charles*, and the Burgeses of *Meaux* and *St. Susan*, in the Country of *Brie*, sold and delivered those Towns up to the *French* for Money; so that what Courage and Diligence got on the *English* Side, Treachery lost them, for tho' they could subdue the *French*, they could never make them faithful, seldom continuing in Obedience longer than they were kept in Fear by the Sword, or other Force.

The Unseasonableness of the Harvest this Year, which was full of raging Winds and excessive Rains, caused such a great Scarcity of Corn in *England* and *France*, that Wheat began at this time to be sold at 2s. 6d. per Bushel, and Malt at 18d. and before the Year passed, increased so much in the Price, that the Poor underwent great Hardships, and were forced to make their Bread of Vetches, and Pease, and Beans, coarse Grains, with which before they usually fed their Beasts and Poultry; and in some Parts of the Nation they were so pressed with Want of these courser Grains, that they made Bread of Fern-Roots and Ivy-Berries. In the City of *London*, the Dearth was not so great as in the Country, thro' the Care and Vigilance of *Stephen Brown*, then Mayor, who seeing the great Danger the City was in, of suffering Famine, sent several Ships into *Prussia* for Ry, which brought such Quantities of that Grain into the City, that there was a Sufficiency of Bread with the poorest. Divers other lamentable Accidents attended this publick Calamity. On Nov. 25. there was such a terrible Wind, that it did much Harm in many Places of the Nation, and particularly at *London*; it blew off the Leads of the *Grey-Friers* Church, and almost beat down a whole Side of a Street, called the *Old Exchange*; so that the Inhabitants were forced to underprop it with great Studs to keep it from falling. On *New-Years-Day* a great Stack of Wood fell down at *Bainard's* Castle, and killed Three Men, many more being bruised and wounded dangerously: At *Bedford* also, upon the Day of the Assizes, there were Eighteen Persons killed, and several more hurt, by the Fall of a Pair of Stairs. With these unlucky Events happen'd the Death of that useful and charitable Citizen *Sir Robert Chicheley*, Grocer,

A. D. 1438. Reg. 16.

Earl of *Mortaigne* sent into *France*.

*French* revolt.

Reg. 17. A Dearth in *England*.

Several unusual Accidents.

A. D. 1439.



A. D. 1439. Reg. 17. cer, Brother to the Arch-Bishop, and twice Mayor of London, who by his last Will and Testament ordain'd, that on his *Mind-Day* a good and competent Dinner should be provided for 2400 poor People of the Householders of the City of London, if so many could be found, and after Dinner every one should have Two Pence given them, which in these Times was a bountiful Charity.

The Duke of Burgundy, who, after his shameful Retreat from *Crécy*, studied how to revenge himself upon the English, and recover his lost Reputation, now sent many Wood-Cleavers, Smiths and Pioneers, under the Conduct of 1600 Soldiers, to cut down the Sea-Banks about *Calis*, believing that by that means he should drown the Town, and all the bordering Country; but the Event answered not Expectation, whereupon they turn'd to *Pont de Millay*, and pretended to lay Siege to it, but soon drew off their Forces, and return'd Home, seeking rather to find themselves some fair Excuse, than effect any thing. But tho' this Stratagem prov'd very foolish, the French had other Engines, which did them greater Service, and got them many Towns about this Time, which were, their Preferments and Money, large Promises and great Sums. These Things prov'd so prevalent, as well with the English as French, in the English Garrisons, that no Place could withstand them. Indeed, the French wanted Money, 'tis plain, in the Camp, inasmuch, that they spent their Time in plundering one another; but yet since Money made way so easily to King Charles's Design in regaining his Country, he chose rather to want himself, than his Enemies should. This Piece of Policy the English hardly knew how to prevent; but it being related to the Council of England, they sent over the Earl of *Huntington* in June, with 2000 Archers, and 400 Spear-men, as a Supply to the Garrisons, and a fresh Recruit to the Army. At his Coming he found the Earl of *Dunois* near *Tholouse*, where, partly by Rewards, and partly by fair Promises, he had won several Cities in *Guien*, besides those which *Rodrigo de Vellandras* had recover'd by like Policy, to atone for his late Disobedience to his Master's Command to attend him. The Earl seeing this, put in fresh Garrisons in many of the Towns, yet in the English Hands, out of his own Forces, which he had brought out of England, and removed the old Garrisons to other Towns, where they were not acquainted. He displaced also the old Magistrates, and put in new ones, and so secured several of the remaining Towns, most of which had an itching Desire to be fingering the French Money, and would have probably revolted to them, had not this Earl's Coming and prudent Management prevented it. Nor had the same Methods a worse Success in *Normandy*, whither Sir *Richard Woodville*, Sir *William Chamberlain* and Sir *William Peito* were sent, with a Thousand Men, upon the like Errand, who kept the wavering Towns by so doing, tho' they recover'd not what had revolted till the Divisions among the French gave them this Opportunity.

The English remove their Garrisons to prevent Bribery.

Lewis the Dauphin rebels against his Father.

Lewis the Dauphin, a Prince of a very ambitious Spirit, young and hardy, being now arrived at the Sixteenth Year of his Age, and married, grew impatient to be under the Government of a Father, and reach'd at some Authority that might make him look like the Son of a King, which his Father, who was very suspicious and jealous, being even from his Child-

hood exercised with the Persecutions of his Mother, and the Enmity of the English and Burgundians, observing, treated him with a little more Severity than usual, and kept him to a shorter Allowance, which much discontented him. The Nobles, who were not well pleased with King Charles's Carriage to them, because he had always put most Confidence in the People, as being less able to hurt and damage him, laid hold of this Opportunity of incensing the Dauphin against his Father, thereby to raise themselves into greater Places and Trust under him, if they should prevail, and under his Father, if they came to an Agreement. The Chief of the Nobles, who were most active to stir up this Dissention, were the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon*, the Counts of *Vendosme*, *Chabanes*, *Chamont*, *Boveant* and *Prie*. These told him, That tho' his Duty to his Father was a great Obligation to Obedience and Submission, yet since the Welfare of the Publick was the main Thing he ought to respect, as a Prince, the former ought not to tie him up from the Use of any proper Means to secure the latter: That 'tis evident his Father had been guilty of many Faults in his Government, as the Murther of the Duke of Burgundy, Contempt of his Nobles, and the like, which ought to be redress'd, and by none so fitly as himself, who was the next Person to the Crown: That those who were at present in greatest Authority about the King, perswaded him daily to a Peace, which could not be effected, but with a great Loss of his own Patrimony: That he had excluded them from his Favour and Trust merely that he might Tyrannize the more securely over the Kingdom, and keep the Dauphin under: That the King his Father had placed him at *Loches*, a remote and private Part of his Kingdom, that being far from the Court, and ignorant of Affairs, he might be led by them, who ruled as they list, contrary to his and the Kingdom's Interests: That a Resolution to redress these Things could not be interpreted in him Disobedience, but a noble Attempt to preserve the whole State, as well his Father and himself, as his Subjects. The Dauphin being of a contumacious Disposition, presently yielded to these Reasons, and told them, That he was ready to do whatever his Quality obliged him to, and if they would join their Power with his, would not be wanting to himself nor them. The Lords having thus obtain'd their desired Ends, take the Dauphin with them, and began to raise what Forces they could to oppose the King, resolving never to lay down their Arms, till Disorders were reform'd, the Authority of the Princes established, and Men of Merit and Worth brought into Favour. The Lords endeavour'd all they could to bring the Duke of Burgundy over to their Party, but he not only denied them, but advised them to desist from their Enterprize, which was unjust, dangerous and groundless. Then they sent Men into the several Provinces of the Kingdom to gather up a Strength out of the Commons, but these also gave them no Encouragements, telling the Messenger, That tho' they loved the Dauphin well, and were willing to serve him, yet they would not do it against his Father, nor in the Face of a common Enemy, who would make use of this Division for the Destruction of all of them. These Disappointments were unexpected, but yet the Nobles having gone too far in their Design to retreat honourably, proceeded as well as they could, and the Duke of *Alençon* seiz'd on the Town of *Noyard*, and *John de la Rothe* on *St. Maxence*. The Counts of *Chamont*, *Boucignault* and *Prie* headed a great Number of Volunteers, Freebooters and such Rabble; Vol. I. D d d and

A. D. 1439. Reg. 17.

Several Lords encourage him.



*A. D.* 1439. *Reg. 17.* and the Duke of *Bourbon* with a good Force had the Command and Guard of the *Dauphin's* Person. The News of this Insurrection of his Son, which was as Unreasonable as Undutiful was very ungrateful to King *Charles*; but knowing it the greatest Wisdom to crush such Attempts in the Birth, he immediately sent a Messenger to the Duke of *Bourbon* to deliver up his Son, and to the Duke of *Alençon* to surrender his Towns of *Noyard* and *Maxence*, and both of them to come to him to give a Reason of their taking Arms; but they made some Excuses, which tho' they did not amount to Denials, yet apparently discover'd their Designs to delay both. The King seeing their Obstinacy resolv'd to crush them by Force, and so march'd against them toward *Maxence* and *Noyard*, which immediately submitted to the King all but the Castle, which was besieged and taken by the King's Forces and the Commanders hang'd. The other Towns that follow'd the *Dauphin's* Party, came into the King, and left the Lords destitute of all Assistance, insomuch that they were forced to humble themselves to him, who sent the Earl of *Eu* to offer them Terms of Reconciliation, and so they met the King at *Clermont*, and after begging Forgiveness they were reconcil'd and all pardon'd, except *Trimouille*, *Chaumont* and *Pry*: The *Dauphin* stood much upon their Pardon at first, and told his Father, That he would not accept of his own, unless they had theirs, because he had engaged his Word and Honour for their Safety; but when King *Charles* said briskly to his Son, That he had free leave to depart, he valued not his Enmity, he should find enough to defend his Right, *Lewis* submitted to his Pleasure, and the three Lords were left out: And so all Things were accorded between King *Charles* and his Son: But while this Disturbance lasted which was almost all this Summer, the *English* had a good Opportunity of recovering their Losses, which they so well made use of, that they regain'd the greatest part of them, and were preparing to attempt *Paris* it self, but the unexpected Agreement of the *French* King and his Son put an End to those Designs, and confin'd their Thoughts to preserve what they had gotten, rather than win more.

*Grecians* subscribe to the *Romish* Doctrines at *Florence*. While *France* was thus busied in composing Things, another Difference tho' not of like Nature seem'd to be adjusted; for Pope *Eugenius* at the Council of *Florence* perswaded the Emperour and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the rest of the *Grecians* there present to receive and subscribe to the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, receiving the Sacrament of the Body of Christ in unleaven'd Bread, Purgatory and the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*. But this Act of theirs was so highly Offensive to the *Grecian*-Churches when they heard of it, that they publickly declared their Dissent to this Subscription, and with a publick Execration condemn'd all the Legates that had assented to them, and would not permit them to be buried with Christian Burial.

*Reg. 18.* In *November* this Year began a Frost, which held with such Violence, that it froze all Ditches so hard, that they were passable, and being follow'd with a deep Snow made them almost indiscernible from the Ground. This Weather put the *English* upon a Stratagem to recover *Pontoise* by Surprise, which the *French* King had lately got from them by Money, because the chief Strength of the Place lying in the deep Ditches about it, the Frost had made them Unserviceable; they therefore covering

their Armour with their White Shirts, and their Head-pieces with White Caps, passed over the Ice undiscover'd by Night, and Scaling the Walls flew the Watch sleeping, and took the Town with many Prisoners of Worth and great Spoil, to the great Dissatisfaction of the People of *Paris*, who were much damag'd by the Loss of it. The Two Captains of the Town and Castle, *John de Villers*, and one *Narabon* a *Burgundian* Knight escaped, tho' hardly, but the treacherous Burgeses fell into their Hands, and suffer'd their deserv'd Punishment. *John*, Lord *Clifford* was the Leader of the *English* in this brave Attempt, and being Master of the Town was made the Governour of it, to defend it with the same Valour he had taken it.

On the Morrow after *St. Martin*, *November* the 12th the King summon'd his Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, where several Things of great Benefit to the Nation were enacted.

1. That Cheese and Butter may be carry'd out of the Kingdom without License.

2. That Merchants Strangers shall not sell their Merchandizes one to another in *England*, but that every such Merchant shall have an Host or Surveyor appointed him at his Landing by the chief Officer of the Town or Place where he shall land, who shall keep a Register of all he buys and sells, and take Two Pence in the Pound of him for all Merchandize by him bought or sold, and the said Merchants shall sell and buy all within eight Months.

3. That all Persons made Justices of the Peace shall have Lands or Tenements to the Value of twenty Pound a Year, except in Cities and Corporations.

4. That no Captain shall detain the Wages of the common Soldiers, except it be for their Clothing.

5. That every Person mustering and receiving the King's Wages, who shall depart from their Captains and the King's Service, without apparent License granted them by the said Captains, shall be punish'd as Felons: With some others of less Importance.

It seems, that the King had by this Parliament a Fifteenth or a Disme granted him for the Necessity of the State, because there is an Act made for the regular Collections of Fifteens and Dismes within the Cities and Boroughs of this Realm; and besides it was enacted, That every Householder that is an Alien shall pay the King thirteen Pence a Year, and every Servant Alien six Pence.

Soon after the taking of *Pontoise* by the *English* the Earl of *Warwick* Regent of *France* fell sick, and in *April* following dy'd in the Castle of *Roan* in *Normandy*. His Corps was kept there till *October* following, when it was carry'd over into *England*, and honourably interred in his College of our Lady Church at *Warwick*, built by his Noble Ancestors, in a fair and sumptuous Tomb. He left only two Children, *Henry*, who after him was Duke of *Warwick*, and *Ann*, who was marry'd to *Richard* *Nevill*, Earl of *Salisbury*. *Henry* lived some Years, but dying without Issue, his Honour descended to his Sister, in whose Right the Earl of *Salisbury* became Earl of *Warwick*. The Duke of *York*, *Richard* *Plantagenet* succeeded him in his Government in *France*, being made Deputy there a second Time. He was more speedy in going over into *France* this Time than before; for being accompany'd with the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Bourchier*, call'd Earl of *Eu*, Sir *James* *Ormond*, the Lord *Clinton*, and divers other Noblemen passed into *Normandy* in a few Weeks after

*A. D.* 1439. *Reg. 18.*

Ninth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

*A. D.* 1440. Earl of *Warwick* dies.

Duke of *York* succeeds him in the Regency of *France*.



A. D. 1440. after the Earl of Warwick's Death. His Arrival was as seasonable as it was speedy. The Reg. 18. French had made use of this Interval in the Government to fall upon the English Conquests in France; for the Parisians, to whom the Loss of Pontoise was very inconvenient, raised a great Sum of Money to enable King Charles to besiege it, and endeavour the Recovery of it, which he accordingly did, carrying along with him 1200 Old Soldiers, and the greatest part of the Nobles and Princes of France with a great Army. The French began the Siege with great Fury, encompassing the Town with Bastiles, Trenches and Ditches, battering its Walls with their great Ordnance, and giving it many fierce Assaults. The Lord Clifford who was Captain of it defended it with so much Valour, that the French Men rather lost than won, tho' it was impossible he could hold out long against so great an Army without Succour. The Duke of York immediately upon his Landing receiv'd the News of the Condition of Pontoise, and sent to the Lord Talbot to come to him, and bring all the Forces he could get together for the Relief of it. Talbot was as zealous to obey, as the Duke was to command; and having assembled a strong Body of Men to join the Duke, they marched to Pontoise and challenged the French King to come out of his Trenches to give them Battel. Charles by the Advice of his Council refused it, and thought himself secure from any Attempts of the English, because the River Oise was between them; but the Duke of York, who came provided with Boats, Cordage, Timber, and Planks, by the Use of them gained a Passage over the River, and resolv'd to attack King Charles in his Trenches. The News of this being carry'd to the French King surpriz'd him with Wonder and Fear at once, and that he might escape the Danger, he raised his Camp that Night and withdrew to Poisy, leaving the Lord Cotignie with 3000 Men to defend the Bastile. The Duke of York and the English Army were not sensible of the French King's Retreat, so marching up in Order towards the Camp found no Enemy, but only their Tents and heavy Baggage, which they seiz'd on as Prey. The Duke then entred the Town, and having repaired the Walls and stored it with Victuals, put in Sir Gervais Clifton and Sir Nicholas Burdet with a Garrison of 1000 Soldiers, and went to offer the French King Battel at Poisy; but not being able to draw him into the Field, he after some small Skirmishes dislodged his Army and return'd to Roan.

About the Time that Richard, Duke of York, went to his Government in France, viz. on June the 17th, a certain Priest named Richard Wiche, Minister of Hermetworth in Essex, who had been before convicted of Heresie and abjured, was found guilty of a Relapse, and being degraded from his Priestly Dignity was burnt as an incorrigible Heretick on Tower-hill. Before his Death he had foretold, That the Postern-gate of the Tower should sink into the Ground, which accordingly coming to pass upon the 18th Day of July following, when the said Gate sunk in the Night more than seven Foot into the Earth, it added so much to the Opinion, that many had of him, after his Death, that he was a good Man, and burnt out of Malice, that many Men and Women went by Night to the Place where he was murther'd, and offer'd many Images of Wax and other Things according to the Superstition of those Times, making their Prayers to him, kissing the Ground where he suffer'd, and carrying away the Ashes of his Bo-

dy as a sacred Relique. This blind Devotion being observed by the Vicar of Barking, in whose Parish this Burning happen'd, he to increase their superstitious Adoration mingled Spices with the Dust of the Body and Ashes, that they might believe the Fragrancy to proceed from the Holiness of the Sufferer, which so deceived the People, that they raised a great heap of Stones in the Place, and erected a Cross, and many went on Pilgrimage to it to the great enriching of the Vicar of Barking, who received the Offerings of the People. The Churchmen, who were much blam'd for putting to Death so holy a Man, were much offended at this Action of the People, and made their Complaints to the King, that it was a great Slander to the Church to have Worship paid to him; whereupon the King put out a \* Proclamation to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, commanding them to hinder and forbid all Persons resorting to the Place of the Execution of the said Richard Wiche under Colour of Pilgrimage, or any other pretence of Devotion or worshipping him publickly or privately as a Saint, under the Pain of being taken and reputed for Hereticks and punish'd as such. Upon this Order from the King and his Council, the Mayor and Aldermen of London set armed Men about the Place where he was burnt, to restrain the People from coming, who apprehending some (among whom was the Vicar of Barking) and committing them to Prison, so deterred all others, that in a short Time they left off their Pilgrimages and Devotion to him, which appear'd the more ridiculous to all, because the Vicar of Barking confessed the Delusion, That for his own Gain he had put upon them.

When the Regent and the Lord Talbot were return'd into Normandy, Charles the French King seeing that he had extreamly suffer'd in his Reputation, especially among the Parisians for leaving Pontoise in the Hands of the Enemy, again assembled his Army, and return'd to it, resolv'd either to take it or dy in the Enterprize. He divided his Forces into Three Parts, of which Two were under the Command of himself and the Dauphin his Son, and assaulted the Town in eight Places: By the first Assault he got the Church, and soon after the whole Town, but with so great Loss of his Men, that it could be reckon'd little or no Gain; for the English resolving to die with their Swords in their Hands were most of them slain, but sold their Lives very dearly, for they slew above 3000 French. The Commander of the Town Sir Gervais Clifton was taken Prisoner, and some few of the Soldiers who were sent to the Castle of Corbyle, but Sir Nicholas Burdet was slain. Corbeil, Melune and Eureux were soon after taken by the French; it being usual for the smaller Towns to follow the Fate of a Chief Garrison.

The English Prisoners in Corbeil-Castle being impatient under their Restraint, racked their Invention to find out Ways for their Deliverance; and because they thought Interest would be the most tempting Argument, they petition'd the Captain that one of them might be set at Liberty to go among their rich Friends and solicit them to pay a Ransom for them. The Captain easily consented to the Proposal, and released one of them instantly; but he according to their Agreement went to the Governour of the next English Garrison, who was an Arragonian, placed there by the Duke of York, and told him, That the Castle of Corbyle was slenderly Mann'd, and might with no great

A. D. 1440. Reg. 18. The Vicar of Barking cheats the People.

\* Cop in Fox. MS. and MSS. p. 544.

Reg. 19. K. Charles returns again to besiege Pontoise.

English Prisoners at Corbeil-Castle escape.



A. D. 1439. Reg. 17. and the Duke of *Bourbon* with a good Force had the Command and Guard of the *Dauphin's* Person. The News of this Insurrection of his Son, which was as Unreasonable as Undutiful was very ungrateful to King *Charles*; but knowing it the greatest Wisdom to crush such Attempts

K. Charles sends for the *Dauphin*.

The Rebels Pardon'd upon their Submission.

The *Dauphin* submits.

Grecians subscribe to the *Romanish* Doctrines at *Florence*.

Reg. 18.

A great Frost, by which the *English* recover'd *Pontoise*.

in the Birth, he immediately sent a Messenger to the Duke of *Bourbon* to deliver up his Son, and to the Duke of *Alençon* to surrender his Towns of *Noyard* and *Maxence*, and both of them to come to him to give a Reason of their taking Arms; but they made some Excuses, which tho' they did not amount to Denials, yet apparently discover'd their Designs to delay both. The King seeing their Obstinacy resolv'd to crush them by Force, and so march'd against them toward *Maxence* and *Noyard*, which immediately submitted to the King all but the Castle, which was besieged and taken by the King's Forces and the Commanders hang'd. The other Towns that follow'd the *Dauphin's* Party, came into the King, and left the Lords destitute of all Assistance, insomuch that they were forced to humble themselves to him, who sent the Earl of *Eu* to offer them Terms of Reconciliation, and so they met the King at *Clermont*, and after begging Forgiveness they were reconcil'd and all pardon'd, except *Trimouille*, *Chaumont* and *Pry*: The *Dauphin* stood much upon their Pardon at first, and told his Father, That he would not accept of his own, unless they had theirs, because he had engaged his Word and Honour for their Safety; but when King *Charles* said briskly to his Son, That he had free leave to depart, he valued not his Enmity, he should find enough to defend his Right, *Lewis* submitted to his Pleasure, and the three Lords were left out: And so all Things were accorded between King *Charles* and his Son: But while this Disturbance lasted which was almost all this Summer, the *English* had a good Opportunity of recovering their Losses, which they so well made use of, that they regain'd the greatest part of them, and were preparing to attempt *Paris* it self, but the unexpected Agreement of the *French* King and his Son put an End to those Designs, and confin'd their Thoughts to preserve what they had gotten, rather than win more.

While *France* was thus busied in composing Things, another Difference tho' not of like Nature seem'd to be adjust'd; for Pope *Eugenius* at the Council of *Florence* perswaded the Emperor and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with the rest of the *Grecians* there present to receive and subscribe to the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, receiving the Sacrament of the Body of Christ in unleaven'd Bread, Purgatory and the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*. But this Act of theirs was so highly Offensive to the *Grecian*-Churches when they heard of it, that they publickly declared their Dissent to this Subscription, and with a publick Execration condemn'd all the Legates that had assented to them, and would not permit them to be buried with Christian Burial.

In *November* this Year began a Frost, which held with such Violence, that it froze all Ditches so hard, that they were passable, and being follow'd with a deep Snow made them almost indiscernible from the Ground. This Weather put the *English* upon a Stratagem to recover *Pontoise* by Surprise, which the *French* King had lately got from them by Money, because the chief Strength of the Place lying in the deep Ditches about it, the Frost had made them Unserviceable; they therefore covering

their Armour with their White Shirts, and their Head-pieces with White Caps, passed over the Ice undiscover'd by Night, and Scaling the Walls slew the Watch sleeping, and took the Town with many Prisoners of Worth and great Spoil, to the great Dissatisfaction of the People of *Paris*, who were much damag'd by the Loss of it. The Two Captains of the Town and Castle, *John de Villers*, and one *Narabon* a *Burgundian* Knight escaped, tho' hardly, but the treacherous Burgeses fell into their Hands, and suffer'd their deserv'd Punishment. *John*, Lord *Clifford* was the Leader of the *English* in this brave Attempt, and being Master of the Town was made the Governour of it, to defend it with the same Valour he had taken it.

On the Morrow after *St. Martin*, *November* the 12th the King summon'd his Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, where several Things of great Benefit to the Nation were enacted.

1. That Cheese and Butter may be carry'd out of the Kingdom without License.

2. That Merchants Strangers shall not sell their Merchandizes one to another in *England*, but that every such Merchant shall have an Host or Surveyor appointed him at his Landing by the chief Officer of the Town or Place where he shall land, who shall keep a Register of all he buys and sells, and take Two Pence in the Pound of him for all Merchandize by him bought or sold, and the said Merchants shall sell and buy all within eight Months.

3. That all Persons made Justices of the Peace shall have Lands or Tenements to the Value of twenty Pound a Year, except in Cities and Corporations.

4. That no Captain shall detain the Wages of the common Soldiers, except it be for their Clothing.

5. That every Person mustering and receiving the King's Wages, who shall depart from their Captains and the King's Service, without apparent License granted them by the said Captains, shall be punish'd as Felons: With some others of less Importance.

It seems, that the King had by this Parliament a Fifteenth or a Disme granted him for the Necessity of the State, because there is an Act made for the regular Collections of Fifteens and Dismes within the Cities and Boroughs of this Realm; and besides it was enacted, That every Housholder that is an Alien shall pay the King thirteen Pence a Year, and every Servant Alien six Pence.

Soon after the taking of *Pontoise* by the *English* the Earl of *Warwick* Regent of *France* fell sick, and in *April* following dy'd in the Castle of *Roan* in *Normandy*. His Corps was kept there till *October* following, when it was carry'd over into *England*, and honourably interred in his College of our Lady Church at *Warwick*, built by his Noble Ancestors, in a fair and sumptuous Tomb. He left only two Children, *Henry*, who after him was Duke of *Warwick*, and *Ann*, who was marry'd to *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Salisbury*. *Henry* lived some Years, but dying without Issue, his Honour descend'd to his Sister, in whose Right the Earl of *Salisbury* became Earl of *Warwick*. The Duke of *Tork*, *Richard Plantagenet* succeeded him in his Government in *France*, being made Deputy there a second Time. He was more speedy in going over into *France* this Time than before; for being accompany'd with the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Bourchier*, call'd Earl of *Eu*, Sir *James Ormond*, the Lord *Clinton*, and divers other Noblemen passed into *Normandy* in a few Weeks after

A. D. 1439. Reg. 18.

Ninth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

A. D. 1440. Earl of *Warwick* dies.

Duke of *Tork* succeeds him in the Regency of *France*.



A. D. 1440. after the Earl of Warwick's Death. His Arrival was as seasonable as it was speedy. The French had made use of this Interval in the Government to fall upon the English Conquests in France; for the Parisians, to whom the Loss of Pontoise was very inconvenient, raised a great Sum of Money to enable King Charles to besiege it, and endeavour the Recovery of it, which he accordingly did, carrying along with him 1200 Old Soldiers, and the greatest part of the Nobles and Princes of France with a great Army. The French began the Siege with great Fury, encompassing the Town with Bastiles, Trenches and Ditches, battering its Walls with their great Ordnance, and giving it many fierce Assaults. The Lord Clifford who was Captain of it defended it with so much Valour, that the French Men rather lost than won, tho' it was impossible he could hold out long against so great an Army without Succour. The Duke of York immediately upon his Landing receiv'd the News of the Condition of Pontoise, and sent to the Lord Talbot to come to him, and bring all the Forces he could get together for the Relief of it. Talbot was as zealous to obey, as the Duke was to command; and having assembled a strong Body of Men to join the Duke, they marched to Pontoise and challenged the French King to come out of his Trenches to give them Battel. Charles by the Advice of his Council refused it, and thought himself secure from any Attempts of the English, because the River Oise was between them; but the Duke of York, who came provided with Boats, Cordage, Timber, and Planks, by the Use of them gained a Passage over the River, and resolv'd to attack King Charles in his Trenches. The News of this being carry'd to the French King surpriz'd him with Wonder and Fear at once, and that he might escape the Danger, he raised his Camp that Night and withdrew to Poisy, leaving the Lord Cotignie with 3000 Men to defend the Bastile. The Duke of York and the English Army were not sensible of the French King's Retreat, so marching up in Order towards the Camp found no Enemy, but only their Tents and heavy Baggage, which they seiz'd on as Prey. The Duke then entred the Town, and having repaired the Walls and stored it with Victuals, put in Sir Gervis Clifton and Sir Nicholas Burdet with a Garrison of 1000 Soldiers, and went to offer the French King Battel at Poisy; but not being able to draw him into the Field, he after some small Skirmishes dislodged his Army and return'd to Roan.

About the Time that Richard, Duke of York, went to his Government in France, viz. on June the 17th, a certain Priest named Richard Wiche, Minister of Hermetsworth in Essex, who had been before convicted of Heresie and abjured, was found guilty of a Relapse, and being degraded from his Priestly Dignity was burnt as an incorrigible Heretick on Tower-hill. Before his Death he had foretold, That the Postern-gate of the Tower should sink into the Ground, which accordingly coming to pass upon the 18th Day of July following, when the said Gate sunk in the Night more than seven Foot into the Earth, it added so much to the Opinion, that many had of him, after his Death, that he was a good Man, and burnt out of Malice, that many Men and Women went by Night to the Place where he was murder'd, and offer'd many Images of Wax and other Things according to the Superstition of those Times, making their Prayers to him, kissing the Ground where he suffer'd, and carrying away the Ashes of his Bo-

dy as a sacred Relique. This blind Devotion being observed by the Vicar of Barking, in whose Parish this Burning happen'd, he to increase their superstitious Adoration mingled Spices with the Dust of the Body and Ashes, that they might believe the Fragrancy to proceed from the Holiness of the Sufferer, which so deceived the People, that they raised a great heap of Stones in the Place, and erected a Cross, and many went on Pilgrimage to it to the great enriching of the Vicar of Barking, who received the Offerings of the People. The Churchmen, who were much blam'd for putting to Death so holy a Man, were much offended at this Action of the People, and made their Complaints to the King, that it was a great Slander to the Church to have Worship paid to him; whereupon the King put out a \* Proclamation to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, commanding them to hinder and forbid all Persons resorting to the Place of the Execution of the said Richard Wiche under Colour of Pilgrimage, or any other pretence of Devotion or worshipping him publickly or privately as a Saint, under the Pain of being taken and reputed for Hereticks and punish'd as such. Upon this Order from the King and his Council, the Mayor and Aldermen of London set armed Men about the Place where he was burnt, to restrain the People from coming, who apprehending some (among whom was the Vicar of Barking) and committing them to Prison, so deterred all others, that in a short Time they left off their Pilgrimages and Devotion to him, which appear'd the more ridiculous to all, because the Vicar of Barking confessed the Delusion, That for his own Gain he had put upon them.

When the Regent and the Lord Talbot were return'd into Normandy, Charles the French King seeing that he had extremely suffer'd in his Reputation, especially among the Parisians for leaving Pontoise in the Hands of the Enemy, again assembled his Army, and return'd to it, resolv'd either to take it or dy in the Enterprize. He divided his Forces into Three Parts, of which Two were under the Command of himself and the Dauphin his Son, and assaulted the Town in eight Places: By the first Assault he got the Church, and soon after the whole Town, but with so great Loss of his Men, that it could be reckon'd little or no Gain; for the English resolving to die with their Swords in their Hands were most of them slain, but sold their Lives very dearly, for they slew above 3000 French. The Commander of the Town Sir Gervis Clifton was taken Prisoner, and some few of the Soldiers who were sent to the Castle of Corbyle, but Sir Nicholas Burdet was slain. Corbeil, Melune and Euxaux were soon after taken by the French; it being usual for the smaller Towns to follow the Fate of a Chief Garrison.

The English Prisoners in Corbeil-Castle being impatient under their Restraint, rack'd their Invention to find out Ways for their Deliverance; and because they thought Interest would be the most tempting Argument, they petition'd the Captain that one of them might be set at Liberty to go among their rich Friends and solicit them to pay a Ransom for them. The Captain easily consented to the Proposal, and released one of them instantly; but he according to their Agreement went to the Governour of the next English Garrison, who was an Arragonian, placed there by the Duke of York, and told him, That the Castle of Corbyle was slenderly Mann'd, and might with no great

Pontoise besieged by the French King.

Duke of York raises the Siege.

Richard Wiche burnt on Tower-hill for Heresie.

A. D. 1440. Reg. 18. The Vicar of Barking cheats the People.

\* Cop in Fox. A. 1. and M. n. p. 544.

Reg. 19. K. Charles returns again to besiege Pontoise.

English Prisoners at Corbeil-Castle escape.



*A. D.* 1440. *Force he won.* The Governour gladly embraced the Discovery; and having placed an Ambush in the Night, sent four Men the next Morning with Sacks full of Fruit to the Castle to sell them to the *French*. These Men speaking *French* were not suspected of any Design, but let in to sell their Fruits, the Gates being carelessly left open in the mean time. These Soldiers gave Notice to the Ambush by a Sign already agreed on, and they immediately forcing themselves an Entrance easily got the Castle into their Power, the Captain and many of the Soldiers not being out of their Beds. The *English* Prisoners they set free, and the *French* they carried Prisoners to *Roan*, taking all the Spoil of the Castle to themselves, and leaving enow to secure it till an *English* Garrison could be put in.

*A. D.* 1441. Notwithstanding the former Warlike Enterprises on both sides, there were some Overtures of Peace made, and at length accepted, for all Parties were almost weary of the War. Some Propositions as to Time and Place had been made the last Year, which being agreed upon to be at *Calis* (for the *English* would not consent to any other Place.) In the Beginning of this Spring Deputies met there on both Sides. For King *Henry* appeared, the Cardinals of *York* and *Winchester*, the Duke of *Exeter* (o) and several other Noble Personages, bringing with them *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, who had been twenty five Years a Prisoner in *England*, that he might be a means to settle a Peace, and procure his own Deliverance. The *French* King sent the Archbishop of *Rheims* and *Narbonne*, and the Earl of *Dunois*, a Bastard of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Lord de *Crevecoeur*, and some others. Many Days were spent in finding out means for an Accommodation, and divers Proposals made. The *English* were to be satisfied chiefly, but their Demands were thought so unreasonable as they could in no wise be granted. Three Things they chiefly insisted upon, viz.

I. That they should hold the two Dutchie of *Aquitain* and *Normandy* discharg'd of all Superiority and Sovereignty from the Realm of *France*, and the Governours of the same.

II. That they should be restored to all the Towns, Cities and Places, which they within thirty Years last past had conquer'd, or otherwise taken in any part of the Realm of *France*.

III. That in whatever part of *France* the said Towns lay, they should hold them without any Dependency upon the King of *France*.

The First of these was easily granted by the *French* Commissioners, but the other Two were so unreasonable, that it was impossible they should accord to them, because King *Charles* was resolv'd to restore nothing that he had recover'd from the *English*, nor would quit that Sovereign Power over any part of *France*, that his Predecessors had without any Interruption long enjoy'd, so that nothing was concluded: Yet this Meeting broke up very civilly with Promises, that they would certify their Masters on both Sides, and try what might be done at a Second Meeting, which they then appointed in the same Place. After these Matters of publick Concern were ended, the Freedom of the Duke of *Orleans* was next treated on, and it was agreed, That he should be released from his Captivity for 400000 Crowns;

Duke of  
*Orleans*  
released.

but because the Money was not ready, and the *English* would not depend upon Promises, he was still kept Prisoner till the Money could be provided. The Reasons why the *English* detain'd him so long a Prisoner was partly to oblige the Duke of *Burgundy*, and partly to weaken the *French* King's Interests, but now the Duke had revolted from *England*, it was thought a greater Advantage to release him (especially for a good Ransom which might supply the Wants of the State in some Measure) than to keep him, because the Enmity, which he had to the Duke of *Burgundy*, might do greater Service to the *English* Affairs. This Reason mov'd the *English* to offer his Redemption. The Duke of *Burgundy* was not insensible of the Consequences of the Duke of *Orleans*'s Freedom, which certainly would produce bad Effects to him if not timely prevented. He saw his Friends active to get his Release, and could not think 'twould be long ere it would be effected. Wherefore that he might lay an Obligation upon him to forget all Grudges, he shew'd a great Zeal for him; and having obtain'd a Promise of him to marry the Lady *Mary*, Daughter of *Adolph*, Duke of *Cleve*, he himself paid down the whole Sum for his Ransom, and so he was deliver'd, and a perfect Amity concluded by the Marriage between 'em, tho' it did not last long, as the History of the following Times will shew.

How much Greatness exposes to Malice and Envy, now began to appear in the Case of *Humphrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*, who tho' a wise and cautious Prince, yet could not escape the Malice of those who sought his Ruin. They began with his Lady first, and having apprehended her with four Persons, whom they call'd her Accomplices and Confederates, viz. *Tho. Southwell*, Canon of *St. Steven's* Church in *Winchester*, *John Hume*, Chaplain to the Dutcheffs, *Roger Only*, alias *Bullingbrooke* a Priest, a Man very expert in the Art of *Necromancy*, and *Margery Gourdain*, commonly call'd the Witch of *Eye*, near *Winchester*, charg'd her with High-Treason; For that she the said *Eleanor*, Lady *Cobham*, Dutcheff of *Gloucester* to bring her Husband to the Crown, had procured and contrived with the said Persons to make an Image of Wax like unto the King; which Image they dealt so with by their devilish Incantations and Sorceries, that as the Image consumed by little and little, the King's Person should so daily decay, till he was brought to his End. *Roger Bullingbrooke* being examin'd before the King's Council own'd, That he had by the Procurement of the said Dutcheffs wrought by *Necromancy* to know what should befall her, and to what Estate she should come; and *Margery Gourdain* confessed, That she had prescribed some Love-Potions for the said Lady to make the Duke of *Gloucester* love her, which also the Dutcheffs her self did not deny, but she deny'd the Treason which was laid to their Charge, and for which they were all condemned, though only *Roger Bullingbrooke* was hang'd drawn and quarter'd, and *Margery* burnt: The said *Roger* at his Death affirming his Innocency to the last. The Dutcheffs only did Penance by walking through *Fleet-street* Hoodless with a Taper in her Hand of two Pound Weight, which she offer'd at the High-Altar in *St. Paul's* Church, and then was sent to the Castle of *Cherster*, where she remain'd a Prisoner under Sir *Thomas Stanley* all her Life. Mr. *Fox* endeavours to shew, that the Dutcheffs was thus accu-

*A. D.* 1441.  
Reg. 19.

Duke of  
*Burgundy*  
pays his  
Ransom.

The  
Dutcheff  
of *Gloucester*  
accus'd  
of High-  
Treason.

(o) *John*, Earl of *Huntington*, he was not created Duke of *Exeter* till Three Years after, Anno 1444. *Holin.* pag. 624.

sed,



A. D. 1441. fed, because she favoured the Lollards, *Acts and Monuments*, pag. 646.

Reg. 19. In the Beginning of this Twentieth Year of the King, *Richard*, Duke of *York* Regent of France and Governour of *Normandy*, as if he thought to compleat the Conquest of *France*, determin'd to invade the Enemy's Country by sundry Armies, and in sundry Places, and thereupon without Delay sent the Lord *Willoughby* to ravage and destroy the Country of *Amiens*, *John*, Lord *Talbot* to besiege the Town of *Dei*, and the Regent himself accompany'd with *Edmund*, Duke of *Somerset* went into the Dutchy of *Anjou*. The Lord *Willoughby* according to his Commission suddenly entred the Enemy's Country, and took many Prisoners before they could get into any Place of Defence. The *French* in the adjoining Garrisons being amaz'd with the Cries of the People sally'd out in good Order, and courageously fought with the *English* for their Relief, but being over-power'd by the *English*, who slew them without Mercy, they gave Ground and retreated into their Towns, leaving their Country to be pillag'd by the Enemy, and the Forces of the Earl of *St. Paul*, who came into their Aid just upon the Flight of the *French*. In this Conflict the *English* slew about 600, and took a great Number of Prisoners, with which they retreated into *Normandy*. In the mean time the Dukes of *York* and *Somerset* acted their Parts in *Anjou* and *Main* with the like or greater Success, for they destroy'd the Towns, robb'd and plunder'd the People, and meeting with no Opposition return'd loaden with Prey and Prisoners as they pleased. The Duke of *Somerset* also to give further Proof of his Valour entred into the *Marches* of *Brittain* and took the Town of *La Perche* by fierce Assault, spoiling and burning the adjoining Country: From thence he march'd to *Ponazay*, where for two Months together he sent out Parties to plunder and destroy the Countries of *Traonnois* and *Chatragonnois*. The *French* King much disturb'd with these Insolencies of the *English*, sent out the Marshal *Loiach* with 4000 Men to put a stop to the Invasions of the Duke's Men and guard the Country, who suddenly entring in the Night thought to have set upon the Duke in his Lodgings and take him; but the Duke like a politick Captain had Intelligence of his first Appearance, and wisely foreseeing the Danger approaching march'd toward the *French* and met them half way, who not being able with Honour to retreat joyn'd Battel with him. The Fight was maintain'd a while well on both sides, but at length the *English* got the better, and routed the *French*, slaying an Hundred of the Marshal's Men, and taking Threescore and Two Prisoners, of which the chief were the Lord of *Dausignie*, and Sir *Lewis Buell*, the rest were most of them Esquires and Gentlemen. After this Victory the Duke of *Somerset* went forward and took the Town of *Beaumont Le Viscount*, and having well mann'd and provided all the Castles and Forts, which were in those Parts on the Frontiers of the Enemy, he return'd with his Spoil and Prisoners to the Duke of *York*.

The Lord *Talbot*, whose invincible Courage made the most dangerous and daring Attempts to be allotted him, was all this while diligently employ'd about the Siege of *Dei*, to which he had made his Access by subduing the adjacent Places of Strength. When he came to the Town to besiege it, he cast up Trenches about it, and raised a Fort or Bastile upon the Hill

*Pawlett*, which stood so conveniently, that he could with his Ordnance annoy both the Town and Haven at once. Having thus prepared Things for an Attack, he found that the Town was so strongly defended, that it would take up more Men and Time than was at first expected, and thereupon thought it convenient to get a Recruit both of Men, Provision and Ammunition from *Roan* before he proceeded in it, and to that End leaving the Conduct of the Siege to his Bastard Son, he went to *Roan* to provide all Things necessary for taking of it. The *French* King, who was as much concern'd to rescue *Dei*, as the *English* were desirous to get it, being advertis'd of *Talbot's* Departure sent an Army of 15000 Men under the Command of his Son *Lewis* the *Dauphin*, assisted by the Bastard of *Orleans* and Bishop of *Avignon* to relieve it. The Count of *St. Paul*, who being sorely vexed by the Duke of *Burgundy's* Forces, which took away from him his Towns and Castles, was oblig'd to go over to the *French* Interests, attended the *Dauphin* in this Expedition, with divers other of the *French* Nobility. After they had entred the City and prepared six Bridges running on Wheels, and other Things necessary to attack the Fort; they began with it, but the *English* defended themselves so valiantly, and with so great Loss to the *French*, that had not the *Dauphin* himself in Person gave them an Example of undaunted Valour, the *French* would have left it, but being led by him, they overcame all Difficulties, and tho' with much loss gain'd it. The Bastard of *Talbot* was taken Prisoner, with Sir *William Paiton*, and Sir *John Reply*, but were shortly after redeem'd. Three Hundred *English* were kill'd, and above double the Number of *French* dy'd with them. The rest of the *English* were taken Prisoners, and the *French* in the *English* Service were all hang'd. The *Dauphin* after this Victory rewarded the Constancy of the Inhabitants of *Dei* with several large Immunities and Privileges, which were confirm'd to them by the succeeding Kings, and left Monsieur de *Murets* Governour of the Town, because he had behav'd himself so valiantly in it, and so departed.

The Activity of the *English* in *Normandy*, and the bordering Provinces against the *French* was a spur to the Earl of *Huntington*, who was Lieutenant to King *Henry* in the Dutches of *Aquitain* and *Guyenne* (p) to attempt something of equal Importance to the *English*, as the Lord *Talbot* had at *Dei*, and to that End sent his Captains into *Guyenne* to besiege the strong Town of *Tartas* belonging to the Lord *D'Albret*, the old Enemy of the *English*. The Inhabitants and Garrison seeing the *English* Army approach the Town were loth to hazard themselves in vain; and having taken a full View of the Strength of the Enemy said that they were not able to defend themselves long, and therefore before they came to make any Assaults agreed, that they would surrender it up to them, if it were not reliev'd before *St. John's* Day, and gave them Monsieur *D'Albret's* Eldest Son for an Hostage for the true Performance of their Agreement; but because Monsieur *D'Albret* himself was not present, and being Lord of the Town, it was reasonable his Concurrence should be had, it was reserv'd, that if Monsieur *D'Albret* did not approve of their Agreement, he should signifie it to the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Pledge should be return'd, and the *English* do their best. This Condition

(p) *Aquisain* and *Guyenne* are the same, the former being the Ancient Name of the Province, and the latter the Modern.



A. D. 1442. Reg. 20. *French raise the Siege.*

left the *French* at Liberty, and gave them Time to raise the Siege, which the Lords of *Guienne* thus improved. They sent first to the *French* King, to beg of him to gather his Army together to raise the Siege of *Tartas*, which he easily granted, and having assembled an Army of 60000 Men, they caused the Lord *De la Bret* to signify his dissent to the Agreement, which the Garrison and Town had made with the *English*, to the Earl of *Huntington*, and take the Lord's Son back from them. The *English* suspected not the Design, but intended to go on in their Siege, but the *French* King lying ready with his Army to prevent the Effect, before they could bring Things into order for an Assault, the *French* Army appeared, and the *English* unable to encounter them, raised the Siege and departed. The *French* Forces being almost irresistible at the present, made use of the Advantage, and proceeded to besiege and take several *English* Garrisons, as *St. Selerine*, which they gained by Force, and slew 300 *English*, taking *Sir Thomas Rampstone* Governour of it Prisoner; the City of *Arques*, which after the Bulwark was taken by Force, yielded the Town by Composition, and the Captain of it, the Lord *Montferrat*, departed with his Garrison to *Burdeaux*, where he found the Earl of *Longville*, Captain *De Beuse*, and *Sir Thomas Rampstone*, who was lately released; *Riolle*, a City seated upon the River *Cyronne*, Seven Leagues distant from *Burdeaux* and *Mermandie*, which both yielded to them without Opposition: But the *English* in the mean time, tho' they dare not oppose them, yet so belittled themselves, and stopped all ways of their Foraging, and other Supplies of Provision, that they were forced to withdraw, and march up into *France* for better Quarters. The *English* soon after their Departure, recovered *St. Selerine*, *Arques*, and several other Towns from the *French*, taking their Lieutenant *Reginald Guiliam*, a *Burgundian* Prisoner, with many other Gentlemen, and slaying all the Common Soldiers; but Count *de Foix* regained *St. Selerine* from them. While these Things passed in *Guienne*, the Lord *Talbot*, whom Fortune's Frowns could never daunt, took the Town of *Conchet*, and hearing that *Galliardon* was besieged by the Bastard of *Orleanse*, hastened with all speed to the Relief of that Place, which the very Report of his Approach effected; for the Bastard immediately withdrew upon the News of his coming, and *Talbot* possessed himself of it, but finding that it would be almost impossible to keep it, partly thro' the Inconstancy of the Inhabitants, and partly because it stood so much exposed to the Incursions of the *French*, he demolished it to the Ground, and so left it.

The Lord Talbot takes Conchet, &c.

The Earl of Warwick's Estate seized and restored.

*Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, dying in *France*, his Honours and Estate, by the Custom of the Realm was to have descended to his only Son and Heir *Henry*; but he being absent in *France* with his Father, his Estate was seiz'd on by the King, and kept Two Years from him, the Revenues of it being employ'd for the King's Use. What were the Causes of it, we find not; but whatever they were, the Consideration of his Father's Merit, and the natural Justice of the King, were such Motives for his Restoration to his Right, that, as if the King had design'd to repay all that he had taken from him at once, he not only gave him all his Estate again, but received him into his special Favour, nominating him the first Earl of *England*, and making him King of the *Ile of Wight*, crown'd him with his own Hands.

A. D. 1442. Reg. 20. *Duke of Gloucester accuses the Bishop of Winchester.*

The Duke of *Gloucester*, provoked by the intolerable Height and Pride of Cardinal *Beaufort*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who out of Hatred to him, had lately instigated, as was generally thought, certain Persons to accuse and prosecute his Dutcheffs for Treason, Witchcraft, and many other notorious Crimes, to his great Disgrace and Shame, made a strict Reflection upon the Cardinal's Carriage for many Years past, and finding him to have done many Things derogatory and prejudicial to the King's Prerogative Royal, he digested them into 24 Articles, and presented them to the King, desiring that Judgment might be given upon him according to his Crimes. The chief Things alledged against him in the said Articles were:

I. That the Bishop of *Winchester* had not only taken upon himself the Dignity and Title of a Cardinal, contrary to the express Command of King *Henry* the Fifth, and in Derogation to the Church of *Canterbury*: But,

II. Having forfeited his Bishoprick thereby by the Act of Provisions, he had procured a Bull from the Pope to secure his Bishoprick still to him, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, which made it a Premunire so to do.

III. That the said Cardinal, with *John Kemp*, Archbishop of *York*, had assumed the Government of the King's Person and the Realm, which no Subject could do without a Treasonable Usurpation.

IV. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King of his Jewels.

V. That being Chancellor of *England*, he had against Law set at Liberty the King of *Scots*, and forgiven him part of his Ransome upon Condition the said King should marry his Niece.

VI. That the said Bishop had defrauded the King by Taking the Customs of Wools, and other Merchandizes at the Port of *Hampton*.

VII. That notwithstanding the said Cardinal neither hath nor can have any Title to the Crown, yet he presumeth to take upon him Royal Dignity, in summoning and calling Persons before him in Derogation of the King's Authority, being without his Permission or Command.

VIII. That the said Cardinal had obtained a pardon from *Rome*, to exempt his Diocess from paying of Tenths to the State, and so had given both an ill Example to the other Bishops to do the like, and laid the whole Burden upon the Laity to the great Discontent of the Kingdom.

IX. That the said Cardinal had been a Means of Uniting the *French* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, and this latter with the Duke of *Orleanse*, to the great Damage of the Realm, and Benefit of our Adversaries the *French*.

X. That the said Cardinal, after Communication had with our Enemies, sent the Archbishop of *York* to the King, to perswade him to leave his Right and Title to the Crown and Kingdom of *France* for certain Years, and be content to write himself, *Rex Angliae*, &c. to the great Disgrace of the King and his Progenitors.

XI. That the Release of the Duke of *Orleanse*, was brought to pass only by the Mediation and Procurement of the said Cardinal and Duke of *York*, contrary to the Will of King *Henry* the Fifth.

XII. That being their Chancellor, he had instead of Promoting the Good of the King, bought his Lands and Mannors of him.

XIII. That



A. D. 1442. Reg. 20. XIII. That the said Cardinal by sending such Captains and Soldiers into *France* as he thought fit, hath been the Cause that so much of *Normandy* and other Parts are lost.

XIV. That the Cardinal hath sold Places of Captains and other Officers for Money in *France*, whereby unfit Persons have been put into the Army to the Loss of the King's Dominions there.

These Articles with some others of less Importance, the Duke tender'd to the King himself, desiring in the Two last, that the King would put the said Cardinal out of his Council to answer the said Articles alledged against him, and that Persons aggrieved may freely utter their Complaints. The King hearing these Accusations against the Cardinal of *Winchester*, ordered, that they should be looked into, and examined by the Lords of his Council, of whom the greatest Part being Ecclesiastical Persons, they not only were favourable to him, but fearing they should disoblige him, delayed the Examination and Judgment so long, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was always rather passionate than revengeful, letting fall the Prosecution, as weary of it, the Bishop escaped, and the Matter was hushed up, as tho' the Crimes alledged had been inconsiderable, and not worth regarding; so that indeed the good Duke got nothing by this Attempt, but made the Cardinal a worse Enemy than ever, which tho' he disssembled, yet he so cunningly managed, that in the end he wrought his Destruction, as will after more plainly appear.

Also in *August*, this Year, happened a notable Quarrel in *Fleetstreet*, between the Students of the Inns of Court, and the Inhabitants of the said Street, occasioned by one of *Clifford's Inn*, named *Harbottle*. It began in the Night, and lasted till the next Day with great Fury and Fierceness on both Sides, several Persons were hurt, and slain, but the Mayor and Sheriffs having received the News of it, went with a good Force, and appeased the Fray, which by Party-making, was likely to have drawn in the greatest Part of the City which flock'd thither to assist or relieve their Friends on either Side.

Reg. 21. In the Beginning of this Twenty first Year of the King, *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, had a Son born at *Roan*, in *Normandy*, christned by the Name of *Edward*. He proved a very valiant and fortunate Prince, and in the Quarrel for the Crown, (which his Father began with King *Henry*, but lost his Life before he could gain his Wishes, being slain at the Battel of *Wakefield*) was so successful, that he was proclaimed King a few Days after, having won the Battel of *Ferribridge*, and gotten a perfect Victory over the *Lancastrians*.

Recruits sent into France. By the coming over of the Lord *Talbot* in the latter end of this Summer, when the Season for Action was almost past, the Council of King *Henry* had Information of the State of the *English* Affairs in *France*, and particularly in *Guien*, where they had sustained considerable Losses the last Summer. The Council upon this relation, believing the Success would encourage the *French* in further Attempts, thought it necessary to send over some Recruits to strengthen the Garrisons there, and defend their Borders, and forthwith dispatched away 800 Men well armed under the Command of Sir *William Woodville*. With these it was thought convenient to send a good quantity of Provisions, because that Country was surrounded by the Enemy on every Side, that it could get no Supply from the

adjacent Parts; whereupon a Proclamation was put out, that whosoever would send over any Provisions and Victuals into *Guienne*, should pay no manner of Custom nor Toll, which encouraged so many to export Cheese, Corn and other Provisions thither, that the whole Province was abundantly supplied with all Necessaries. In the mean time Care was taken to gather a bigger Body of fresh Men to send over with the Lord *Talbot*. And because this valiant Captain had been for some time the main Support of the *English* Affairs in *France*, the King and Council judged it fit to give him the encouraging Marks of his Favour; and thereupon he was created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a Title which none had born for near Three hundred and Forty Years before, the Family of *Roger Montgomery*, whom the Conqueror had dignified with that Title, being extinct in the Second Generation; but it hath proved a lasting Title to that noble Family, which still inherits the Honour, Title, and Worth of that valiant and brave Lord to this Day. With this Badge of Royal Favour, he departed soon after into *Normandy*, and carried over with him 3000 Men for the better Defence of it.

Upon the Day of the Translation of *St. Edward*, viz. *October* the Twelfth, on which Day the Mayor of *London* for the next Year was nominated and chosen, out of Two Persons, who have been Sheriffs of that City, presented by the Commonalty to the present Mayor and Aldermen his Brethren, was a great Disturbance made amongst the Citizens about the Election, upon this Occasion. The Commons of the City having fixed upon *Robert Clopton*, Draper, and *Ralph Holland*, Taylor, presented them according to the Custom before the Mayor for the time being, and the Aldermen, who having chosen *Robert Clopton*, declared him Mayor for the ensuing Year. This Election extremely disappointed the Society of Taylors, and their Friends, who were very zealous that *Ralph Holland* should be chosen, and therefore grew very mutinous and discontented upon the Declaration of the other, and cried out, Not that Man, but *Ralph Holland*. The Mayor commanded them Silence, but they more enraged, demanded more passionately, that *Ralph Holland* should be chosen. The Mayor seeing that fair Means would not prevail, and considering, that if such tumultuous Proceedings were yielded to, the Order of Elections would be quite broken, commanded the Sheriffs to apprehend some of the most clamorous and furious, that they might be punished for their disorderly Behaviour, which the Sheriffs immediately put in Execution, and carried Twelve or Sixteen of them to *Newgate*, where they were kept a while, and then dismissed upon Payment of a moderate Fine, that it might be a Terror to the Rabble to behave themselves more civilly at such Elections.

While the Lord *Talbot* remained in *England*, *Jane*, Countess of *Cominges*, Daughter to the Count of *Bullen* and *Cominges*, died, and left her Country to be disputed for by *Charles*, King of *France*, to whom the said Countess had given it, by Will, and the Earl of *Arminack*, who pretended to be the Heir of it, and accordingly entred upon the said Territories, and took Possession of them as his own. The King of *France* highly resented this Usurpation of his undoubted Right, as he termed it, and sent the Dauphin to recover the Countries by him unjustly possessed. The Earl withstood the *French* Forces a while, but being deserted by his Confederates, the Counts *Perdriacke* and *March*, and *Salazar*, a Cap-

A. D. 1442. Reg. 21.

Lord Talbot made Earl of Shrewsbury.

A Fray at the Election of the Mayor of London.

A. D. 1443. French King and Count of Arminack quarrel for the Duchy of Cominges, &c.

Bishop of Winchester cleared.

A Fray in Fleetstreet.

Reg. 21. Edward, Eldest Son of the Duke of York born.

Recruits sent into France.



A. D. 1443. a Captain of *Aragon*, who were his great Sup-  
ports against his Potent Enemy, he was forced  
to shut himself up in his Castle, and endeavour  
to cousin the *Dauphin* by dissimulation and feign-  
ed Treaties. But the *Dauphin*, who was ex-  
cellent in those Arts soon spy'd his Design; and  
having gain'd Access to him upon that Account  
took him Prisoner, and sent him, his Wife,  
Second son and Two Daughters to *Carcassone*,  
yet he was soon after released at the Intercessi-  
on of Count de *Fois*, but *Charles* kept the Pos-  
session of his Country.

Count  
*Arminack*  
seeks the  
Assistance  
of the  
English.

Count *Arminack* being thus released, used all  
means to regain his Right, and sent solemn Am-  
bassadors to the King of *England*, offering him  
his Daughter in Marriage (q), and with all  
promising him not only great Sums of Money  
with her, but to deliver into the King of *Eng-  
land's* Hands all the Castles and Towns which  
he and his Ancestors detain'd from him in the  
Dutchy of *Aquitain* or *Gascoigne*, either by the  
Conquest of his Ancestors, or by the Gift of any  
*French*, and further would aid and assist him  
with Men and Money to recover all other Ci-  
ties within the said Dutchies as were kept from  
him by *Charles* the *French* King, *Monlieur de  
Albret*, or any other Persons. This Offer ap-  
pear'd so Honourable, as well as Profitable to  
King *Henry* and his Council, that they gave the  
Ambassadors a very kind Entertainment, and  
sent them away with great Rewards into their  
own Country.

Count *Ar-  
minack's*  
Daughter  
affin'd  
to King  
*Henry*.

Soon after their Departure certain Persons  
were selected to go over to the Earl of *Armi-  
nack* to conclude this Match, viz. Sir *Edward  
Hull*, Sir *Robert Ros*, and *John Galton*, Dean of  
*St. Severines*, who accordingly were dispatch'd  
away with a special Commission to perform the  
same; and not only agreed all Things between  
them, but by Proxy affianced the young Lady.  
All this was transacted with all the Secrecy pos-  
sible, but yet got to King *Charles's* Ear, who  
immediately caused him to be summon'd to ap-  
pear at his Parliament at *Tholouse* within fif-  
teen Days to answer to what shall be alledg'd  
against him; but he not appearing, the *Dauphin*  
was again sent against him to ravage his Coun-  
tries; and though the King of *England* was  
oblig'd in Honour to assist him, yet through the  
Management of the Earl of *Suffolk* he was de-  
serted and left to himself, contrary to the Will  
of the Duke of *Gloucester*, which raised such an  
Hatred between those two Noble Persons, that  
it could not be extinguish'd but by the Destru-  
ction of both the Families, and many others who  
adhered to them.

Accidents  
in Eng-  
land.

On *Candlemas* Day the Steeple of *St. Paul's*  
Church was set on Fire with Lightning in the  
midst of the Wood of the Shaft, but was  
quench'd by the great Pains and Diligence of  
the Citizens; and at the same time the Steeple  
of *Waltham-Cross* in *Essex* was in the same Tem-  
pest consum'd, but the Church was sav'd.

*John Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerset*, was made  
Duke of *Somerset*. (r)

An Order  
in London  
for the  
keeping  
of the  
Lord's  
Day.

The Common-Council of *London* observing  
the general Prophanation of the Lord's Day a-  
mongst Victuallers and lesser Artificers, as Tay-  
lors, Shooc-makers, and the like, made a se-  
vere Order to be observ'd within the Franchises  
and Liberties of the said City, that no Person  
should buy or sell any Victuals, or any other

Goods upon the Lord's Day, and that no Arti-  
ficer or Handicraft should carry out his Wares,  
Commodities or Work to any Person or Per-  
sons to be worn or occupy'd on that Day: An  
excellent Law, and worthy to commend the  
Makers of it to all Ages; but it never was ob-  
serv'd, either thro' the Negligence of Under-  
Officers, or generality of Offenders. Our Au-  
thor says, that it was too good a Law for such  
corrupt Times.

A. D.  
1443.  
Reg. 21.

The Citizens of *Norwich* incensed with the  
Encroachments of the Monks of *Christ-Church* in  
that City, rose against the Prior, and would  
have fired the Priory. The Duke of *Norfolk*  
with all the Force he could gather together  
went down to suppress them; the Citizens kept  
their Gates and Walls against them a while,  
but at length they gain'd Entrance. The King  
sent down Judge *Fortescue* with the Earls of  
*Stafford* and *Huntington* to decide the Quarrel,  
who indicted many of the Citizens, and the  
Prior himself for his Sedition and Riot, and  
seiz'd the Liberties of the City into the King's  
Hands, who made Sir *John Clifton* Captain  
of it for the Present, which so dissatisfied  
many of the Citizens, who had not been con-  
cern'd in the Quarrel, that they left their Ha-  
bitations and went some of them beyond Sea,  
and others got them Dwellings in other Cities  
or Towns.

A Disur-  
bance at  
*Norwich*.

The Miscarries of *France*, and lamentable De-  
structions all over *Christendom* caused by the  
War there mov'd the Hearts of the Pope, and  
most of the Christian Princes to endeavour the  
Conclusion of a Peace between *England* and  
*France* once more, hoping, that they might now  
more effectually prevail, because both Parties  
could not but be tired with the length of War  
and the vast Expences of it; which tho' they  
might be well laid out, if either the *English*  
were likely to make a Conquest of *France*, or  
the *French* expel the *English*; yet being so equal  
a Match, that neither of them was near effect-  
ing, what they desir'd, a Peace, they believ'd,  
would be welcome to both Sides; and there-  
fore sending Ambassadors to both Kings they  
so far prevail'd, that a Meeting was appointed  
by them to be at *Tours* in *Touraine* to adjust and  
conclude all Matters of Quarrel between them.  
To this Assembly the King of *England* sent *Wil-  
liam de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Dr. *Adam Mol-  
lins*, Lord Keeper, Sir *Robert Ros*, and several  
others: For the *French* King appear'd, *Charles*,  
Duke of *Orleans*, *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Earl of *Van-  
dosme*, Great Master of the *French* King's House-  
hold, *Pierce de Bresse*, Steward of *Poitou*, and  
*Bertram de Beauvan*, Lord of *Pesignie*. The Em-  
perour, Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark* and *Hungary*  
also sent their Ambassadors, persons of the  
greatest Quality and Authority to be Media-  
tors for a Peace between these two Princes.  
This Assembly was one of the most Magnifi-  
cent and Glorious that had been known in these  
Times, every Prince setting forth his Amba-  
sadors with such an Equipage, as might be for  
the Honour of their Countries.

Reg. 22.  
A Peace  
again en-  
deavour-  
ed be-  
tween  
*England*  
and  
*France*.

Many Meetings were had for a final Conclu-  
sion of the Peace, and all the qualifying Propo-  
sals made that might tend to an Agreement be-  
tween them, but the Old Difficulties being a-  
gain started, and maintain'd with the usual  
Heat and Resolution, the *English* being for keep-

(q) The Treaty of Marriage was concluded before the *Dauphin* took the Count *D'Armagnac*, his Son and Daugh-  
ter Prisoners. *Hol.* p. 624.

(r) *John Beaufort* was created Duke of *Somerset* by *Henry* the Fifth, above twenty Years ago. *Cambd. Britain.*  
*Tis. Com.* *Holinshead* says.



A. D.  
1443.  
Reg. 22.  
A Truce  
made for  
Eighteen  
Months.

Earl of  
Suffolk  
makes a  
Match for  
K. Henry  
with the  
Duke of  
Anjou's  
Daughter

ing all they had, and the French for getting what they call'd their King's Right, there was nothing effected, but a Truce for Eighteen Months was clapp'd up for the present both by Sea and Land with Hopes, that in that Time all Matters might be adjusted, and by the Mediation of the Princes a firm Peace made up.

During this Treaty the Earl of Suffolk, perhaps knowing the King's Natural Mildness and Disposition to Peace, ventur'd one step further, than his Commission gave him leave, to propound a Marriage between his Master King Henry and the French King's Kinswoman, Margaret, Daughter of Rayner, Duke of Anjou, and Titular King of Sicily, Naples and Jerusalem, which gave him a great Name, but brought him no Profit or Authority. This Match Suffolk believ'd would prove an effectual Means of uniting the Minds of the two Princes; and tho' there were likely to be no Portion given the King with her, yet since she would be the Foundation of a firm Peace, it would save England more Treasure, than the greatest Prince of the World could give with his Daughter. This Presumption made Suffolk very eager to promote the Match, and solicited the King of France for that End, that it might be yielded to, and agreed on. His Passion caused a little Averseness in the French King and the Lady's Father, who alledg'd, That tho' they were not unwilling to comply with the Match, yet it was not consistent with their Honour to do it, so long as the King of England held a part of the Dutchy of Anjou, and the whole County of Main, which of Right belong'd to Duke Reyner the Lady's Father. But the Earl of Suffolk more Zealous than Cautious easily satisfied this Objection, and told them, That he would undertake, that those Countries should be restored to Duke Reyner, if the Marriage was consented to, which Promise being according to their Minds, the Lady was assured in Matrimony to the King, and Suffolk dismissed to carry it on with his Master.

A. D.  
1444.

These Things being thus transacted and agreed on, the Earl of Suffolk with the rest of the English Commissioners return'd Home to give an Account of their Negotiation; and tho' there was only a Truce concluded, yet Suffolk assured the King, That it would certainly produce an Immutible Peace thro' the Means and Methods he had taken, if they were comply'd with; for he had propounded and obtain'd a Match with the French King's Kinswoman, the Daughter of Reyner, Duke of Anjou, one of the most accomplished Ladies in all Perfections of a Woman in the World, Beautiful without Blemish, and Virtuous to Admiration, fitted every way for the greatest of Princesses; but that which would be of greatest Advantage to England was, that this Match would be a certain means to end the Wars, settle a Peace every ways advantageous to the King, and so make the whole Kingdom happy.

King Henry partly out of Affection to Suffolk, who was his great Favourite, and partly out of a Desire of Peace greatly approv'd of all he had done, and was desirous the Match might be effected with all speed. The Council, to whom all this was related, consented to it to please the King and Suffolk, only the Duke of Gloucester, who was too great to flatter Suffolk's Actions, and too honest to call that Good, which he saw would certainly be of an ill Consequence to the Nation, oppos'd the Match with some warmth and heat, alledging, That it would be contrary to the Law of God and the Honour of the King, to break the Contract of Marriage so solemnly made with the Daughter of the Earl of Arminack,

Duke of  
Gloucester  
opposes  
Suffolk's  
Match.

upon Conditions very advantageous to the King and his Realm; That the Match with the Daughter of the Duke of Anjou was both dishonourable to the King, and disadvantageous to the Nation; because by restoring the County of Main, and part of Anjou the King would seem to purchase a Wife at the Expence of the Blood of his Subjects, and would much weaken his Affairs in France, which ought to be maintain'd in their full Force, that a Peace may be concluded upon better Terms, because Anjou and Maine are the Bulwarks of Normandy, and in surrendering them, that Country which was the Patrimony of the King would be exposed to the Violence of the Enemy. These were undeniable Reasons, and the only true way to keep up the King's Credit and Interest: However, Suffolk ruled all, having the King's Affections, and so it was determin'd that the Marriage should be consummated, and the Train he had laid follow'd. Gloucester's Advice, though the best, was slighted, and Suffolk and the New Queen made his Enemies, which as it prov'd fatal to him, so to the King himself and the Nation.

These Resolutions about the Marriage being unalterable, all Things were hasten'd to bring it to a Consummation. The French King having Notice of it, sent the Earl of Vendosme, great Master of his House, the Archbishop of Rheims, first Peer of France, and divers other Noble Personages into England to have the Instruments of Marriage seal'd and ratified on both Parts. These Ambassadors were kindly received by the Earl of Suffolk and his Party; and having their Business dispatch'd were sent away with Rewards.

Upon the Conclusion of this Marriage King Henry made a Creation of Noble-men at Windsor, viz. John Holland, Earl of Huntington, he made Duke of Exeter; Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; Henry, Earl of Warwick, Duke of Warwick; and the Earl of Suffolk, who was the only promoter of it, Marquess of Suffolk, and conferred on him this further Honour to be his Deputy in celebrating the Formality of the Marriage, and conducting his Bride over into England.

These Things being thus order'd and appointed, the rest of the Summer was spent in providing an Equipage sufficient to fetch over the Royal Bride; for her Father, who was Rich in Titles, was so Poor in Purse, that he was not able to send her over to her Husband, which was much laugh'd at by the Duke of Gloucester's Friends, who were all against the Marriage. Many costly Chariots and gorgeous Horse-litters were provided, and the Marquess and his Wife with many Persons of the greatest Quality, as well Women as Men were richly adorned with Apparel and Jewels, with whom the Marquess of Suffolk took his Voyage into France in the Month of November to bring the Queen into England. This gallant Company being landed in France, went to Tours in Touraine, where they were met and honourably received by the Kings of France and Sicil, the Father of the Royal Spouse, and after a convenient Time allow'd for Preparation and Ceremony the Marquess of Suffolk, as Procurator to King Henry, was marry'd to the Lady Margaret in the Church of St. Martins in that City. There were present at the Marriage the Father and Mother of the Bride, the French King who was Uncle to King Henry, and the French Queen who was Aunt to the Lady Margaret, the Dukes of Orleans and Calabria, Alanzon and Bretagne, seven Earls, twelve Barons, twenty Bishops, and a great Number of Knights and Gentlemen. After the Celebration of the Marriage, much Time was spent in Feasting,

A. D.  
1444.  
Reg. 22.

Suffolk's  
Match for  
the King  
consum-  
mated.

Reg. 23.

The  
Queen  
sent for.

A. D.  
1445.  
The Mar-  
riage cele-  
brated at  
Tours and  
in Eng-  
land. and  
the Queen  
crown'd.



*A. D.* 1445. *Reg. 23.* in's, and Triumphs, Banquets and Jufts, by her Parents, and the King of *France*; and when these Things were over, the Bride was delivered to the Marquess and the *English* Nobles, who in great State and Honour conveyed her by easie Journeys thro' *Normandy* unto *Deiçe*, and so transported her into *England*, where she landed at *Portsmouth* in the Beginning of *April*, and from thence was carried by Water to *Southampton*, where having rested a few Days, she was conveyed to the Abbey of *Tychfield*, (f) and was there married to King *Henry* the Sixth, with all Nuptial Ceremonies, *April* the Twenty second. From *Southampton* the King and Queen journeyed toward *London* in the Beginning of *May*, and arrived there on the Eighteenth of the said Month, being received upon her Way by the Duke of *Gloucester* and many of the Nobility, with all due Honour and Respect, and at *Blackheath* by the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, in embroider'd Gowns, shewing their Arts and Trades, who conveyed her thro' the City, which was adorned with costly Shews and Pageants, to *Westminster*, where she was on the Thirtieth Day of the same Month crowned Queen of *England* with all the usual Solemaity and Ceremonies.

The Benefit or Hurt of this Marriage.

After the Noise and Clutter of the Marriage was over, and the Queen a little settled in her Throne, Men began then to reflect upon the Match. The Lady was undeniably a Woman of great Excellencies; she was very beautiful in Face, and graceful in Personage, of a ready and Politick Wit, and of a Courage equal to the bravest Men, which extorted an Approbation of the Marquess of *Suffolk's* Choice of a Queen, as to her Person, even from his Enemies; but when they considered the ill Consequences of the Marriage, viz. Relations that were likely to be rather a Burden than an Honour to the Nation, *Normandy* laid open and exposed to the King's Enemies, by surrendring *Main* and *Anjou*, the Protection of it; and the Count of *Arminack* mightily offended, and that justly too, resolving to revenge the Dishonour; most Men of Reason condemned the Choice, and thought *Suffolk* bribed into such an unprofitable Match: But because the ill Effects were not presently felt, and Men's Minds were mightily intent upon the Peace, which they hoped for by her, and which they thought a sufficient Advantage by the Marriage, if it were once settled; all Things at a Distance were not minded, but *Suffolk* applauded, and the Nation thought generally very happy in the Marriage.

*Henry* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dies, and his Character.

*Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died, and was succeeded by *John Stafford*, translated from *Bath* and *Wells* (i). He was a worthy Man in his Generation, but too much addicted to the Pope. He founded Two Colleges in *Oxford*, and endowed them well, viz. *All Souls* and *Barnard*. He was of mean Parentage, being a Taylor's Son of *Higham-Ferrers* in *Northamptonshire*, but was not so much exalted by his unexpected Grandure, but that he retained a very humble Mind and Disposition in his greatest Height and Prosperity, as may appear by this Passage of his Life. King *Henry* being instigated by some of his Courtiers, no Friends to the Clergy, and less to the Archbishop, sent the Archbishop a Pie made of Taylors's Shreds, of several Sorts and Colours, to reproach his mean Birth, which the Archbishop received very thankfully, and having look'd into it, courteously entertained the Messenger, as if he

had received a very acceptable Gift, and when he dismissed him, bad him tell the King, his Master, 'That if he did exceed his Father, *Henry* the Fifth, as much as he had done his poor Father, he would make the most accomplish'd Monarch that ever was in *Christendom*.'

During the Truce with the French King, *Richard* Duke of *York*, and divers of the great Officers and Captains came into *England*, and spent the greatest Part of the Summer in visiting their Wives, Children and Friends, but the Time drawing near for their Return to their Charge in *France*, many Consultations were had with the King's Council, what Course should be taken to secure the Conquests in that Kingdom at the end of the Truce, and what Provisions should be made to keep *Normandy*, since by the Marriage, *Anjou* and *Maine* were now put out of the King's Hands. It was taken for granted, that the King of *France* would so recruit his Armies, that if a Peace were not concluded, he would renew the War with greater Vigour than ever, and if the *English* were not in as good a Posture of Defence, the French King would either make no Peace at all, or a very disadvantageous one for the *English*, wherefore it was agreed on all Hands, after several Debates, that *Normandy* must be well fortified, and the *English* Army in *France* be put into so good a Condition, as to bring King *Charles* to a beneficial Peace; or if he stood out, to make a powerful War upon him.

And to this End a Parliament was summoned, Subsidies granted, and a great Army of Men ordered to be raised, and be in a readiness to be transported into *France* against the Time of the Expiration of the Peace, which was to be in *April* following. The Duke of *York*, whose Commission for the Regency of *France* for Five Years was now expired, was again appointed the King's Deputy in that Kingdom for Five Years longer, because he had so well managed his late Trust for the Advantage of the Nation, that no fitter Person could be found in so difficult a Time, and therefore his Commission was granted for Five Years more, with Thanks for his Loyalty, and his former Allowances. But the Duke of *Somerset* still envying, as he had formerly done, the Duke of *York's* Advancement, sought all Means to keep him from the Place, and get it for himself, which he easily effected, making the Marquess of *Suffolk* his Friend, who persuaded the King to revoke his Grant to the Duke of *York* for the Regency of *France*, and give it the Duke of *Somerset*. This disgraceful Revocation, which look'd, as tho' some Crime had been alledg'd against him, much displeased the Duke of *York*, and lodged so deep a Resentment in his Mind against the Duke of *Somerset*, that tho' he carried it fair, he watched an Opportunity to revenge it, which he did to the Ruin of both Families, as after times will shew. In this Parliament the Marquess of *Suffolk* on the Second Day of *January*, made a long and elegant Speech in the House of Lords, declaring the Pains and Labour he had been at in his Embassage into *France*, as well in concluding a Truce for a Season, as in making up the Match for the King, advertising them, that the Truce was to expire in *April*; and like a faithful Subject he did advise, that all Preparations should be made for the Preservation of the King's Countries in *France*, and praying them to take notice of it, and give him a Discharge for his Legation. The next Day he went into

*A. D.* 1445. *Reg. 23.*

Duke of *York* and other Captains in *England*.

*Reg. 24.* Tenth Parliament, its Acts and Taxes.

*A. D.* 1446. Duke of *Somerset* made Regent of *France*.

(f) She was married at *Southwick*, the Seat of *Richard Norton*, Esq; one of the Knights of the Shire for *Hampshire*, in the last Parliament.

(i) He was created a Cardinal by Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth in the Year 1434. *Hol.* 1167.



A. D.  
1446.

Reg. 24.

Marquess  
of Suffolk  
rewarded  
for his  
Services,  
and  
thanked  
by the  
Parlia-  
ment,  
when he  
should ra-  
ther have  
been pu-  
nished.

the Lower-House, and with equal Eloquence, not only shewed his Fidelity in his Legation, but set forth what great Charges he had been at in attending it, and fetching over the Queen, desiring, that this Action might be recorded in the Parliament Rolls, and himself be discharged by both Houses, with the Consideration of his Expence. Behold, what the Eloquence of Favourites can do! Few Men of Prudence in either House, but knew, that the Marquess deserved little Thanks for his Labour, either in making the Peace, or the Match; yet as if all had been well done for the Nation's Interest, the very next Day, the Speaker of the Commons, *William Burghley*, attended with a great Number of that House went up to the Lords, and desired their Concurrence in a Petition to the King to reward the Marquess for his Services; and to shew their Gratitude, they caused the whole Action to be enrolled, and gave him an whole Fifteenth in Consideration of his Expences. And so the Parliament broke up.

The  
Queen's  
Kindness  
to the  
Marquess  
of Suffolk  
and  
his  
Friends.

The Queen seeing the Marquess of Suffolk so well rewarded by the Representatives of the Nation for his Services, which were a greater Kindness to her than the Kingdom, as she very well knew, looked upon their Action as a Precedent for her self, and therefore soon after the Rising of the Parliament, took him into her particular Favour, and instigated the King, who was forward enough of himself, to heap Honours and Preferments upon him, whereupon he made him a Duke, and when it happen'd a little after, that *Henry*, Duke of *Warwick*, Premier Earl of *England*, and King of the Isles of *Wight*, *Garnsey* and *Jarsey*, died, and was buried at *Tewksbury*, he conferred upon him the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, together with that of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Heir to *John*, Duke of *Somerset*, afterwards Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh; and because *John de Foix*, the Son of *Gaston de Foix*, a *Gasconne*, had married the Duke of *Suffolk's* Niece, she caused the Father to be elected a Knight of the Garter, and the Son to be made Earl of *Longaville*, and gave him for the Maintenance of his Degree divers Lands and Castles, amounting to One thousand Pounds by the Year. With these her special Friends she contrived to be reveng'd of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who was looked upon by this haughty Queen as her Enemy, because in respect to the Nation, he had declared himself against the Match; and as the first Step to it, she caus'd him to be remov'd, not only from any Command about the King's Person, but Council, and took it upon her self, with her Minions and Friends, to rule all to the great Discontent of the People, who having had long Experience of the Good-will of the Duke of *Gloucester* to the Nation, (for which Reason he had the Name constantly given him of *the Good Duke*) could hardly think the Government safe in other Hands, and therefore cried out against the Queen and Duke of *Suffolk* for displacing him as Enemies to the publick Good; for all Men saw that the King's easie Disposition was sway'd by the Queen's Policy, and *Suffolk's* Flattery, and that therefore the Blame lay upon them, and not the King, who tho' out of his Minority, yet was govern'd chiefly by his Uncle's Council, and while *Suffolk* was his Favourite, *Gloucester* was his Oracle, to whose Advice he yielded in all Matters of publick Concern. This was such a Bar to the Queen's Ambition, who seeing so much of the Woman in her Husband, laboured to put on as much of

Duke of  
Gloucester  
displaced.

the Man her self, and while he spent his Time at his Devotion, to play the King and govern all, that there was no enduring *Gloucester* near the Court, and so he was turn'd out of all upon some slight and frivolous Allegations against him.

A. D.  
1446.

Reg. 24.

While these Things pass'd in *England*, little was done in *France*, because of the Truce continuing, which being expir'd in *April*, was by the Consent of the Two Kings prolonged to the Year 1449, but it had likely to have soon been broken upon this Occasion. *Anjou* and *Maine*, the Two Counties which were to be delivered up to the Duke of *Anjou* the Queen's Father by the Treaty of Marriage, were readily resigned; but the *English* knowing of how great Importance the City of *Mars* was to them, were very loth to part with it, and thereupon kept it in their Hands longer than was thought convenient, insomuch that *Charles*, the *French* King, supposing that the *English* did intend not to resign that Town, raised an Army, and resolved to take it by Force. King *Henry*, who was more conscientious in performing than Politick in making an Agreement, hearing of the King of *France's* Attempt, immediately ordered, that the Town should be surrendered to him, not only because he would not give the *French* King a just Ground of Quarrel to break the Truce, but also because it was in Justice due to him, and so the Peace was pieced up again.

Anjou and  
Maine re-  
signed to  
the Duke  
of Anjou.

The general Discontents, which the Removal of the Duke of *Gloucester* from about the King's Person and the Government had caus'd among the People, became now so evident, that the Queen and her Friends could not but take Notice of it, and therefore they were forced to set all their Wits at work to make the slight Allegations, which they had surmis'd against him at first, appear great Crimes, that so his Deprivation might seem as much deserved, as it was dishonourable. And to this End, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who ever hated him, because his sagacious Eye discovered his Unworthiness of the Favours heaped upon him, was employed to encourage the Duke's Enemies, to set on foot what Accusations they could either in Malice invent, or in Policy contrive against him; the Chief of whom were *Humphrey Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*, who being the Son of *Ann Plantagenet*, a Descendant from *Thomas*, Duke of *Gloucester*, Seventh Son of *Edward* the Third, wish'd him out of the Way, that he might be the first Duke of the Royal Blood in *England*; the Cardinal of *Winchester*, who was implacably incensed against the Duke of *Gloucester*, because he had made his Pride odious, and his Policy successless; and the Archbishop of *York*, who having joined with *Winchester* in his Crimes, was equally the Object of *Gloucester's* Displeasure. These Men, with the Queen and her Friends, having rais'd many forged Accusations against him, summon'd him to answer for himself before the King and his Council, to which he readily submitted and appear'd. Divers Articles were alledged against him, by Persons suborn'd to accuse him; but the main Thing which was insisted on, was this. 'That being the Chief Governour of the Nation in the King's Minority, he had to the great Dishonour of the King, and Injury of his Subjects, caus'd divers Persons to be put to death, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and when any Persons were adjudged to death deservedly for their Crimes, he out of the Cruelty of his Disposition, order'd them to suffer other

The De-  
signs of  
the Queen  
against  
the Duke  
of Gloucester.

The  
Duke of  
Gloucester  
accused  
and  
clear'd.



A. D. 1446. Reg. 24. Deaths than the Law assign'd, thereby shewing, that he was unjust even in the Execution of Justice; and that whereas he ought most strictly to have observ'd the Laws, he was the greatest Breaker of them. The Duke very patiently heard these Calumnies of his Adversaries, and supported by the Conscience of his own Innocency, as well as his great Knowledge of the Laws of England (for he was a very studious Man, and so well read in all Laws and Customs of England as none better) he gave such clear Answers to all Things objected against him, that he was acquitted by the Council, and the Disgrace of his Crimes which his Enemies intended to lay on him, fell so heavily upon themselves, that as the Duke of Gloucester was more honour'd, so they were more hated and abhorr'd of all Men.

Accidents in England. Simon Eyre, Lord Mayor of London, began this Summer to build *Leaden-hall* in London to be a Stow-house for Corn and Fewel for the Poor of the City, and a beautiful Chappel in the East-end of the same, and over the Gate of it caused to be written, *Dextera Domini exaltavit me*, i. e. *The Right Hand of the Lord hath exalted me*, giving an excellent Example to all Men, how Men ought to employ those Riches which Providence heaps upon Men, viz. in being Benefactors to the Poor. In this Year were two very unusual Combats within Lists appointed, but one only was fought. The first was by the Prior of *Kilmayne* in *Ireland*, who impeach'd the Earl of *Ormond* of High-Treason, and the Place of their Tryal by Battel was appointed in *Smithfield*. But by the Mediation of Dr. *Gilbert Worthington*, Parson of *St. Andrews Holborn*, and some other of the Clergy the Quarrel was taken up by the King and so decided without Combat. About the same time one *John David* an Armourer impeach'd his Master *William Catur* of Treason, and they fought in *Smithfield*, but *Catur* being by the Company of his Friends and Neighbours almost intoxicated with Wine before he came to fight, he was unhappily slain without any just Suspicion of Guilt; but the Servant liv'd not long after him, for the next Assize he was hang'd for Felony.

Reg. 25. The Disappointments which the Duke of Gloucester's Adversaries met withall in their late Attempt against him, to bring him into Disgrace by their forg'd Calumnies and Crimes, was so far from discouraging them in the further Prosecution of their malicious Designs, that they were the more enrag'd; and having the Queen on their Side resolv'd upon his Destruction; but knowing, that he was the People's Darling, and therefore no open Proceedings against him would be endur'd, they contriv'd to work his Ruin by the most unsuspected and private Means. Many Ways were thought on to ensnare him, but upon scanning of all Circumstances they were laid aside. At length the most plausible Invention was to call a Parliament, and there to apprehend him for some Charge of Treason, and so work their Will. This Proposal, hellish enough, was receiv'd with the general Approbation of the Conspirators, and the Queen was left to manage it, who having first given out, that many important Affairs of State would shortly require the Meeting of a Parliament, caused Writs to be issu'd out a little before Christmas to summon a Parliament to meet at *Bury* upon the 23d of February following. And now the Confederates thinking all sure, and that the Duke of Gloucester would not suspect their Design in the least, spent their Christmas with more than usual Mirth, longing till the

A. D. 1447. Day should come when their mischievous Contrivance should be put in Execution.

A. D. 1447. Reg. 25. With the new Year the Lords began to prepare for meeting in Parliament at *Bury*; and that the Duke of Gloucester might fear no Evil, all Things at Court were carry'd smoothly to him, but yet Care was taken to have it whisper'd in his Ear, that it was necessary he should be at it, to prevent the Designs of the Queen and her Party. The Good Duke not at all Jealous of ill Practices, but retaining his old Zeal for the Commonwealth hearken'd to the Caution, and with the rest of the Lords came to the Place at the Time appointed, ready to attend the National Business.

On the first Day of the Session all things were quiet, and the usual Ceremonies at the opening a Parliament all perform'd. On the second Day the Lord *Beaumont*, then High-Constable of England, being accompany'd with the Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke of *Somerset*, and many others arrested the Duke of Gloucester, and put him in Custody under a strong Guard. His Servants were all taken from him, and thirty two of them sent to several Prisons at a distance one from another. The Nation was in a great amaze at this sudden Action, and every Man was inquisitive to know what new Matter was found out against the Duke, who had so lately clear'd himself of all that could be alledged against him. His Enemies thought it necessary to lay some Crime to his Charge, and therefore gave it out that *Humphrey*, Duke of Gloucester, with his Train of Servants had traiterously conspired to kill the King, that he might set the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife at Liberty. A ridiculous Charge, but yet sufficient to quiet the People, whom they only fear'd in the Execution of their Design, for the more improbable his Crime was the easier it would be to free himself, and so the People rested content with the Sense of his Wisdom and Innocency. But his Enemies had contriv'd otherwise that he should never come to his Defence; for the Night after his Commitment, as some say, but others, a few Nights after, he was found dead in his Bed, and his Body shew'd to the Lords and Commons assembl'd in Parliament, and lay expos'd to open View of all Comers for some time; in which because no Signs of a violent Death appear'd, it was reported, That he dy'd of an Apoplexy or Impostume. But because none of his Servants suffer'd after his Death, which they ought to have done had they been guilty of High-Treason, as was alledg'd against them, tho' Five of them were condemn'd and near their Execution were pardon'd by the Duke of *Suffolk's* Means, it was generally thought a sufficient Ground to believe, that he was murder'd by the Queen's Means; and some were so particular as to report, that he was strangled between two Pillows or Feather-beds, as *Thomas Woodstock*, Duke of Gloucester, before him had been; others that he had an hot Spit run up his Fundament, as *K. Edward II.* had; others affirm'd, that he dy'd of mere Grief, because he saw he must now fall a Sacrifice to his Enemy's Malice without being allow'd to defend himself; all which Conjectures have little Foundation. The most discreet Judge he was murder'd; but being transacted in private, it was not safe to determine by what Means.

Thus dy'd the Good Duke of Gloucester lamented deservedly by all the Nation, being a Lover of the Commons, a Friend to the Learned, a continual Defender of the Innocent, and a Terror to the Guilty; and tho' the Queen and her Party

A. D.

1447.

Reg. 25.

Duke of Gloucester arrested, and is found dead.

The ill effects of the Duke of Gloucester's Murder. Party



A. D. 1447. Party triumph'd in his Overthrow, yet a little Time shew'd them how impolitick Malice and Hatred is; for by his Death they wrought the Ruin of the King himself, having open'd a Gap for Richard, Duke of York, to put in his Claim to the Crown, which he prosecuted so violently, that in few Years he began those Conteſts and Troubles in the Nation, which made King Henry's Throne very uneaſie, and at length ended in his Depoſition, which he would not in all probability have attempted, had not the Duke of Glouceſter been dead, whoſe Title was generally better known, and whoſe Intereſt in the Nation was ſuch, that York dar'd not have ſtirred againſt him; but he being thus made away with, the Queen was ſo hated, that it was eaſie for the Duke of York to get Aſſiſtants enough to further his ambitious Deſigns, as well to revenge Glouceſter's Death, as to eaſe themſelves of the Queen's Uſurpation, who had aſſum'd her Husband's Authority to govern all.

The Pope ſends a Golden Roſe to K. Henry. Upon St. Andrew's Day this Year was King Henry preſented with a Golden Roſe by Pope Eugenius, who ſent Ludovicus Cordona, a Doctor in Divinity with it to him. Upon the Delivery of the Roſe, which was done with great Ceremony in St. Stephen's Chappel at Weſtminſter, in the Preſence of the Dukes of York and Exeter, Cardinal Kemp, Arch-biſhop of York, and John Stafford, Arch-biſhop of Canterbury (u) and Chancellor of England. He declared in an eloquent Oration his Embaſſage, which was to exhort the King to undertake an Expedition againſt the Turks, who barbarouſly waſted and ravaged the European Provinces, not forgetting to extol the Vertues of the conſecrated Roſe, and to explain the right Application of it, that he might make his Gift the more acceptable. His Meſſage and Gift were favourably accepted, and Promiſes of Aſſiſtance given to the Pope againſt the Turk, but Home-bred Diſturbances ſo took up the King from this Time, that nothing could be done Abroad.

The Death of Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter. Soon after the Deceſſe of the Duke of Glouceſter, God, who is the chief Guardian of Innocence, reveng'd his Murther upon one of his Principal Enemies the Rich Cardinal of Wincheſter, whoſe Heart being ſet ſo much upon the World and the Glories of it, there could not be a greater Punishment of his Sins, than to call him out of it. He liv'd not above a Month after the Duke of Glouceſter, and therefore enjoy'd the Satisfaction of his Death but a ſhort time. On his Death-bed he is ſaid to have ſhew'd a World of Impatience, and when he was told, that no Medicines could ſave his Life, he cry'd out in a Paſſion, *What! Will nothing ſave my Life? Will Money do nothing? Can't Death be bribed a few Years? I'd give the whole Kingdom for my Life.* But no Man can compound with Death, he was forced to leave his Pomp and lie down in the Duſt. To him ſucceeded William Patin, who was after ſurnam'd Wainſleet, from the Place of his Nativity, a Town in Lincolnſhire ſo call'd. He was by Birth a Gentleman, and from Provolt of Eaton raiſed to this Biſhoprick, wherein he liv'd ſome Years as eminent for his Piety as

the Cardinal for his Riches. On the 5th of Auguſt this Year dy'd alſo John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and was bury'd at St. Katherine's near London.

With this Six and Twentieth Year of the King began the Rule of the Queen, who having remov'd the Duke of Glouceſter out of the World manag'd all Things without controul, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of Suffolk, who was her chief Favourite, endeavour'd to make her Command Abſolute; wherein tho' ſhe made uſe of her Husband's Name, yet ſhe could ſcarcely hide her Uſurpation, becauſe in England the Queen Conſort hath no Power, but Title only. Her Ambition and Tyranny ſoon grew intolerable to the Subjects, and begat a general Diſcontent as well among the Nobility as Commons. This the Duke of York diligently obſerved, and made uſe of for his Deſigns to raiſe himſelf to the Throne: For having repreſented to his Friends the Miſery of the Nation, which, under the Name of a King weak and unable to govern, was ruled by an ambitious Queen and her Minions, he firſt whiſper'd it into their Heads, that it was neceſſary to pitch upon ſome other Perſon to be King, ſince the preſent King had depoſed himſelf in effect by ſuffering the Queen and Suffolk to over-rule all. King Henry was really a good Man, but fitter for a Cloyſter than a Palace, and therefore the Kingdom was to be put into better Hands than thoſe of Women and Favourites. This he ſaid to prepare their Minds for what he had further in due time to propoſe to them, but he firſt let their Diſcontents work, and when he found them as deſirous of Change as he wiſhed, then he further put forward his own Title, telling them, That if they look'd into the Succeſſion of the Crown which alone gave a legal Title to it, the Houſe of Lancaſter enjoy'd it only by Uſurpation, contrary to the Laws of the Realm; That Lionel, Duke of Clarence being Elder Brother to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, his Poſterity muſt have a better Title to the Crown, than the Lancaſtrian Line; That his Grandmother Philippa (x) Wife to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, being the only Daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and he himſelf Son of the Eldeſt (y) Daughter of the ſaid Edmund (z), who left no Male-iſſue, it was eaſie for them to ſee who had the true Right to the Crown of England; That though he would not vainly vaunt himſelf fit for ſo great an Office, yet he might boldly claim the Crown as his Right, and hoped that the Diligence and Valour which he had ſhewn in France for the Preſervation of the Engliſh Dominions in that Kingdom, were Demonſtrations enough to ſhew, that he had the true Spirit of an Engliſh Man in him, and was zealous for the Good of the Nation in all Things. Theſe Propoſals were Argument ſufficient to perſwade his Friends to a Concurrence, their Wiſhes having prevented his Deſigns; and therefore it was reſolv'd upon, and firmly agreed among them, that they ſhould promote his Intereſts with all the Secrecy neceſſary for

(u) The Arch-Biſhop of Canſerbury was a Cardinal as well as he of York, and therefore ought certainly as his Primate and Lord Chancellour to have the Precedence. See Holinſhead, p. 1167.

(x) Philippa was his great Grandmother, his Mother Anne Mortimer being Daughter of Roger, Son of the Princeſs Philippa, and Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.

(y) ſhe was not the Eldeſt Daughter, the Lady Elinor Mortimer was the Eldeſt Daughter of Roger Mortimer, the Son of Edmund, who marry'd the Princeſs Philippa.

(z) She was the Daughter of Roger Mortimer, and Grand-daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. Roger left Two Sons who both liv'd to be Men, Edmund and Roger, but they dy'd without Iſſue, as did their Eldeſt Siſter the Lady Elinor, ſo Anne who marry'd Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Father of this Richard, Duke of York, became Heir to the Princeſs Philippa's Right to the Crown, which Right on the Death of the ſaid Lady Anne, fell to the Duke of York.



A. D. 1447. a Business of that Importance, which was so inviolably observ'd, that all requisite Provisions were made before his Adversaries discover'd any thing of the Design, and his Friends were ready to set him on the Throne, before his Purpose was known, as by the Sequel of the History will more evidently appear.

A. D. 1448. While these Things were transacted in England, little of Moment pass'd in France, because the Peace had bound up both Sides from Action. The Duke of Somerset was Regent, but did not carefully manage Affairs there. Sir Francis Surienne, call'd the Arragonois, who for his good Services done to the Crown of England was honour'd with the Dignity of Knight of the Garter, was Governour of the Lower Normandy. This Person being Active and Warlike, while he lay in his Garrisons of St. Jaques and Beveronne, had observ'd in their Commerce with the Frontier Towns, that they were weak and ill guarded, and especially the Town of Fougieres in Brittain, a very rich Place, which was a Temptation to him to attempt the taking of it, and accordingly in the Night before the Feast of our Lady in Lent scal'd the Walls, and took both the Town and Castle; which tho' of it self 'twas a Breach of the Peace scarce Pardonable, yet that which render'd it a greater Crime was, that he treated the Inhabitants with the greatest Inhumanity and Cruelty, not only slaying many of them, as in a time of War, but pillaging their Goods, ravishing the Women, robbing the Churches, and carrying away many of the chief of them Prisoners. Duke Francis, who was first comprehended in the Truce reign'd in Brittain at that Time, and was highly offended at this Action of the English, and thereupon sent an Herald, to complain of the Wrong done him, to the Duke of Somerset, requiring Satisfaction, and a Restitution of the Place, with all that was taken away from it. The Duke of Somerset coolly reply'd, That the Action much displeased him, and that such Satisfaction for the Wrong done should be given, as he himself should require; but the Duke not being satisfied with this Answer, sent the Bishop of Rheims (a) to the French King to beg his Aid and Assistance in a Case where himself was equally concern'd, that he might recover the Town by Force of Arms. Charles, the French King was not so furious as the Duke, but first sent John Havart and William Cosmet, one of the Masters of his Requests to the King of England, and Peter de Foutein, the Master of his Horse, to the Duke of Somerset with the former Message, who received the like Answer with this Addition, 'That he would send Commissioners to Louviers upon a Day appointed, who should adjust the Difference between them, and not only make Restitution, but Amends to the Duke of Brittain. On the Day prefixed the Commissioners on both Parts met, and the French-Men demanded the Town, and a large Recompence for the Damages sustain'd by the Inhabitants. The English-Men replied, 'That without Offence, nothing in Justice ought to be given in Satisfaction, alledging, 'That it was the Fact of Sir Francis only, without the Consent either of the King of England, or the Duke of Somerset, his Lieutenant or Regent. To this the French answered, 'That if they did not make Amends for the Injury done, they would not be tied

Restitution of the Injury denied.

to secure any Place, but should endeavour to revenge themselves, it being against Reason for the offended Party not to be allowed to reply, the Injury received. To which Answer the English Commissioners not being able to reply, referr'd them to the Duke of Somerset himself, who lay then at Sonniers; and King Charles sent his Ambassador to him.

About this Time, by the Means of Frederick, Duke of Austria, and other Christian Princes, the Schism, which had continued between the Popes for Sixteen Years, was ended. For Felix the Fifth, (b) who was set up by the Council of Basil, upon their Deposition of Eugenius the Fourth, being very uneasy under the Opposition, was soon perswaded to resign to Nicholas the Fifth, Eugenius's Successor; and to an Union was again settled in the Church to the great Satisfaction of Christendom. Felix by this voluntary Act got a great Reputation in the World for his Humility and Sanctity, and tho' he gave place to Nicholas in Dignity, yet he outshined him in Piety, upon which this Verse was made on him,

*Lux fulsit Mundo, cessit Felix Nicolao.*

as if Felix's Humility shined like a Sun in the World. Felix after his Cession from the Papacy, was made Legate of France, and Cardinal of Savoy, and lived so holy a Life, that he was revered for a Saint after his Death.

While the French Ambassadors were treating with the Duke of Somerset at Sonniers about the Restitution of Fougieres, and Satisfaction to be done the Inhabitants, the French King receiv'd Information from a Norman, who daily went into Pont de l'Arch, with his Cart to carry Victuals and other Things into the English Garrison there, That that Town was but ill mann'd, and worse kept, the Garrison being very negligent and careless. Charles, who was glad of an Opportunity of requiting the English Perfidiousness, readily hearkned to it, and sent Monsieur de Bresse, Sir James de Clermont, and Captain Floquet, with a select Company of Men to lie in Ambush near the Gate of St. Andrew belonging to the Town, having agreed with the said Waggoner, with whom he sent Two lusty Soldiers in the Habit of Carpenters, with Axes on their Shoulders, to surprize the Guards and kill them, and to break down his Waggon in the Passage, which was very heavy laden on Purpose that the Gates could not be shut, or Draw-bridge pull'd up without a great deal of Difficulty; when this was done, he was to give Notice to the Ambushes, that they might enter the Town. These Things were all acted as they were plotted, early in the Morning about the Beginning of October; and the English Garrison, which suspected nothing of this Nature, were all taken in their Beds, with the Commander himself, the Lord Faulconbridge, and were carried away Prisoners by the French. The Loss of this Town was of great Importance to the English, being the Passage over the River Seine out of France into Normandy, and but Four Leagues distant from Roan, the chief City of that Province, which seem'd to be all in Danger by it. The Duke of Somerset was extremely troubled at it, and when the French Deputies came to demand the Restitution of

A. D. 1448. Reg. 26.

The Schism between the Popes ended.

Pont de l'Arch taken by the French by Treachery.

(a) It should be the Bishop of Reims in Brittain; for 'tis not probable that the Archbishop of Rheims, as the Author Copying from Hollinshead makes it, who is Primate of all France, the first Bishop and Peer of the Realm, would serve the Duke of Brittain in the Capacity of an Envoy.  
(b) This Felix the Fifth, was Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who from a Temporal Prince advanc'd himself to the Spiritual Empire of Christendom.



A. D. 1448. Reg. 26. *Fougeres*, and Satisfaction of the Damages done to the Inhabitants, would hear nothing of it, he said, till *Pont de l'Arch* was restor'd again to the *English*. But the *French* grown confident by this Advantage, told him plainly, 'They would now stand upon better Terms, and would not part with it, unless *Fougeres* with all the Losses, and Interests of it were restor'd to the Duke of *Brittain*; which the *English* not being able to do, not only because the Lives of such as were slain were irreparable, but because the vast Spoil which had been taken out of the Town amounting to 1600000 Crowns, had been extravagantly squandered away by the Soldiers, the Duke was forced to deny it, and so the War was renewed, before the Truce agreed upon was expir'd. For after this Meeting, *Charles*, the *French* King, immediately rais'd an Army to prosecute the War with unusual Vigour.

The War renewed between the *English* and *French*.

The People of *England* being extremely dissatisfied at the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death, and the Queen's Tyranny thro' the Abuse of the good King's Easiness, and the Nobility divided with and against the Duke of *Suffolk*, it was very improbable, if the War in *France* should be renewed that the *English* could make any considerable Opposition; and it had been the greatest Wisdom of the Duke of *Somerset* to have kept the Truce on foot upon any Terms. The *French* King was sensible of these Inconveniences, and therefore held the *English* to such Conditions as he knew in himself almost impossible to be perform'd, that he might renew the War at the *English's* Cost, and his own Advantage. Upon these Grounds he built great Hopes of Success, (tho' the *French* Historians make their King very unwilling to have begun the War anew, and say, that it was nothing but God's Disposition and Will on his Part, and the intolerable Wrongs on the Enemy's Part, that began this last War,) and having drawn his Army together, divided it into Three Parts, and sent them out severally, one under the Command of *Monsieur de Monty*, who after divers Assaults, and a Loss of many of his Men, took the Towns of *Louviers* and *Gorbery*; another part under Captain *Flocquet* who took *Conquet*, and the great Town of *Verneuil* in *Perch* with the Castle and Tower belonging to it; and a third Part under the Captain *Verdenne*, who took *Coignac* and *St. Magrine* near *Bordeaux* in *Gascoigne*, and then return'd to *K. Charles* to unite with him.

The Duke of *Somerset* who had manag'd the *English* Affairs so ill in *France*, that he could make little or no Opposition to these Proceedings of the *French*, had nothing to help himself with but Complaints to the *French* King of his unjust Invasions. He was answer'd, That the *French* wondered the *English*, who had taken *Fougeres* in the Time of Truce without any just Occasion, and refused to give Satisfaction, should look upon themselves injured by Reprisals: Yet that *K. Charles* might keep up a shew of Peaceableness, he appointed a Conference at the Abby of *Bonport* to adjust all Matters in contest between them: This Meeting prov'd Fruitless, and then the *French* King rais'd a mighty Army, and declared open War against the *English*. But Fame had before so utterly vanquish'd the *English* Authority in *France*, that there needed little Force to reduce all to the Obedience of *K. Charles*. It

was every where noised in the *English* Territories, that now the Duke of *Gloucester* was dead the *English* were unable to protect them, and maintain their Conquests in *France*, being filled with so many Discontents and Divisions at Home that they could not mind their Affairs Abroad, which so despoised the People to a Revolt, who were never kept steady in their Loyalty to the *English* but by Force and Fear, that when the *French* King appear'd before the Towns, they without more ado open'd the Gates, and welcom'd their Sovereign to his Right; and tho' in many of the great Towns there were strong *English* Garrisons, as *Roan* (c) in *Normandy*, *Maulisson* in *Guien*, and other Cities, yet all was no help. As soon as the *French* Army came before them, the Inhabitants arm'd themselves and fell upon the *English* within, and the Army without fiercely assaulted them, so that it was altogether impossible to retain any Thing: All that the *English* could do was only to capitulate, and save their Lives. Thus the *French* King in a few Months became a perfect Master of *Normandy*, *Gascoigne* and *Guien*, tho' there wanted not Courage in most of the *English* Garrisons to defend themselves; but being over-power'd or undermin'd with the Treachery of the *French*, they were forced to leave all in the *French* Hands.

This Year began a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the Duke of *York*, rather to have him out of the Way than to trust or prefer him, was sent thither with an Army; but he so well manag'd his Place, and dealing mildly and gently with that Savage People appeased their Commotions with so much Satisfaction to them, that he gain'd their Love and Favour so far, that they could never be separated from him nor his Posterity; but as well in the Misfortunes of his Family as their Prosperity firmly adhered to them. Thus did the Wicked Politicks of the Queen and her Party generally turn to her Damage. *Gloucester's* Death was the Destruction of her Husband's Title to the Crown, and this Employment of the Duke of *York*, which was intended for his Ruin, prov'd a mighty Advantage to him in his Designs against his Sovereign.

In the beginning of this Year Sir *Lewis de Bueyle* a *French* Knight, challeng'd an *English* Man nam'd *Ralph Challons*, Esquire to encounter him in a Combat, and pitch'd the Time and Place, which was at *Mans* in *Maine*, the *French* King himself was present according to the Custom of that Age, to behold the Courage and Skill of those Combatants. Much Art and Bravery appear'd on both Sides, but the Fortune of the Combate fell to the *English* Man, who ran the *French* Knight thro' the Body with his Spear, of which Wound he soon after dy'd. The Law of Arms in such Cases requir'd, that the Conquerour should attend the Corps of the Person killed, and celebrate his Obsequies, in Testimony of the Christian Compassion which he has for the Deceased. This *Challons* perform'd not only with the usual Decency, but with so much real and hearty Sorrow, that even the *French* King took Notice of it, and gave him some Tokens of his Favour.

King *Charles* and the Duke of *Bretagne* being follow'd with continual Success carry'd on their Victories every Day further and further. The Duke of *Bretagne* recover'd *Fougeres*, *St. James* de *Beveron*, and several other Places, which had

A. D. 1449. Reg. 27. The *French* King recovers all *France*.

Duke of *York* sent to appease the rebellion in *Ireland*.

A Combate between an *English* Man and *French* Man.

Duke of *Bretagne* and *French* King take several Places from the *English*.

(c) At *Roan* in *Normandy* the *English* Garrison were so hard put to it by the Citizens within, and the *French* without, that they were forced to agree not only to deliver up that City, but several others, or they had been all murder'd. The Hostages for the Performance of this Agreement were the Brave Lord *Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, Son to the Earl of *Ormond*.

been



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been taken from him by the *English*. The *French* King also joyning with the Counts of St. Poll and *Eu*, still held on his Victories, especially in *Normandy*, where he took *Nogent* by Composition. *Honflur* stood out the Siege, under the Command of a Captain of undaunted Valour Sir *Thomas Curson*, who notwithstanding their Batteries and Scaling repulsed them to their great Loss; but at length seeing it impossible to save the Town he came to a Composition with the Enemy to depart with their Lives and Goods. The Submission of this Place was a Terror to the other *English* Garrisons, so that some of them voluntarily yielded, as *Lizenx*, which was induced to it by the Bishop's Means, the Tower of *Grise*, which made a short Resistance, *Gourney*, *Roche-guion*, which was commanded by one *John Howell*, who to enjoy his Wife's Lands, a *French* Woman, surrendered the Place on Condition the Garrison might depart in Safety, and himself enjoy his Estate, and be employ'd in the same Station under the *French* King. *Volognes*, and many others. Other Towns were betray'd to the *French*, as *Lagni*, *Gisors*, and several others, so that little remain'd under the Jurisdiction of the *English* but *Caen*, whether the Duke of *Somerset* and all the *English* then in *France* retir'd.

Twelfth  
Parliament,  
its  
Acts.

A Parliament was summon'd and met November the 6. h (d) at *Westminster*, but nothing of Importance was enacted, only a few Acts passed to regulate Abuses in bringing Merchandizes from *Holland* contrary to an Act made the 27th of this King, in pressing Horses and Carts for private Use in the King's Name, and in levying Duties of Ships by *Custom-House* Officers. But the most remarkable Business done this Parliament was by the Bishops, who endeavour'd all they could to have the Act of *Premunire* repealed. They had made considerable Interests in both Houses to effect their Design, but in vain. The greater part of the Lords and Commons were so zealous for the Continuance of it, that they were constrain'd to endure that Eye-sore, which remains in Force to this Day.

A. D.  
1450.  
Some *English*  
Forces  
sent into  
*France* to  
keep *Normandy*.

The ill Condition of the *English* Affairs in *France*, which tho' very well known in *England*, could not be redress'd by reason of the Divisions and Discontents that were both in Court and Country, began now to be taken a little into Consideration, and that all might not be lost, the King sent over a Supply of 1500 fresh Men under the Command of Sir *Thomas Kiriell* into *Normandy*, who landing at *Cherbourg* joyn'd himself with several *English* Captains, who held some Towns in those Parts, and made up an Army of 5000 Men, which being a pretty strong Body, they betook themselves to Action, and recover'd *Lisieux* and *Volognes*; and because they heard that the *French* were upon their March to besiege *Caen*, they thought it convenient to hinder their Design by giving them Battel by the Way, and accordingly posted themselves about *Formignie*, between *Charenton* and *Baioux* to receive them. On Apr. 18. the Earl of *Clermont*, Admiral of *France*, and the Seneschal of *Poitou* with 6000 Foot and 600 Horse arriv'd at *Formignie* in their Way to *Caen*, but finding the *English* there, could neither safely retreat nor go on, and so were forced to abide the Battel, which the *English* were forward to begin, and the *French* ready to receive them. This Battel was begun with much Courage on both Sides,

The *English*  
conquer'd  
by the  
*French*

and the *English* put so hard upon the *French*, that they were forced to give Ground, and the *English* got from them two Culverings; but in the End *Arthur* of *Brittain*, Earl of *Richmond* and Constable of *France* coming into the Assistance of the *French* with above 1000 fresh Men vanquish'd the *English*, slaying above 3000, and taking 800 Prisoners, among whom were several Persons of Note, as Sir *Thomas Kiriell* himself, Sir *Henry Norbery*, Sir *Thomas Drew*, Sir *Thomas Kirkly*, and several others. Sir *Robert Vere* and Sir *Mat. Gough*, that valiant *Welsh* Man escaped. The Victory was obtain'd, as the *French* Historians relate, with the Loss only of Five or Six of their Side, so that they impute this to a wonderful Work of God to them. And flush'd and encouraged by it they marched on to the Siege of *Caen*, which having surrounded on all sides they fiercely assaulted. The Duke of *Somerset* the Regent in *France* was then in the Town with his Wife and Children, of whom being in fear he summon'd the chief Citizens together and told them, 'That it was impossible to save the City out of the Hands of so great a Power as the King of *France* had about it, and to endeavour it was only to endanger themselves without hopes of Profit, and therefore advised them to agree upon as good Terms as they could, and resign the Place. This was welcome Advice to the Citizens, who were ready through Fear or Treachery to outrun any Admonition in that Kind. But it seems the Duke, though he had a plenary Authority given him over all Places under *K. Henry's* Jurisdiction, was not without Controul here. The City of *Caen* was given by *K. Henry* to the Duke of *York*, when he was Regent of *France*, and he had made one Sir *David Hall*, an hot and passionate Man, but very faithful to his Trust, Governour of it. He hearing the Duke's Advice to the Citizens, told him boldly, That he had nothing to do in that Place, which belonged to the Duke of *York*, and of which the Charge was committed unto him; That the Danger was not so great as he had represented it to the Citizens to terrify them, for it wanted neither Men, Money nor Ammunition, and therefore they might defend themselves at least, till they could have the Duke of *York's* Succour, or Order to surrender it. That as to himself he would defend it against any Power how great soever, and if the Town would resign, he would betake himself to the Castle with such Soldiers as were Faithful and Valiant, and hold it out to the last; That it is true, the Besiegers make a great noise and rattling with their Canon, but that scares Women and Children only and not Men of War. In the midst of these hot Disputes between Fear and Courage, Treachery and Fidelity, a Stone shot by the *French* into the Town fell down between the Dutcheffs of *Somerset* and her Children. Yet with more noise than hurt, for it did no harm, yet it scared the Dutcheffs so violently, that she immediately went to her Husband and besought him on her Knees to have Mercy and Compassion on his small Infants, and to see them deliver'd out of the Town with Safety. The Duke being moved at the Tears of his Wife, and not knowing how to secure her and his Children but by the surrender of the Town, yielded it up to the *French* fore against the Will of Sir *David Hall* upon these Conditions.

A. D.  
1450.  
Reg. 27.

*Caen* be-  
sieged.

Sir *David*  
*Hall* op-  
poses the  
Duke of  
*Somerset*

*Caen* sur-  
render'd  
by the  
Duke of  
*Somerset*

(d) The Queen thinking to awe the Members by the Number of her Attendance, when she had them in a Country Town, summon'd this Parliament to meet at *Leicester*: But the Lords and Commons who knew they were safe under the Protection of the City of *London*, refused to meet unless they were appointed to come to *Westminster*: So the Session was adjourn'd thither.

I. That



A. D. 1450. Reg. 28. I. That the Town and Castle of Caen should be surrendered to the French King on the First Day of July, if they were not relieved by that Time.

II. That upon the Surrender of the Town the Duke, Dutcheffs, and their Children, and all others that would leave it, might do so, the Soldiers with their Horses and Harnefs, and the Inhabitants, with their Wives, Children, and Moveables, but at their own Charges.

III. That all Persons who left the Town, should pay their Debts to the Citizens, and leave behind them all Sorts of Artillery.

IV. That the Duke of Somerset should pay for his Freedom 56000 Scutes, which is about 9600 Pound, and be bound to surrender to the French King all the Towns in Normandy, then in the Hands of the English, leaving the Lord Talbot an Hostage till both were perform'd.

Upon these Terms (for no Succour came by the Time agreed on) was the Town put into the Hands of the French; and Sir David Hall in his Heat took shipping for Ireland, to give an Account of this Action of the Duke of Somerset's to the Duke of York, and so vex'd him, that the Hatred which he owed Somerset, grew deadly. By the Surrender of this City, Normandy was all in the French King's Power except Four Towns, viz. Lisieux, of which Sir Matth. Gough was Commander; Falois, which belonged to the Earl of Shrewsbury; Damfront, and Cherbourg, which all resign'd upon Conditions within a Month after: The Liberty of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was Prisoner at Dreux, being gain'd by the Surrender of Falois, with the Lives and Goods of the Garrison, as were those of the rest. Cherbourg was the last Town that yielded, the valiant Captain of it, Thomas Gonvall, defending it so long as they had Ammunition or Provision left to make their Defence; but at last he was forc'd to give it up, and with the rest retreat to Callis, where they found the Duke of Somerset. Thus was Normandy, Thirty Years after it was conquered by Henry V. lost clearly out of the Hands of the English, and became again the Possession of the French King. Three Causes are given for this Loss,

1. The Normans Treachery, who tho' naturally Subjects to the King of England, yet being French in Language and Customs, affected Subjection to the French King most.

2. The Duke of Somerset's Avarice, who kept not full Garrisons as he ought to have done, that he might pocket the Money allow'd for Soldiers.

3. The Divisions at Home, in which the Great Ones engaged with so much Zeal, that they had no Affection to Affairs Abroad.

These Losses in France being heard in England, and breeding a general Discontent in the People, the Fault was generally laid upon the Government; and loud Exclamations were rais'd against the Duke of Suffolk, as the chief Instrument of all their Miseries, alledging, That he it was who had delivered up Maine and Anjou to the French, procur'd the Death of the Duke of

Gloucester, devour'd the King's Treasure, remov'd all the King's vertuous Council from him and plac'd in their Rooms Persons either openly Vicious, or else so addicted to his Interests, that they could not be Friends to the common Good. Lastly, That he had been the only Occasion of the Loss of Normandy. The Parliament was still Sitting, and the Queen, who was not unsensible of these Grudges against her Favourite; sought all Means to hinder any rigorous Proceedings against him; and to that End, removed the Parliament to Leicester, thinking to escape the Deluges against him, which the Londoners chiefly favour'd; but few of the Nobility appearing there, she was forc'd to bring it back to Westminster, where there was a full Appearance. And the Commons presented an Indictment to the King and Lords against the Duke of Suffolk, containing many Articles of Treason and other Misdemeanours, the Sum of which is as followeth,

I. That the said Duke of Suffolk had contriv'd and consulted with John, Earl of Dunois, commonly call'd, the Bastard of Orleans, and the other Ambassadors of the French King, then being in England, to excite and encourage their Master to invade this Realm, and destroy the King and his Friends, to the End, that he might raise his Son John, whom he had married (e) to Margaret, sole Heir to John, Duke of Somerset, the next Heir, as he pretended, to the Crown of England, to be King.

II. That being allur'd by great Rewards and Promises from the said Ambassadors, he had set at Liberty the Duke of Orleans, the King's Enemy, contrary to the express Will of Henry the Fifth.

III. That by his Advice given to the Duke of Orleans, the French King had invaded Normandy, and the other Countries of France belonging to the King, and so was now become absolute Master of all France.

IV. That being sent Ambassador into France, to conclude a Truce, he had agreed to surrender Anjou and Maine to the King's Enemies, under the plausible Pretence of a Marriage, (f) without any Commission from the King so to do, or Consent of the Ambassadors sent with him; and at his Return into England, drew the King to approve and comply with all he had done, and so forsake his Inheritance of those Countries.

V. That he had betrayed the Weakness of the King's Forts and Towns to the Enemy's Captains, when he was in France, by which they were encouraged to assault them, and took several of them.

VI. That he had betrayed the King's Councils to the French Ambassadors, when they were in England.

VII. That when Ambassadors were sent into France to conclude a Peace, he had hinder'd it, by advertising the French King of the Advantages he had against the English.

VIII. That he had as great Power and Interest with the French King, as at Home, as he boasted in the Star-Chamber.

(e) The Lady Margaret was not married to the Duke of Suffolk's Son. Her first Husband was Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond, Son of Queen Katherine, and Owen Tudor, by whom she had Henry the Seventh. The Duke was only charg'd with intending to marry his Son to her.

(f) Had the Words Plausible Pretence of a Marriage been mention'd, it would have been a terrible Mortification to the Queen. But they are not in the original Articles, of which the Fourth is,

That he being Ambassador from the King of England to Charles, calling himself the French King, promised to Reynier, King of Sicill, and to Charles D'Angiers, his Brother, Enemies to the King, the Release of Anjou, with the Deliverance of the County of Maine, and the City of Maunt or Mans, without the Knowledge of the other Ambassadors with him accompanied; which Promise, after his Return, he caused to be perform'd to the King's Disinheritance and Loss irrecoverable, and to the Strength of his Enemies, and Feeblishment of the Dutchy of Normandy. Hol. p. 631.

Normandy wholly lost.

Discontents among the People of England about the Duke of Suffolk's Actions.

Duke of Suffolk impeach'd in Parliament in several Articles.



A. D. 1450. IX. That being corrupted by the French King, he had kept back our Armies from going into France, to oppose the Proceedings of the French.

X. That in making the League with the French King, he had not compriz'd either the Duke of Bretagne, or King of Arragon, but suffered them to be put in by the French King, whereby their Amity was lost; and they became the French King's Allies to the Damage, not only of the Nation, but of the Duke of Bretagne's Brother, Giles, who adhering to the English Interests, lost first his Liberty, and then his Life.

The Popular Charge abovemention'd, was also alledged cursorily, but not insisted upon, and so amounted not to an Article against him. The Duke upon these Accusations was arrested, and brought to his Answer, which he deliver'd distinctly in this Manner, viz.

Duke of Suffolk's Answer to them, and Imprisonment.

1. As to the Three first Articles he denied, that he had ever thought on, much less acted any such Things as they laid to his Charge.

2. To the Fourth he alledged, that the Truce could not be concluded without surrendring those Places, and it being permitted him to act as he judged convenient, he had agreed to it.

3. To all the rest he pleaded not Guilty, and requir'd the Proofs of them, except the Tenth, which he could no ways excuse.

These Answers were judged very insufficient, and therefore to pacifie the People, he was sent Prisoner to the Tower, and a great Shew made, as tho' he should be punished severely for these his Misdemeanours; but the Queen loved him too well to do him any Harm, and therefore after he had been a Prisoner about a Month, in which Time she thought the popular Heats against him were abated, she released him, and brought him to Court, and had him in as great Favour as ever. This Restoration of the Duke of Suffolk was no sooner known, but it begat several Commotions in the Realm, and the People threatned an Insurrection. About Canterbury a great Multitude assembled together, and chose one Thomas Thany, a Fuller, their Captain, and Nick-named him *Blew-beard*; but before they had attempted any Thing, the King's Council being inform'd of it, sent down a Body of Men to seize their Captain and several of their Ring-Leaders, who being executed, the Rebellion ceas'd, and Suffolk was thought to stand as fast as ever. The Parliament which was adjourn'd upon this Occasion, met again, and the King and Queen went thither (g) in great State, being attended with the Duke of Suffolk as their Chief Councillor. The Commons look'd upon the Duke's Presence as a Bravado to them, and being incens'd at it, put up their Petition to the King, That the Persons, who had been instrumental in delivering up the Countries of *Anjou* and *Maine* to the King's Enemies, should be duly punish'd; and accus'd the Duke of Suffolk, Bishop of Salisbury, and Lord Say with others, as guilty of it. The King, who did not suspect that Things would have thus been reviv'd, was very fearful of a bad Effect, if Suffolk should be left at Liberty, and therefore to pacifie them, he put all the Duke's Adherents out of their Offices and Places about him, and banish'd the Duke out of the Realm for Five Years, supposing, that his Enemy's Hatred to him would cool in that Time, and then he might recompense his slight Sufferings with double Favours.

Duke of Suffolk banish'd.

The Duke seeing the Fury of his Enemies, was not backward to leave the Kingdom for a while, and to that End, having got all Things ready, took Ship to pass over into France in April. In his Way, he was met by a Ship belonging to the Duke of Exeter, then Constable of the Tower, call'd the *Nicholas*, which engag'd him, and the Captain having taken the Vessel he was in, after a short Fight, seized upon the Duke, and bringing him into *Dover-Road*, caused him to be beheaded on the Side of a *Cock-boat*. A very bold and strange Action, that a private Captain of a Ship should dare to put a Peer of the Realm to death, without so much as any Pretence of Order or Quarrel, so far as can be known, yet just upon Suffolk himself, who having been instrumental in the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, was himself as unjustly put to death. His Body was cast upon the Sands at *Dover*, and being found by his Chaplain, who, after he was taken out of his own Ship, attended, and followed him to see his Fate, was by him taken up, and conveyed to *Wingfield-College*, in Suffolk, (h) and there interr'd. His Memory, had he not been engag'd in the Intrigues of a Court-Favourite, which must refuse no Service to advance the Ambition of Princes, or the Design of a Court, had been very honourable to this Day; for he was a Man of good Wit and great Courage, as well able to serve a Prince as any Man, a faithful Councillor, a Lover of Piety, and a great Benefactor to the Church. He built the Parish-Church of *Ewelme*, in *Oxfordshire*, where his Seat was, and at the West-End of it, he founded an Hospital for Two Priests, and Thirteen poor Men.

A. D. 1450. Reg. 28.

Duke of Suffolk beheaded.

Duke of Suffolk's Character.

The Duke of Suffolk being dead, who, had he lived, would have been a Stop to the Duke of York's ambitious Aims, being an able Councillor, and stout Warriour, tho' thro' Imprudence grown at last odious to the People. The Duke of York, who was in *Ireland*, began by his Agents and Emisaries, to drive more furiously and confidently toward the Crown; and to that End, his Friends in all Companies represented the present State of the Kingdom very miserable, viz. 'That the Nation being govern'd by a sloathful King, and an Ambitious Queen, who neither of them understood the true Measures of Government, did daily decay in its Reputation and Interests, of which the Loss of France was an invincible Demonstration. That the publick Good ought to be more nearly look'd into, and Men of such Abilities rais'd to the Helm, as might both advance the Honour of the English, and be a Terror to their Enemies. That the Duke of York was a Person every Ways qualified for the greatest Trust, having given such a Proof of it in composing the Rebellion of *Ireland*, with so great Satisfaction to the People, as well as safety to the King. That in Reality, that Duke had the best Title to the Crown, the Family of *Lancaster* being no better than Usurpers; and tho' indeed King Henry would be tolerable, if he were either like his Father, or his Grandfather, whose Virtue and Courage made their bad Title overlook'd, yet since his easie and gentle Nature renders him incapable of Governing well, it is better for the People to set up a Person, who, if he had no Right, were the fittest Man in the Nation to wield a Sceptre, much more being the true Heir,

Duke of York's Ambition to obtain the Crown.

(g) The Parliament was on this Occasion adjourn'd to Leicester. Ibid. 632.

(h) Thin in his List of all the Dukes that ever were in England down to the Year 1585, says the Duke of Suffolk was buried in the Charter-House at Hull.



A. D. 1450. Reg. 28. ' than suffer others to usurp the Power of doing ' them and the King himself a Mischief. This sort of Discourse which was broached by the *Yorkists*, was so pleasing to the Nation in general, that in a little time it became the Subject of almost all Companies Talk, and every Man's Thoughts and Wishes that would pretend to be a Friend to the Commonwealth. But though the Duke himself was not insensible of his Growth in the People's Favours and Desires, yet he was afraid to venture to claim the Crown by force of Arms, till he had made some open Tryal of the People's Affection to a Change; and to that

Jack Cade stirr'd up one Jack Cade an Irish Man, a Youth of a Princely Stature and Mien, of a very pregnant Wit, and undaunted Boldness to assume the Name of the Lord Mortimer (i), and take up Arms under the specious Pretences of reforming the Abuses of the Government, and Grievances of the Kingdom, which being grateful Themes usually to the People easily draw Abettors enow after them. The Kentish Men shewed themselves forwardest to joyn with him, and therefore he sets himself at the Head of them, and in a little time by his Promises to free the Nation from Taxes and Impositions, drew a great Multitude after him, with whom in a Martial Order he marched to Black-Heath between Eltham and Greenwich, and there encamped June 1. Here he and his Army continued near a Month pillaging the Country round about, and summoning the Citizens of London, who favoured his Design to bring him in Arms, Horses and Money, which he ordered them to levy upon the Foreign Inhabitants of that City, *Genoese, Venetians and Florentines*, threatening to kill as many as he could come at, if he were not obey'd. It is not known what the City did; but 'tis probable, his Desires were satisfied, because when he came into London a little after, he did no harm to any Foreigner.

In this Time the King and his Council had sent a Message to the Rebels, to know their Reasons why they assembled after this tumultuous Manner. Jack Cade took upon him to give an Answer, and assured them, That their coming was not intended for any harm to the King or his Friends, but to amend and reform the Grievances, which the Kingdom groaned under, to chastise those of his Counsellors, who oppressed the People, and tho' Flatterers of his Person, were Enemies to his Honour. In fine, Their Aim was to amend whatever was amiss, and make the Poor Commons happy. With this short Answer they sent away the King's Messengers, promising them to exhibit their Complaints and Petitions more at large to the Parliament which was then sitting at Westminster, that they might have their Concurrence with them in so good a Work, and accordingly sent Two Bills to the Houses in a few Days, the Substance of which Papers Follow.

The First they call'd, *The Complaint of the Commons of Kent, and the Causes of their assembling on Black-Heath*. In it they represent to the Parliament, ' That it was reported, ' that Kent should be depopulated and made a ' Forrest to revenge the Duke of Suffolk's Death, ' tho' the People of that County were no ways ' guilty of it. That the King had given the ' Revenues of his Crown to his Favourites, and ' resolved to live on Taxes raised on his Subjects, which impoverish'd his People. That ' the Lords of the Royal Blood were excluded

from his Government, and mean Persons preferred, who would not administer Justice without Bribes and Gifts. That the Provisions for the King's House were taken of the Subjects, and not paid for, to the undoing of many; That the King's menial Servants falsely impeach'd many of High-Treason to get their Estates; That the King's Servants by unjust Claims of Feoffments have depriv'd divers of the Commons of their Estates and Rights; That certain Traitors, who have lost the King's Territories in France, should be punish'd without Mercy; That the Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs of Counties, farming their Offices and Bailiwicks, are forced to extort unjust Fines from the People to pay the Sums; That the Officers of the Court of *Dover* in Kent vex and arrest Men in all Parts of the Country upon untrue Actions, and require great Fees of them for their Deliverance; That the Freedom of Elections of Knights of Shires hath been taken from the People by the Great Men, who send Letters to their Tenants and Dependents to choose such Men, as the People approve not of; That Collectors of the King's Taxes being made for Bribes by the Knights of the shire use many Extortions to raise them; And lastly, That the Sessions being held in the furthest Parts of the County Eastward, the People were forced to go five Days Journey to them, to their great Trouble and Damage, which they desir'd might be settled in two Places more conveniently.

The other Paper they filed, *The Requests of the great Assembly in Kent*, and in that humbly petition'd, ' That the King would assume to himself the Demesnes of the Crown, that he might live conformable to his Royal Dignity; That the Duke of Suffolk's Kindred should be punish'd according to the Laws of the Realm, and the Lords of the Royal Blood, viz. the Dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk taken into Favour, and intrusted in the Government, and then he would be the happiest and richest Prince of Christendom; That all Persons guilty of the Duke of Gloucester's Death be punish'd, as false Traitors to the King and Realm, and the rather, because by their Means the Duke of Exeter, the Cardinal of Winchester, and the Noble Prince the Duke of Warwick, with many other Lords and Gentlemen, and all the King's Countries in France have been lost. Lastly, That all Extortions used daily among the Common People, viz. the *Green-Wax, King's-Bench, and King's-Pourpayers*, and Statute of Labourers be so regulated by the King and his Council, that they may not be such an intolerable Burthen to the Commons of England.

These Bills being seen and perused as well by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled (k), as by the King's Council, were not only condemn'd and disapprov'd, but the Authors of them judg'd proud and presumptuous Rebels, not to be gratified with fair Promises, but suppressed by force of Arms. The King who had been providing a Body of Men to chastise this seditious Crew, being thus encourag'd, order'd certain Lords with their Retinues to go before and skirmish with them, to see whether they would abide a Battel; but the Lord's Men boldly told them, That they would not fight against the Men of Kent, who had no other Aim in

(i) Of Sir John Mortimer, Brother to the Earl of March, who was beheaded in the former Reign. Ibid. 632.

(k) It does not appear that the Complaints of these People were rejected by the Parliament, only that the Council condemn'd 'em as they would have done, had they been more reasonable, considering the Method of presenting them. See Hol. pag. 634.



A. D. 1450. their rising, but to reform the Disorders of the Government: Whereupon they were forced to give Reg. 28. over their Intention. A few Days after the King having gotten an Army of 15000 Men well accoutred march'd with divers Lords to *Black-Heath* to fight the Rebels; but they had Intelligence of his Approach, and *Cade*, as if he had been afraid, retir'd the Night before into a Wood near *Sevenoake*, hoping that the King's Forces emboldned by his Retreat would pursue him in Disorder, and so they might rout them by lying in Ambush for them. But the King believing that thro' Fear of his Army the Multitude would dissolve of it self, return'd to *London*, and by the Queen's Advice, sent only a Party under the Command of Sir *Humphrey Stafford* and his Brother *William* to pursue them, that if any Parties should keep together they might disperse them. Sir *Humphrey* follow'd them to *Sevenoake*, and overtaking them fell upon them with much Fury and Zeal, but being over-power'd by the Rabble, he was slain with his Brother, and many other Gentlemen, and his whole Party discomfited. This Victory tho' scarce worth taking Notice of, yet had Two very ill Effects. For,

Rebels  
kill Sir H.  
Stafford,  
and rout  
his Party.

First, It alter'd the Minds of such Persons of the King's Army as were discontented at the Government, inasmuch that they wish'd, That the Duke of *Tork* were here to compleat the Deliverance, which *Mortimer*, whom they now esteem'd well of, had so happily begun, and which all Persons long'd for. The King perceiving these Things to be whisper'd among his own Soldiers, and fearing least the *Londoners* should rise and joyn with them, caused the Lord *Say* his Treasurer, whom the Rebels, cry'd much out against to be imprison'd in the *Tower*, resolving, if Occasion requir'd, to sacrifice him to the People's Fury. But the worst Effect of this Victory was,

Secondly, That it not only encourag'd the Rebels in further Attempts, but invited Multitudes to arm themselves to joyn with them for this pretended Reformation.

*Jack Cade* having armed himself with Sir *Humphrey Stafford's* Brigandine, and other Armour, full of guilt Nails marched in great Glory towards *London* with his Rabble, being in his Way joyned with many seditious and idle Persons out of *Surrey*, *Sussex* and other Places, and again pitched his Tents upon *Black-Heath*, where he strongly encamped himself. The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Buckingham* were sent thither to him by the King to commune with him about his Complaints and Petitions, and to perswade him to lay down his Arms, and submit to the King's Mercy. He answered 'em with much Gravity and Reason; but being exalted by his late Victory he resolutely told them, *That he would not lay down his Arms, unless the King came in Person, and granted whatever he demanded.* These Answers being brought to the King created mang Doubts in his Mind what he should do. He had neither Subjects nor Servants he could safely rely on, most approving of the Rebels Cause, if not of their Actions: Whereupon he with his Queen by the Advice of his Council departed to *Killingworth-Castle*, leaving no other Forces in *London*, but what was sufficient to guard the *Tower* under the Command of the Lord *Scales* and Sir *Matthew Gough*, one of the most famous Captains in the *French Wars*.

Cade and  
the Re-  
bels  
march to  
*London*.

The King's Retreat from *London* being heard of by *Cade* and his Follows, they immediately broke up their Camp, and marched towards that

City, himself lodging the first Night in *Southmark* at the *White-Hart*, where hearing what a great Party of the Commons of *Essex* were come to his Assistance, and were encamped at *Mile-End* he did not doubt to carry all before him. The Citizens of *London* seeing the Rebels so near their City, and expecting Admittance were in doubt what to do: To deny him was very dangerous, and to give him Entrance would not prove less disadvantageous to them: Whereupon the Mayor called a Council to determine and resolve on what was to be done. Divers Opinions were among them, but most through Fear or Faction were for receiving him. *Robert Horn*, a Fish-monger and Alderman vehemently opposed them who were for entertaining him, which when the Rebels heard of, they were so enraged that the Mayor was forced to put him into *Newgate*, and open the Gates to give them Entrance, which happen'd July 2. At his first Entrance into the City (that he might gain the Favour and Love of the Citizens, and engage them more firmly to them) he caused a Proclamation to be made in the King's Name, strictly charging and commanding all his Followers. *That no Man should dare to offer any Violence or Wrong to any Man, to rob, or take any thing away from any Persons without paying them for it, or commit any Outrages, or make any Quarrels in the Streets, or abuse or corrupt any Women, but all should behave themselves civilly and orderly upon pain of Death,* and then he pass'd through *London-Streets*, and going by *London-Stone* struck it with his Sword, saying, *Now is Mortimer Lord of this City.* At Night he return'd again to his Lodgings at *Southmark*. On the 3d of July being Friday, this Captain of the Rebels returned again into the City, and having caused Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say* and Treasurer of *England*, to be brought into the *Guild-Hall* of *London*, had him arraigned before the Lord Mayor and several of the King's Judges, who by his Order sat there to try him. The Lord *Say*, as in Law he might, demanded his Priviledge to be try'd by his Peers, but this Plea being dilatory, and he denying to answer to the Accusations brought against him before such incompetent Judges, *Cade* took him by force from the Officers and brought him to the Standard in *Cheapside*, where he caused his Head immediately to be cut off, not giving him so much Time as to make an end of his Confession. His Head he put on the top of a Spear, and had it carry'd before him, his Body he caused to be drawn naked at an Horse's-Tail through the City as far as his Inn in *Southmark*, and there to be quartered. Nor was his Rage against this Nobleman hereby satisfied; but sending to the *Fleet-Prison* he fetched from thence Sir *James Cromer*, his Son-in-law, who married his Daughter, then Sheriff of *Kent*, and for some Extortions he had committed in his Office carried him to *Mile-End* to the *Essex* Rebels, and there beheaded him. His Head also he fix'd upon a Pole, and had it carried before him with his Father's into the City, the Bearers making them kiss in every Street to move Laughter from the Beholders, and in his Return to *Southmark* had 'em set upon *London-Bridge*.

A. D. 1460. Reg. 28.

Cade admitted into the City.

The Lord Say tried by the Rebels.

These two Days the Citizens had nobly feasted and courteously entertained *Cade* and his Captains; for Alderman *Malpas* at his own Charge gave them a great Dinner; and one *Chorffis* of *St. Margaret Patin's* Parish did the like; but on the third Day they began ungratefully to requite their kind Hosts, robbing their Houses, with many other of the richest Citizens,

Cade and his Captains treated by the Citizens.

of



A. D. 1450. Reg. 28. of whose Wealth they could get Information; and if they found no Treasure, made them pay great Fines for the Safety of their Lives and Goods. Alderman Horn, who had a little before exposed himself to their Rage by his Loyalty to the King, and Zeal for the Safety of the City, was now in Danger of losing his Life; but his Wife and Friends perceiving that Cade loved Money, went to him, and for 500 Marks purchased his Liberty.

Citizens keep the Rebels out of the City. This Action of the Rebels frightened the Citizens, who seeing the ill Effects of admitting the Rebels began to repent that they accepted not of Alderman Horn's Advice. Neither their Lives nor Goods, Wives nor Daughters were safe from the Rapine and Abuses of a rude Rabble: Wherefore they resolved to keep out of their City this wicked Captain, and his mischievous Company, and to that End they sent to the Tower to the Lord Scales and Sir Matthew Gough to assist them. The Lord Scales readily consented to their Desires, and promised them to play upon the Rebels with the Cannon of the Tower, and appointed Sir Matthew Gough to aid the Mayor and Aldermen all he could in this Attempt, by whose Advice they having gotten together the Train-bands of the City, planted themselves to keep the Bridge against them, and denied the Rebels Entrance. Their Captain hearing that the City opposed their Converse among them, ordered his Men to force their Passage, by which means rose a sharp Fight upon the Bridge, sometime the Citizens, and sometimes the Rebels having the better of it, but neither were able to drive the other quite from it. The Fight continued many Hours, till at length both Parties being wearied and tired, a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon till the next Day; but upon this Condition, That neither the Londoners should go into Southwark, nor the Rebels into London.

Arch-Bishop's device to appease the Rebellion. This Contest tho' not great, cost the Citizens some Lives of great Value, as Alderman Sutton, Robert Haisard, and Sir Matthew Gough, a Man whose Life was worth a Million of theirs that slew him; but it was really the Conquest of the Rebels by the wise Improvement and Management of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, John Stafford. For this great Statesman being then Chancellor observing, that the Hearts of the Rebels began to faint, having the City of London for their Enemy, and that Jack Cade to strengthen his Party was forced to open the Prisons of the King's Bench and Marshalsea, and give Liberty to that rascally Crew to support the Cause, in which they were the only fit Persons to engage, sent for the Bishop of Winchester to him in the Tower (the latter at Haliwel for Safety) and having consulted with him, formed a general Pardon for all Offences hitherto committed, and put the Broad-Seal to it, and passing into Southwark caused it to be publicly proclaim'd there. The poor deluded People, who long'd to be dismissed, were so glad to hear it, that without any Respect to their Captain, they left him and departed Home, glad to secure themselves, as fast as they could. Jack Cade being thus deserted by all but a very few, and not daring to stay for such Succours as were promised him by the Favourers of the Duke of York, thought it the wisest Course to provide for his own Safety by Flight; and having sent the best of his Plunder by Water to Rochester, fled in Disguise into Sussex into the Wood-Country adjoining to Lewis, thinking so to escape, and by gathering a Rebellion again to

compass his Designs, which being known to the King's Council, a Proclamation bearing Date July 10. was put out to encourage all Persons with the Reward of 1000 Mark to apprehend him, and bring him alive or dead to the King or his Council. Alexander Eden a Gentleman of Kent accidentally (1) seeing the said Cade in a Garden at Hothfield in Sussex, valiantly attempted to take him, and in fight with him slew him, and bringing him up to London in a Cart he receiv'd the Reward promised, and generously won. His Body was quartered, and the four Parts of it sent into several Parts of Kent, his Head being set on London-Bridge.

After this the King himself went into Kent, and sat in Judgment upon several Persons, who either were excepted in the Pardon, or had been again stirring up Rebellion in those Parts, and caused many of them to be executed in almost every great Town as well in Sussex as Kent to be a Terror to all Persons, who shall offend in the like Nature for the future. But yet so merciful was the King, that whereas above 500 Persons were obnoxious to his Justice, he punished only the Authors, or chief Leaders in the Treason.

Several seditious Assemblies of People. In the time of these Tumults about London there were also several Seditious Assemblies in other Parts, as in Wiltshire, Hampshire and London which did much Mischief; and among other Things William Ascoth, Bishop of Salisbury after he had said Mass at Edington, was by his own Tenants taken from the Altar in his Albe, and with his Stole about his Neck, and being carried to the top of an Hill adjoining to the Town, was there shamefully murdered on June 29. and stripped to the Skin: His Shirt which was dyed in his Blood they divided among them, and display'd the Parts of it as Ensigns of their Wickedness which they glory'd in. His Chariot had been robbed the Day before of 10000 Marks.

French King gets Aquitaine. While the Affairs of England were in this Confusion, Charles the French King made use of the Opportunity to get Aquitaine into his Hands, just as he had done Normandy before, and to that End sent the Earls of Ponthiwerres and Perigord to besiege Bergerat in Guien, situate upon the River of Dourdon, of which Captain Gedding was Commander. The French Forces consisted of 2500 Horse and Lances, which was too powerful an Army for a small Garrison to oppose: Wherefore, because the Captain could expect no Relief he made his Composition, that the English should march out on Horse-back, and have Liberty to carry out all their Goods, the Inhabitants enjoying their own as formerly, and so left the Town to the French. But yet the Lord Camois, Sir George Seimour, and Sir John Arundel, with divers other valiant Captains, who had the Government of the Country bestir'd themselves much to preserve it to the English by manning the Towns as well as they could, comforting the Hearts of the Gascoignes with Promises of Rewards, and sending Letters into England for speedy Aid, certifying the King, That unless they could have Relief soon the whole Country would inevitably be lost. But all they could get was fair Promises, no Relief appeared, nor Aid came; whereupon the French Men pursuing their Victories got the Towns of Janfaike by Assault, in which 35 English were killed, and all the rest made Prisoners of War; Monferat, St. Foy and Chalons, which all yielded upon Conditions, because they saw it in vain to

(1) Holinshed writes, that he waited for him there. Ibid. 635.



A. D.  
1450.  
Reg. 29.

hazard their Lives and Estates. *Burdeaux* indeed made a small Resistance, having some Advantage upon *Monsieur de Orval*, Third Son of *Monsieur de la Bresse*, who was marching with 4 or 5000 Men to invade the Isle of *Madock*. The Garrison of *Burdeaux* having Intelligence of it, issued out with an equal Number of *English* and Townsmen to fight him, hoping, if they could vanquish them, to set a Period to the *French* Conquests. *D'Orval* was as ready to receive them, as they to attack him; and accordingly they came to a Battel, but the Men of *Burdeaux* were beaten with the Loss of 600, and 1300 taken Prisoners. The *French* got not this Victory without some Hurt, for they lost 800 Men; but the Glory of Conquest made Recompence for all, tho' the City yet held out.

Thirteenth  
Parliament, its  
Acts.

Upon *St. Leonard's Day*, which is *November* the Sixth, began the Parliament to sit at *Westminster*, wherein little was done, but only One Act made, whereby *Jack Cade* was attainted of High Treason, and all his Lands, Tenements and Goods given to the King, and his Blood made for ever corrupt. In the Beginning of this Session came the Duke of *Somerset* out of *Normandy* into *England*; and tho' he was welcom'd Home by the King and Queen, and her Party, yet thro' the Duke of *York's* Means, and because of the great Losses which had happen'd in *France* under his Regency, he was but roughly entertain'd by the People, who cried out against him as the Cause of the Loss of *Normandy*, and particularly of the City of *Caen*, the Metropolis of it (*m*). The Commons in Parliament assembled could not but take notice of the popular Clamours, and representing to the King his ill Conduct in *France*, and treacherous surrendring several Places to the *French*, caus'd him to be arrested and imprison'd *December* the First, which so animated the Rabble about *London* against him, that they got together in great Multitudes, and plunder'd his House in the *Black-Friers*, carrying away such rich Household Goods, as were portable, and defacing and spoiling the rest. The King hearing of these Tumults, put out a severe Proclamation, which he caus'd to be publish'd in several Streets of the City, making it Death for any Man to spoil or rob Houses; yet this did not quiet the Rabble, till one of them was beheaded in *Cheapside* for doing contrary to it.

Duke of  
Somer-  
set  
imprison'd, and  
his House  
robbed.

A. D.  
1451.  
Several  
Places  
more taken  
by the  
French in  
Guienne.

The Bastard of *Orleans*, with his Brother *John*, Earl of *Angouleme*, and many other *French* Captains, being encourag'd with almost the daily Success of their Arms, carry on their Victories with great Zeal, that they might make their Master the compleat King of all his Country. And to this End, they besieged *Montguion*, which held out 8 Days, and then despairing of Relief, yielded; and then went to *Blay*, a Town standing on the Banks of the *Garonne*, which having been lately victuall'd and stor'd with Ammunition, stood out against them; but the *French* fearing no Force without, were resolv'd that none within should hold it out long; and to that End, besieged it both by Water and Land, and after several Assaults, took it, having slain and taken Prisoners above 200 *English*. Some few got into the Castle with the Captains, but held it out no longer than they could make a good Capitulation, and then rendred it with themselves into the Hands of the *French*. The other Towns, as *Burgh*, *Liborne* and *Acques*, delivered up their Keys at the first Summons. Other Captains of the

*French* Party were as active in other Places; and *Dunois* took *Fronsac*, a Place impregnable. The Earl of *Arminack*, an inveterate Enemy to *England*, took the strong Town of *Rion*, and the Earl of *Ponthieur* *Chatillon* in *Perigord*. *Fronsac* held them out till the Feast of *St. John Baptist*, in hopes to have Relief; but none coming, they surrendred according to Covenant. The honourable Conditions upon which they surrendred, shew that the *French* were glad to gain it on any Terms. They were these,

A. D.  
1451.  
Reg. 29.

The Sur-  
render of  
Fronsac  
and Bur-  
deaux.

I. That the Garrison should march out with their Horses and Arms, and leave their Artillery behind them.

II. That those that would swear Allegiance to King *Charles*, should enjoy their Goods and Estates, in whatever Part of the Kingdom they were, and be pardon'd all former Faults.

III. That all that would serve the King of *France* in his Wars, whether Citizens or Soldiers of the Garrison, should have like Entertainment as his other Soldiers.

IV. That several *English* Prisoners named, should be set at Liberty without Ransome.

Which being granted, the *English* left the Town, and went to *Burdeaux*, which was also soon after besieged; but made no Resistance, only demanded Time for the coming of Succour, which not appearing by the Day appointed, the Garrison by Capitulation sailed into *England*. These strong Cities being resign'd, all the other Towns in *Guienne* surrendred immediately except *Baion*, which the Earl of *Dunois* besieged *August* the Sixth. This was a very strong Town, and withstood the *French* Force, till a great Breach in the Wall being made by their Artillery, they saw they must be taken, and so came to an Agreement, but hard enough, viz. That the Garrison should depart with their Arms, and the City pay 40000 Crowns. The *French* Historians relate a Miracle that happen'd the next Day after the Surrender of it, which much settled the *French* in their Allegiance to *K. Charles*. In a clear Day, and serene Sky, there appear'd a white Cloud in the Form of a Crucifix, with an Azure Crown on the Top of it, which afterward in the Sight of a Thousand admiring Spectators, was changed to a Flower-de-Luce, and then within half an Hour after vanish'd. This being generally known, was thus interpreted, That God by this Prodigy of a White Cross, did admonish them to relinquish their Subjection to the *English*, whose Badge was a Red Cross, and become firm and faithful Subjects to their own King, whose Ensign was a White Cross, and Arms, a Flower-de-Luce. Whether this were true or no, it is not material to examine; 'tis certain, that all these Revolts from the *English*, proceeded so much from a real Affection to the *French* King, and were accompanied with such Hatred to the *English*, that they were never likely to recover any of their Losses again, if they could retain the Little they had left, which was only *Callis*, *Hames* and *Guisnes*. Thus thro' the Factions of the Nobles and Commons in *England*, caus'd by the Queen's ill Management, was the *English* Interest in *France* quite neglected, and all their Territories lost.

A Prodi-  
gy in the  
Air.

The Duke of *York* yet being in *Ireland*, was nevertheless believ'd to be the Fomeater and Stirrer up of *Jack Cade's* Rebellion, and the other Disorders of the Nation by his Friends and Emisaries; and tho' he was at first thought

Duke of  
York su-  
spect-  
ed to  
favour  
the Re-  
bels.



A. D. 1451. Reg. 29. to have done the King Service by allaying the Sedition in Ireland with so much Mildness and Gentleness, yet now it was interpreted at Court, as nothing but Policy to ingratiate himself with the People, that he might gain their Assistance to compass his Designs in England; and therefore it was fear'd, that when ever he return'd, he would bring an Army with him, and disturb the Peace of the Nation. For these Reasons the King sent out his particular Orders into Wales, Cheshire, Shropshire and other Places, to hinder the Duke from Landing, if he brought any Number of Men along with him; and several Persons were employ'd to set their Friends in Ireland a-work, to take notice of his Motions and Actions which might tend to Rebellion; that if any Thing of that Nature appear'd, the King by timely Intelligence might provide for it. This after it was known to the Duke, he took very ill, and by Letter expostulated concerning it to the King, assuring him, *That he always had been, and ever would be the King's true Subject.* The King denies not the Fact, but owns that he did give such Orders, because of the several seditious Speeches which had been given out concerning him, as well by Seamen as others, which he took to be just Cause of Fears; but since he had declar'd, That he had never intended any such Thing, the King in his Answer concludes his Letter thus. *For the Easing of your Heart in all such Matters, We declare, repete, and admit you, as our true and faithful Subject, and faithful Cousin.*

King Henry's Progress and his Acts at Exeter.

Towards the Latter End of this Year of the King's Reign, King Henry took a general Progress over the Nation, and came to the City of Exeter July 16th. being St. Kenelm's Day, where he was honourably receiv'd by the Clergy, who met him Three Miles from the City, and convey'd him to the Cathedral first, and then to the Bishop's House, where he lodg'd. During his Abode, he caus'd a Sessions to be held before the Duke of Somerset, to try several notorious Criminals and Traitors, who had fled to that Sanctuary, and condemn'd several of them to Death. The Bishop and Clergy hearing of it, came with heavy Complaints to the King, that by holding a Sessions there, he had violated the Privilege of the Sanctuary, and that these actions being against Law, were of no effect. The King and his Council told the Bishop, 'That it was a Scandal to the Church and Religion, that such holy Places should be a Patronage and Defence to such wicked Men, which the Law of God had commanded to be punish'd by the Magistrate's Sword: That the Persons condemn'd, were the most notorious Malefactors found guilty upon a Legal Examination and Tryal, and ought to be punish'd for a Terror to others: That if all Sorts of Crimes might find a Safety in Sanctuaries, contrary to their first Intention, Justice would be laid aside, and none punish'd but such as were not nimble enough to get in to these Places. All these Arguments would not prevail. Holy Church, nor the Sanctuary must not be prophan'd (as they said) with deciding of temporal Matters, and passing Sentences of Condemnation; tho' God orders expressly, *That all wilful Offenders should be taken from the Altar and punish'd.* These Exclamations mov'd the mild King so, that he let fall his lawful Proceedings, and releas'd many notorious Traitors and Criminals, tho' as he judg'd to the Disgrace of the Church; and soon after return'd to London.

The Duke of York, having receiv'd Intelli-

gence in Ireland of the bad Success of his Affairs in England, that Jack Cade was defeated, and his Company wholly routed, resolv'd to go himself into England to consult with his Friends, and lay a better Foundation for his Proceedings. About Michaelmas he left Ireland, and came to Shore in England at Beau-maris, an Haven of Anglesey, in Northwales, intending to have landed there; but by the King's Order and Command, he was kept from it by certain Officers sent by the King thither, viz. Henry Norrice, Deputy-Chamberlain, Tho. Norrice, his Brother, William Buckley, William Gruff and Bartholomew Bold, saying, *That he was a Traitor, and an Enemy to the King, and should have neither Landing, Refreshing, nor Lodging for Men or Horses there.* These Words highly offended the Duke, but he had no Remedy but Patience; wherefore Coasting a while, he got a safe landing Place, and posted with all Speed to his Friends and Well-wishers, who waited for his Arrival at London. His chief Assistants and Counsellors were John Mowbrey, Duke of Norfolk; Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, in Right of his Wife, who was Daughter and Heir to the valiant Hero, Thomas Montague, who was slain in the fatal Siege of Orleans; the Lord Richard Nevill, his Son, who was afterwards Earl of Warwick, by the Marriage of the Lady Ann Beauchamp; Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, who married the Duke of Somerset's Daughter, yet sided against her Father; and Edward Brook, Lord Cobham. All of them Persons of great Authority, numerous Attendants, and daring Valour. These with others of his Friends of less Note, had divers Meetings and Consultations how to raise him to the Throne; and at last came to a Resolution, *That the Duke of York should raise an Army under a Pretence of the Publick Good, viz. to remove the bad Counsellors about the King, and revenge the manifest Injuries and Wrongs done to the Kingdom by the Persons now in Authority, and particularly the Duke of Somerset, who had lost Normandy; and being chief in Favour with the Queen, was suppos'd to manage all.* But that he might have the fairer Pretences to do this, it was advis'd, *That he should first advertise the King himself of it by Letter, that it might be redress'd; and if he obtain'd it not, (as he knew 'twas not any ways likely he should) then his taking Arms would be the more justifiable, and the People would the more certainly and readily take part with him.* The Duke was not slack to follow these Methods, and accordingly in a few Days dispatch'd a Letter to the King, in which he submissively tells him, *That great Murmur and Grudging was universally in the Realm, because Justice was not duly administred against such as trespassed and offended against the Laws; and especially against such as were indicted of High-Treason, or said openly to be guilty of it, whereby great Inconveniences have arisen to the Realm. Wherefore he counsels and advises the King, offering himself to be an Assistant in it, forthwith to ordain and provide, that impartial Justice be done to punish the said Offenders, and redress all Disorders in Government; and to that End, to send his Writs out to arrest such Persons as are guilty of it, of what Estate or Degree soever they be, and to commit them to the Tower of London, and other Prisons, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till they shall be deliver'd thence by Course of Law, and particularly the Duke of Somerset. The King not suspecting the Design, nor observing how he sought an Occasion to quarrel with him, returns him this Answer. *That he had determin'd sometime since with himself to erect a Council, (of which he had appointed**

A. D. 1451. Reg. 30. Duke of York goes into England from Ireland.

Duke of York and his Friends contrive a Rebellion.

The Duke of York's Letter to the King.

The King's Answer.



A. D. 1451. Reg. 30. the Duke of York to be one ) and give them a more ample Authority and Power, than ever any had before, to reform all Disorders, and punish all such notorious Crimes as he complain'd of; but being a Matter of great Importance he would advise first with his Chancellor, and other Lords of his Council about it, and with them take such Orders as should be for the publick Benefit of the Nation, and in the mean time would keep the Duke of Somerset under such Safe-guard, that he should be ready to answer to the Crimes objected against him.

A. D. 1452. Duke of York raises an Army in Wales, and marches to London. This Answer, tho' as full as could be expected from a King to a Subject, did not at all satisfy, but the Duke immediately goes into Wales to levy an Army under Colour of removing bad Counsellours, and preserving the Nation from Ruin, and in a little time gather'd a great Number of People to assist him in his Enterprize. The King had soon Information of the Duke's Actions and Doings in those Parts from his Friends there, and having raised a strong Army, marched into Wales with the Duke of Somerset (now set at Liberty) along with him, intending to suppress the growing Rebellion in its Rise; but the Duke of York had Notice of the King's March towards him, and declined him, hoping to increase his Numbers in his Passage and to get Possession of London, to which he was resolv'd to go directly. The King was not presently sensible of the Duke's March by him, and so he recovered London before the King could overtake him; tho' after he heard that he was march'd that way, he followed him with all convenient Speed. The Duke sent some of his Friends before him to the Citizens to represent his Undertaking to them, and shew them, that he had put his Life in his Hands, and adventured the Loss of all that was dear to him, that he might retrieve the Nation from impending Ruin; and since London was the Capital City, they were chiefly concerned to join with him in so noble an Attempt, which if they would do, he doubted not of such Success as should enable him to requite their Favours with infinite Advantage to them: But the Londoners dared not to venture a second Time, since they had been so Unsuccessful in Jack Cade's Rebellion, and so deny'd to receive him into their City. The Duke tho' greatly disappointed dissembled his Anger, and crossing over the Bridge

Duke of York encamp'd at Burnt-Heath, and the King on Black-Heath. at Kingstone, pitched his Camp on Burnt-Heath near Dartford, within Ten or Twelve Miles of London, with Trenches and Artillery. The King who followed the Duke the faster because he seem'd to flee, came up to London soon after and encamped his Army on Black-Heath, a few Miles distant from him; but before he would come to a Battel being very sparing of his Subject's Blood on both Sides, he sent the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, and Richard Andrews, Keeper of his Privy-Seal to know of the Duke for what Causes he had taken up Arms to disturb the Peace of the King and his Good Subjects, and to exhort him to submit to the King's Mercy and lay down his Arms. The Message was deliver'd to him by these Persons, and he answer'd, That he had taken up Arms not to do any Damage to the King, either in his Honour or Person, nor any of the King's good Subjects, but to remove from him several ill-disposed Persons of his Council, Enemies of their Country and King, who abused the Nobility, oppressed the Clergy, and impoverished the Commons, of whom the Duke of Somerset was the Chief, and if the King would put him into safe Custody, till he should in Parliament make a Defence to such Things,

as should be objected against him, he would dismiss his Troops, and present himself before the King, and serve him as all good Subjects ought to do. The Bishops and Lords, who were sent from the King, had a Commission to grant any reasonable Terms of Agreement which the Duke should require, and therefore assured him, that the Duke of Somerset should immediately be clap'd up in Prison, and so the Duke on the first of March dismissed his Army, and broke up his Camp according to his Promise.

This Peace which might seem to favour of Cowardise, was made by the Duke out of Policy and good Consideration; for the King's Army was much greater than his, and consisted of much better Soldiers, so that he was in danger to have lost all, if he had come to a Battel; Besides, he had a further Reason to dismiss his Army, which he more relied on, and that was, That by dismissing his Men upon Promises of a Reformation, he would give the Nation a Proof, that he purely fought their Good, and not his own Advancement, that he aimed not at the Crown, but publick Welfare.

Some Days after Things were thus composed the Duke of York went to the King's Tent at Black-Heath, but contrary to his Expectation finding the Duke of Somerset at Liberty, he burst out into a Passion, and complain'd of the King's Breach of Promise in not imprisoning him, whom he accused of Treason, Bribery, Oppression, and many other Crimes, but Somerset as hotly recriminated, telling him, That he was the greatest Traitor, affirming, that he had contrived with his Friends and Accomplices to depose the King and assume the Crown to himself and Posterity. The King was amaz'd at the Words of both Sides, and put off the Hearing of them to a full Council, which he resolv'd immediately to call; and to that End return'd to London with all speed, and summon'd all his Nobles together at Westminster. By the Way it was much wonder'd at, that the Duke of York was carried as a Prisoner, but Somerset went at large. Before the King and his Council thus met the two Dukes charged each other with great Crimes. York urged all the popular Accusations, as the Loss of Normandy, Bribery, and Oppression of the People with much Zeal, and many Aggravations. Somerset answer'd them all, and added further, That the Duke of York had long ago resolv'd upon the Ruin of the King, and the House of Lancaster, that he might make himself King, and transfer the Crown upon himself and his Family, and to that End had conspired with many others how he might do it with most Certainty and least Danger: That if the Duke of York and his whole Family were not now punish'd with Death for these Crimes, such a Civil War would ensue as would prove the utter Destruction of the King and Kingdom. The Duke of York utterly denied this heavy Charge, and the Council was inclined to accept his Denial, as an Argument of his Innocency, partly because they thought, that if he had really been guilty of any such Crime, he would not have dismissed his Army so easily, and partly because there was a Rumour spread abroad, that the Earl of March, the Duke of York's Eldest Son was coming up to London with a great Army of March-men to deliver his Father, which concurring with some Necessities of State to use the King's Army in Gascoigne, which Province having sent the Earl of Kendall and Lord D'Espar to offer their Obedience again, if they could be sure of Defence from the French, the Duke of York was discharged after he had taken an Oath in St. Paul's Church before the King and all his Nobility, to

A. D. 1452. Reg. 30. Duke of York dismisses his Army.

Dukes of York and Somerset accuse each other.



A. D. 1452. Reg. 30. Duke of York swears Allegiance to K. Henry. See the Oath at length in Holinf. head and stow.

to this Effect. ' That he is, and ever would be the King's humble and faithful Subject, and bear him Faith and Truth all the Days of his Life; That he would at no Time assent to any thing attempted or done against his noble Person, and if he had Knowledge of any such Purposes would discover them to the King's Highness, and do all he could to hinder them; That he would never take any thing upon him against the King's Royal State or Obedience, nor suffer others so to do, but come always at the King's Commandment, unless hindered by Sickness; That he would not for the future assemble or gather together any People unless at the King's Command, or in his own Defence, but if he were wronged or aggrieved would proceed after a Course of Law for Remedy of them: All this he promised to observe and keep by the Holy Evangelists, which he laid his Hand on, the Cross, which he touched, and the Holy Sacrament, which he was about to receive; and desired that if he ever attempted any Thing by Arms against the King's Majesty, he might be forever accounted a forsworn Man, and deprived of his Estate and Dignity; declaring, that he did all this without any Constraint, and so subscribed and sealed it. The Duke of York being set at Liberty by these Means went to his Castle of *Wigmore* in the *Marches of Wales*, and there kept himself as it were in Private, yet not without his Spies upon the Court, and the Duke of *Somerset's* Actions, who after his Departure was freed from his Rival, and rose higher in the Favour of the King and Queen than ever, ruling and governing all, as he pleased.

The King and Council having wisely composed this Domestick Broil, though indeed it was but like a Sore skinned over for the present, which breaks out more violently, fell close to a Consultation, how to answer the Expectation of the People of *Gascoigne*, who being oppressed with the King of *France's* Army, and with Taxes longed for the old Liberty they enjoyed under the *English*, and grew weary of the *French* Yoke. Delays in this Case are dangerous. The Commons are fickle and unconstant. The *Gascoignes* if not eased might and would change their Minds, and turn to the *French* again: Whereupon an Army was dispatched into *France* under the Command of the valiant Lord *Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who though a Person always diligent, yet in this Case out-did himself, and with 3000 men arrived in the Isle of *Madocke* before he was suspected. His Design was to march directly to *Bordeaux*, but was stopped in his Way a few Days by the strong Town of *Fronsacke*, which held out against him, yet after a fierce Assault yielded; and he used the Inhabitants the more severely, because he would terrifie the neighbouring Towns, which without more ado returned to their Obedience. The City of *Bordeaux* hearing of *Talbot's* Arrival sent Messengers by Night to him to take Possession of the City, which he neglected not one Moment to do, and got before the Town, the *French* having no Suspicion of them. At his Arrival the Citizens opened a Gate to give the *English* Entrance, which when the *French* Garrison observed, they endeavoured to have saved themselves at a Postern, but being pursued most of them were taken and imprisoned, but very few or none slain, either of them or the Townsmen. The Lord *D'Espar* and his Friends were very serviceable to the *English* in taking the Town. The Lord *Talbot* fixed here a while to fortifie the City, and confirm them in their Duty to K. Henry,

that he might more safely leave them to regain the adjoining Country.

A. D. 1452. Reg. 31. King of France raises an Army to oppose the Lord Talbot.

While he was doing this, K. Henry sent over a Recruit of 2200 Men to join with him with Victuals and Ammunition under the Command of the Bastard of *Somerset*, Sir *John Talbot*, Son to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Molins*, *Harington* and *Camois*, and some others, with which he marched into the Country about *Bordeaux*, and obtained many Towns and Villages without striking a stroke, the Inhabitants gladly embracing the Opportunity of submitting to the *English* under the Pretence of Fear and Force, to which they had such Inclinations through the Severity of their new Lord. The King of *France* hearing of this Invasion by the *English*, and with what Success they went on in taking Towns, raised an Army to oppose them, and sending his Son-in-law Count *Clermont*, and *Messieurs de Lorhac* and *Orvall* with 600 Horse, and 1200 Crossbow-men to put some stop to their Progress till he could gather a bigger Force, came in a few Days to them with 22000 Men, of which he kept 15000 in a Body, and sent the rest under the Marshal *De Lorhac* to besiege *Chastillon*, a Town which had lately revolted to the *English*. The Lord *Talbot* was as zealous to keep what he had gotten, as gain more, and therefore made haste to raise the Siege, having with him 5000 Foot, and 800 Horse. In his Way he took a Tower fortified by the *French*, and meeting with a Party of 500 which were come out a Foraging, he encountered them, slew and took many of them, the rest flying to the Camp at *Chastillon*, gave Notice to them of *Talbot's* Approach. The *French* hearing it were afraid to hold on their Siege, and withdrew in good Order into their Camp which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with Ordnance. *Talbot* had Information, that the Siege was remov'd, and that the *French* had so placed themselves, that he could not attack them but at a great Disadvantage, yet knowing that the main Army of the Enemy was near, and that it would be almost impossible to free himself of it without fighting, he went on and assaulted the Camp with so much Fierceness, that he at last gain'd the Entry into it, after a long and dubious Contest; but riding himself in the midst of his Soldiers to encourage them in this brave Action, was surrounded by his Enemies, and with an Hand-gun-shot through his Thigh, which killed his Horse, and he fell to the Ground, and so being in their Power was slain. His Son Sir *John Talbot*, Lord *Lisle* was close by his Father when this Accident happen'd, who advised him to save himself by Flight, because the Victory was lost, and it would be Fool-hardiness, not Courage to oppose a desperate Fate. He was young, and might do his Country Service, if he would reserve himself to a more lucky Juncture, but it would stain all his former Actions so to do. The young Man though never in a Battel before, yet had so much of his Father's Courage in him, that he would not shrink back, and chose rather to die with his Father than accept that Advice which might make him look not like his Son. With him died also Sir *Henry Talbot* his Bastard Brother, and Sir *Edward Hall* with 300 others, Men of Note and Valour. The Lord *Molins* and 60 more were taken Prisoners, the rest that saved themselves escaped to *Bordeaux*, the Slain on the *English* Side were 1000, the *French* say 2000. The Lord *Talbot* being thus kill'd in the 80th Year of his Age, and the *English* Army routed, *Chastillon* surrender'd it self into the Hands of the *French* upon Conditions, That the *English*



A. D. 1453. Garrison might march out with their Goods, and pass safely to *Bordeaux*. The Body of this brave Man lay sometime among the Dead undiscover'd, but being after found out by his Friends, was carried to *Whitchurch* in *Shropshire*, and there interr'd. After this Defeat, the *French* Towns revolted as fast from the *English* as they before came over to them, so that the *French* King in a few Weeks recover'd all *Gascogne* except *Bordeaux*, which being the last that held for the *English*, the *French* King besieg'd it in Person with his whole Army, resolving not to leave it till he had taken it. The Citizens valiantly defended themselves as long as they had any Provisions left, but being oppress'd by Famine, were forc'd to capitulate. The *French* King willingly accepted their Proposals, and granted them almost as easie Conditions as they could desire; for his Army was as severely afflicted by the Plague without, as the Besieged were by Famine within; so the City of *Bordeaux* was yielded to the *French* on these Conditions.

*Bordeaux* retaken.

I. That the *English* might have Liberty with all their Substance to depart safely into *England* or *Calis*, and the *Gascognes* enjoy their Goods and Possessions.

II. That the Lords *D'Espar*, *Duras*, and 30 others, should never upon pain of Death be found in any of the *French* King's Dominions.

And thus was the Dutchy of *Aquitain* wholly lost, after it had been in the *English* Hands near 300 Years.

Reg 32. In the Beginning of this Year of his Reign, had King *Henry* a long Sickness at *Claringdon*, in which he was in great Danger of his Death, and happy had he been, if God had taken him away from the Troubles, which were shortly to come upon him; but it pleased the Almighty to lengthen out his Life, and by the Use of Means to restore him to his former Health, which concurring with another great Blessing to the Royal Family, the Birth of a Prince, caus'd great Joy at Court, and thro' the whole Nation, with those who bore a good Will to the *Lancastrian* Line. For Queen *Margaret* was deliver'd of a Son at *Westminster*, October 13. who was shortly after Christned by the Name of *Edward*. But the *Yorkists*, who sought to establish the Duke of *York* and his Family in the Throne, and were hot in contriving the Ways to it, spake disgracefully and scornfully of this Birth; and gave it out, That the King was insufficient and unable to get a Child, and therefore it was an adulterous Brat; but others thinking this Slander too notorious, because the King was not above Two or Three and Thirty Years Old, and might well enough be suppos'd able to father a Child, unless a natural Impotency could have been prov'd against him, which neither was, nor could be, denied not that the Queen had a Child; but dying soon after its Birth, the Prince was another's Child put in his stead. The King and Queen were much disturb'd at these vile Reports of their Enemies; but the King was not at all displeas'd with the Queen, which shew'd he had no Suspicion of her; and it can't be reasonably suppos'd, that a Person of such eminent Piety, as *K. Henry* was allow'd to be by his Enemies, would be privy to so ill a Design, as to accept another's Child for his own, so that the Satisfaction which the King took in the Birth of the Prince, and testified in Feasting the Court, and creating divers Noblemen as his Two Brethren by Mother's side, he made *Edmund*, Earl of *Richmond*, and *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, must be allow'd Arguments sufficient

Prince *Edward* born, and the Queen asperied about the Birth.

K. *Henry* dangerously sick.

to clear the Queen's Innocency with all impartial Persons, tho' they would not satisfy their Enemies, who were resolv'd to deprive both Father and Son of the Crown.

*John Norman*, who this Year was made Mayor of *London*, was sworn at *Westminster* according to the common Custom, upon the Morrow after the Feast of *St. Simon* and *St. Jude's* Day; but whereas formerly the Mayor used to ride with great Pomp, attended with the Aldermen, and a numerous Train thro' the City to *Westminster*, to be sworn. This Mayor was rowed in Barges to the great Advantage of the Watermen, who foreseeing the Profit, made a Song upon his Commendation, beginning, *Row the Boat Norman, Row to the Lemman, &c.* From him and his Time hath the Custom been deduc'd which still continues, for the Mayor to go by Water to *Westminster* to be sworn, and pity it is, it should be ever alter'd, which is so beneficial a Custom to the poor Watermen.

A little before *Christmas* in this Year died *John Kemp*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was translated from the See of *Tork* to that See in the Room of *John Stafford*. *Thomas Bouchier*, Bishop of *Ely*, Son to the Countess of *Stafford*, and Brother to *Henry Bouchier*, Earl of *Essex*, was remov'd to the See of *Canterbury*, being made Bishop of that See, by *Nicholas V.* then Pope of *Rome*. He behav'd himself so well in this great Station, that King *Henry* made him his Chancellor, and Pope *Paul II.* rais'd him to the Dignity of Cardinal, so that he was as great a Man, as ever sat in that Archiepiscopal Seat.

The Wars of *France* being now at an End, the Civil Dissentions between the Houses of *Tork* and *Lancaster* began in contending for the Crown. *Richard*, Duke of *Tork*, was the Author of this War, and tho' he had sworn to King *Henry* never to disturb his Peace, nor move any Rebellion against him; yet his ambitious Desire of Rule would not let him rest, till he had the Crown on his Head. His Title indeed was very fair according to the Laws of this Realm, being the great Grandson of *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, Elder Brother to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, by whom the Three *Henries* derived their Right to the Crown. But King *Henry VI.* tho' his Title was not so fair and clear, yet not being the Usurper himself, but succeeding upon the Usurpation of his Father and Grandfather, Two most excellent Princes, and being himself of known Goodness and Piety, had so deep an Hold in the People's Affections, both for his Father's Sake as well as his own, that any barefac'd Pretensions to the Crown, especially considering that none of the Line of the Duke of *Clarence* were ever in Possession of the Throne, would have appear'd both strange and ridiculous. And therefore the Duke of *Tork* spent most of this Summer in insinuating Jealousies into the Heads of the People, and by common Bruits and Reports to foment their Discontents. The Two Things which he chiefly buzz'd into their Ears, were,

1. That King *Henry*, tho' a very pious, good Man, was too meek and mean-Spirited to rule a Kingdom, which not his Enemies only thought of him, but his Friends, who abus'd his Weakness, and usurp'd his Power; the Queen and the Duke of *Somerset* ruling all at their Pleasure, and leaving him nothing but the Name of King, which certainly was an intolerable Encroachment upon the People, and a Shame to *England* all over the World, to be govern'd by a Woman and her Minions. That the Condition of the

A. D. 1453.

Reg. 32.

Mayor of *London* first went to *Westminster* by Water to be sworn.

Tho. Bouchier made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

A. D. 1454.

Reg. 32.

The Beginning of the Wars between the Families of *Tork* and *Lancaster*.

*Tork's* Insinuations into the Commons and Nobles.



A.D. 1454. the present Times were such, that they requir'd a King of Valour, Activity and Judgment, who by his Virtues and Wisdom, might settle Affairs both Abroad and at Home.

Reg. 33. 2. That notwithstanding he had once taken up Arms to rescue the Kingdom out of the Hands of the Duke of Somerset, and bring him to an Account for the unfaithful Management of his Trust in his Regency in France, in losing the whole Dukedom of Normandy, and had by Agreement laid down his Arms upon the King's Promise, that Somerset should be kept in safe Custody, and give an Answer to all Accusations brought against him the next Parliament, which was soon to meet for that Purpose, yet nothing was done in it. The Duke enjoy'd not only Liberty, but was in greater Favour and Power than ever, and no Parliament likely to meet, so that the Kingdom was in as bad or worse Condition than before; and the Men who were the Ruin of the Nation, were honour'd and encourag'd. A lamentable Posture of Affairs! And shall the Lovers of their Country stand still and see its Destruction, without putting an helping Hand to deliver it?

York's Friends.

By these and such like Speeches he had dispos'd the Nation to a Rebellion, not against the King, (for no Harm was meant him good Man, who did no Ill to any Man, and desir'd the Nation's Welfare in all Things) but against the Queen, Duke of Somerset, and the rest of the Cabal, who usurp'd the King's Authority. The Duke in the mean Time wrought himself into the good Opinion of the Nobility, who most of them hated the Queen's Doings, and envied Somerset's Greatness, and especially made the Two Nevills, Father and Son, the one Earl of Salisbury, and the other Earl of Warwick, his Friends; Salisbury the most eminent for Policy and Council, the Earl of Warwick very popular, and admir'd for his innate Valour and Magnificence, Men able to raise and depose as they pleas'd. Things being thus concerted among these Noblemen, and contriv'd to be put in Execution. The first Attempt they made was upon the Duke of Somerset, whom they caus'd to be arrested in the Queen's Bed-Chamber, and sent him to the Tower of London, where he kept but a sad Christmas, under the Fears of his Enemies Malice, who were preparing a Bill of black Accusations against him to be ready for the Parliament, which was to meet soon. The King was very sick and hardly sensible when these Things were done by the Duke of York, to whom, as some write, the Regency of the Kingdom was committed by the Council, during the King's Weakness, and by Virtue of this Authority it was, that he call'd the Parliament to meet within a few Weeks after Christmas, and there openly before all the Lords and Commons assembled, accus'd the Duke of Somerset of High-Treason, and many other heinous Crimes, as the Loss of Normandy, and the late Mischance which happen'd in Guen. But the Queen, who was as intent for the Deliverance of the Duke of Somerset, as his Enemies were on his Destruction, had so contriv'd Matters, that nothing should be done against him; for the King being something amended, and come well to his Senses, she caus'd him, tho' very weak, to be carried to the Houses, and there to dissolve the Parliament for the present; and so nothing was determin'd in the Matter. This being done, Somerset was immediately set at Liberty, and that he might be out of the Reach of his Enemies Malice, he was made Captain of Calais and Guisnes, the only Parts of France that remain'd in the

A.D. 1455. Duke of Somerset imprisoned, and accused in Parliament.

Fourteenth Parliament, its Acts.

King's Hands, which caus'd a fresh Discontent both among the Nobility and Commons, who did not spare to say openly, That he was a very unfit Person to be entrusted with those important Places, who was better at surrendering Towns than keeping of them; and if he was not afraid to yield up all Normandy to the Enemy, he would not scruple to deliver Two Forts only.

The Duke of York being thus enrag'd at his Second Disappointment, grew resolute to revenge himself by Arms, and having obtain'd an Absolution from the Obligation of his former Oath from the Pope, went into Wales, accompanied with his special Friends, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Lord Cobham and others, to gather another Army, and come up to London, which being known to the King and his Party, they prepared what Aids they could for their own Defence, and having gotten together a Body of about 2000 Men, the King himself in Person, with the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Dorset, Devonshire, Wiltshire and Pembroke, left London, (because it was thought the Duke of York had too many Friends there) and march'd May 21. to meet and engage him by the way. They came the first Night to Wadford, and the next Day to St. Albans, where hearing of the Approach of the Duke of York, he encamped and pitched his Standard in a Place call'd Goslow, or Sandisford, in St. Peter's Street. The Duke of York by his Spies knew all the King's Motions, but still kept on his March to St. Albans, and encamped in Keyfield near the same Town, his Army consisting of about 3000. The Duke and King being thus in Sight of one another with their Forces, the King after his peaceable Manner, sends Messengers to the Duke (tho' others say, that the Duke first sent Letters to the King) viz. the Duke of Buckingham and some other Nobles, to know of him what he meant by appearing in such an hostile Manner, to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, contrary to his former Oath and Promises. The Duke of York return'd them Answer, 'That both he himself and all with him were the King's faithful and loyal Subjects, and intended no Harm to his Person, but came to require that wicked and haughty Man the Duke of Somerset, who had lost Normandy, neglected Gascoigne, and brought the Realm into this miserable State; That whereas it was once and lately the Terror, now it is the Scorn and Derision of the World; That they would not be put off with fair Promises as they had formerly been, but would have him that hath deserv'd Death, or die in the Quarrel; yet if it would please the King to resign that bad Man into their Hands, they were ready without Trouble, or farther Breach of the Peace to lay down their Arms, and return into their own Countries. The King hearing this Answer, grew angry, and told the Messengers from the Lords, 'That he would not deliver up the Duke of Somerset, nor any Man in his Army to his Enemies, who had faithfully adhered to him against them, commanding them all to lay aside their Arms, and threatening them to hang them as a Terror to others, if they should dare to appear or fight against him. As soon as the Duke of York receiv'd this Answer, he turned himself to his Men and said, 'Since our Sovereign Lord will not be reform'd by our Intreaties, nor understand the Intention of our Meeting together, but is fully purposed to destroy us, and hath confirm'd his Resolution with a great Oath, let us consider

A.D. 1455. Reg. 33.

Duke of York absolv'd from his Oath of Allegiance gathered an Army.

The King meets the Duke of York at St. Albans with an Army.



A. D. 1455. Reg. 33. *the Danger we are in, and to avoid this Mis- chief quit our selves like Men, and rather die with our Swords in our Hands, than to be put to an ignominious Death to shame our selves and our Posterity. And God Almighty, who reigns in Heaven keep us in our Right, and make us strong to oppose the Malice of them that seek our Ruin. And so gave Order to sound for the Battel. But while these Things were doing at one End of the Town, the Earl of Warwick arriv'd (n) with his March-Men at the other, and with great Fury fell upon the King's Vanguard, which having routed before the Duke of Somerset could come to relieve it, he brake into the Town about the middle of St. Peter's Street. The Duke of York seeing that fell on also with his Men, and so a furious Battel was commenc'd, which lasted some Hours with so much Slaughter, that it was thought there would not have been a Man left on either Side alive; but the Duke of York being much the stronger Side, and having kept back a certain Number of Men to renew the Battel, when the rest were wearied and tired, he so ordered the Matter at last, that by their Means the Victory became compleatly his; the King's Army was routed with the Loss of 800 of his Men, among whom were Edmund, Duke of Somerset, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Son to the Duke of Buckingham, John, Lord Clifford, and many other Persons of Note. Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham was wounded, and left the Battel when he saw that it would go against the King, as did also James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, and Tho. Thorp, Lord Chief Baron, with many other of the King's Retinue, who gave a bad example to the timorous Soldiers, and lost the Day. The King, tho' none of the best Warriors, remain'd till the last; but seeing himself forsaken, retir'd into a poor Man's House, where he might lurk as he thought unsuspected, till the Enemy withdrew, and he might have Opportunity to provide better for his own Safety; but he could not lie hid long.*

The Armies of the King and Duke of York encounter at St. Albans, and the King is vanquish'd.

The King taken by the Duke of York.

The Duke of York had Notice where he was, and immediately went to him, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and being come into his Presence, besought him on their Knees, to 'forgive them what they had done that Day, and accept them for his Loyal Subjects; for now the Duke of Somerset, the common Enemy of the Nation, and the Cause of this Commotion, was dead, he and all his adherents would remain during their Lives his faithful and obedient Subjects, and be ready in all Points to serve him as their Duty obliged them; and the Kingdom being in Peace, he should now reign in the greatest Happiness that ever King did; so that the Destruction of Somerset was his Preservation. The King being little comforted at these good Words, desir'd them to take care there were no more Hurt done, and keep their Soldiers from plundering and killing his People. (For the Northern Men after the Victory, behaved themselves very outrageously to the Townsmen and others, who had fought on the King's Side, killing and robbing as they pleased) Whereupon the Lords put out a Proclamation in the King's Name, That all manner of Persons should lay aside their Malice one to another, and not commit any Acts of Hostility against any Man: And so all was quieted. The Duke of York and the Lords with him, having the King in their Power, conducted him with great Honour and Reverence to St. Alban's

Shrine, and after to his Lodgings, where he rested that Night. The next Day they removed with the King to London, and took up their Abode in the Bishop's Palace, where they kept their Whitsuntide with great Mirth and Solemnity, concluding there to call a Parliament to settle and compose all Things for the Good of the King and his People. This Battel of St. Albans was fought May 23. The Bodies of the Noblemen slain in it were buried in the Chappel of our Lady in the Abby there, and the rest in the Field adjoining. The Duke of Somerset left three Sons, Henry, Edmund and John, who to revenge their Father's Death took always King Henry's Part.

The Parliament met as by Appointment of the King and Lords upon July 9. and settled all Things according to the Lord's Minds, but under the Pretence of doing them for the common Good. Some few Acts of Parliament were made for a Colour of the Justice, and Care of the Lords to the common Safety, viz. That Servants of Persons lately deceased, who have embezzill'd their Master's Goods before the Executors could enter upon them, shall be attainted of Felony if they are found Guilty: That whereas the Officers of the Exchequer were guilty of great Extortion in exacting Fees on the People, it was hinted what Fees should be taken by them in the several Causes there adjudged and decided: That there should be but Six Common Attorneys in Norfolk, Six in Suffolk, and Two in Norwich, because it was found by Experience, that the Multitude of Attorneys in those Countries stirred up and procured many Suits at Law for small Treppasses, little Offences, and small Debts. These Acts were only to be a Specimen to the People, what a Reformation there would be if the popular Lords had the Rule, which was a curious Prologue to what followed, and was chiefly intended, and which began with these Votes.

A. D. 1455. Reg. 33. K. Henry carried by the Duke of York to London.

Fifteenth Parliament, its Acts.

Popular Votes, and a Settlement upon it.

1. That the Government as it was managed by the Queen, Duke of Somerset, and their Friends, had been of late a great Injustice and Oppression to the People.

2. That the King, who was of himself a pious and good Prince, had been abused by those that counselled and advised him, to his great Dishonour.

3. That the Duke of Gloucester, whose Memory had been stained with a Charge of Treason and Rebellion since his Death, was a true and faithful Subject both to the King and the Realm.

4. That all Alienations and Gifts of the Revenues and Lands of the Crown, whether made by the King himself or his Parliament, from the first Year of his Reign should be revoked, and the said Lands and Revenues resumed and taken into the King's Hands.

5. That no Person or Persons should judge or report, that the Duke of York, Earls of Salisbury and Warwick were guilty of Rebellion or Treason in coming in a Warlike Manner against the King at St. Albans, since the Action was necessary and taken in Hand to free the King from Captivity, and bring Peace and Safety to the Nation, but all the Blame was to be laid upon the Duke of Somerset, Lord Chief Baron Thorp, and William Joseph, Esq; who out of a malicious and evil Design kept a Letter sent by the Lords from the King's Knowledge, which if it had been deliver'd to the King's Majesty would have taken away the Occasion of these Disorders.

(n) Hall says the Earl of Warwick fell upon the King's Men while there was a Treaty of Peace on Foot.



A. D. 1455. By these Votes and Acts they made way for the Resolution, which was the main drift of all, and by which it was appointed, That the Duke of York should be the Protector of the Realm; That the Earl of Salisbury should be Lord Chancellor, and to that End the great Seal was delivered to him, and the Earl of Warwick was made Governour of *Calles*, and the Territories thereunto belonging, and so all Authority both Civil and Military was in a manner put into the Hands of the Lords, and Henry had only left him the Name of a King, nor should have that, 'tis probable, but that his Innocency and Holiness was had in so great Veneration among the common People, that had K. Henry suffered any Evil from the Lords, they would have immediately forsaken them, and turned their Fury upon them. This the Lords were very sensible of, and therefore would venture no further against him, than might fairly justify their Pretences to reform the former ill-Government, and establish the Commonwealth in its ancient flourishing Condition, and to this End they displaced all such Persons from Offices of Trust in the Court, and from the Privy-Council, as the King loved, or Queen favoured, had any Principle of Loyalty, or had been Supporters of the *Lancastrian* Line; They were also careful to administer Justice impartially, and avoid Delays of Suits, and punish Bribery to ingratiate themselves with the People. And tho' they ventured upon one Thing, which never any King durst do, which was to take *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter* out of the Sanctuary at *Westminster* to imprison him in *Pomfrist-Castle*, a Sacrilege much complained of by the Abbot and his Monks, and contrary to an Order made in the last Parliament, yet the plausible Pretence of doing it for the publick Good made the People to swallow it patiently, and dispense with the Injury done to the Church.

Reg. 34. The Queen, who while the King was in his Enemy's Hands, and ruled by their Councils, or rather over-ruled by their Threats and Policy, beheld all these Transactions with great Regret, as soon as he was delivered, sought all means to revoke what they had settled, and place the King in his Throne again with his undoubted Authority and Power. She was sure of the Assistance of several eminent Lords in this her Design, and being a Person of a Masculine Spirit was not afraid to undertake any Thing to keep up the Dignity of her Husband's Crown. Henry Beaufort now Duke of *Somerset* by the Death of his Father, was eager to revenge it, and *Humphrey*, Duke of *Buckingham*, who at the same time lost his Son and Heir, was no less zealous to pull them down, who had raised themselves upon his Loss. All the Lords of the *Lancastrian* Faction, evidently seeing the Tendency of the Duke of York's Actions to be towards the Crown, thought it for their own Safety to join with the Queen in pulling him down from his Usurpation, and to that End they all met in a Great Council at *Greenwich* by the Queen's Appointment, and after a full Debate upon what had passed came to this Resolution. That the King was no Child, and consequently needed no Tutor, but it being a Reproach to his Majesty to be governed at the Discretion of others, the Duke of York should be put out of the Protectorship, which he had so injuriously assumed, and the Earl of Salisbury deprived of his Chancellorship, which the King being very easily perswaded to do, an express Order under the King's Seal was dispatched to them to resign their Offices. The Duke of York was amaz'd at this sudden turn of Affairs;

but since it was an undoubted Prerogative of the Crown to place or displace the Officers of it as he pleased, he dar'd not oppose it, least he should be plainly guilty of Rebellion, and so with a fained Patience he yielded to it, tho' to the great Discontent of his own Party; but immediately left the Court, as if being discharged from publick Business, he would retire to attend his Private, having still in his Mind the same Designs of raising himself to the Throne, as well as of revenging this Affront, when Opportunity offered it self, which could not be long to such restless Spirits, as both he himself and many of his Party were of, who if they find not an Occasion to execute their ambitious Contrivances will make one. And this seems to be first attempted within a few Months after in the City of *London*, where the Duke of York had many Friends ready to stir up Tumults for his Advantage, and who watched the least Stirs to inflame them into open Rebellion, which thus first happened.

In May a certain English Merchant, who while he was in *Italy* had been prohibited by the Magistrates to wear a Sword, or any other Weapon, according to the Custom of *England*, met an Italian in *Cheapside* wearing a Dagger, and told him, That since the English were not allowed to wear a Sword in *Italy*, he ought not to wear one in *England*. The Italian angry at this Rebuke gave him a rough and uncivil Answer, which so provoked the young fiery Merchant, that he not only took away the Italian's Dagger, but with it broke his Pate. The Italian immediately goes to the Mayor and complains of the Abuse, and the Merchant being summon'd to answer for it, was for want of a good Excuse imprison'd. The seditious Citizens, and especially the Prentices made this an Occasion of rising, and gather'd together in great Numbers to deliver the Merchant out of *Newgate*, which when they had done, they in great fury went and pillaged the Houses of the Italians in several Parts of the City. The Mayor and Aldermen with the Assistance of many grave Citizens opposed the Rabble, and at length appeased them, putting several of the Chief of them into *Newgate*. The Queen and her Council, who now again ruled all, hearing of these Tumults in the City, and easily guessing at the Reason and Cause of them, sent the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Buckingham* with some other Noblemen to join with the Mayor and Aldermen in punishing such as were in hold for it severely, that they might be a Terror to others; but when the Commons of the City heard of it, and that the said Dukes and Mayor were set to try them according to their Commission, they rose again, and threatening the Judges, if they determin'd any thing severe against them, so frightened them, that they left *Guild-Hall* and departed, and so nothing was done that Day. But afterward the Mayor calling together a Common-Council took such effectual Course with the Wardens of the several Companies, that all were still, and the Commissioners had Liberty to sit in *Guild-Hall*, where they condemned several Persons for this Riot, Three of which were hanged at *Tiburn*, and the rest fined.

The Queen, who was as suspicious and watchful as her Enemies were active, was very busie to countermine all their Contrivances and Plots; and because she had some Fears, that the City of *London* was false to the Regal Interests, she caused the King to remove his Court from *Westminster* to *Coventry* in *Warwickshire*, yet under the Pretence of taking the Air, and spending some

A. D. 1455. Reg. 34.

A. D. 1456.

A Tumult in London raised by the Duke of York's Friends.

Some of the Seditious taken and punished with Death.

Reg. 35. K. Henry removes his Court to Coventry.



*A. D.* 1456. some time in the pleasant Pastimes of Hawking and Hunting. Here in the Intervals of their Sports she and her Council had many private Meetings to contrive the Ruin of the Duke of York, and his two potent Confederates *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, as knowing, that as long as he lived, and had such potent Friends to abet his Claim to the Crown, it was impossible that *K. Henry* could quietly enjoy his Throne. Divers Ways were propounded, but at length they agreed upon this, which they judged most plausible and likely to take effect, viz. That it should be pretended, that some Matter of great Importance to the State had unexpectedly happened, which required the Council and Advice of the wisest and sagest Peers of the Realm, and that the King and Queen extremely desired that the Duke of York, and Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* should be present, with other Lords to consult about it, and to that End the King should send to each of them a very kind and obliging Letter under his Privy-Seal to desire their Attendance and Assistance at *Coventry* upon a certain Day and Hour therein named, with a Charge not to fail in their personal Appearance. The Duke, and Earls believing all these fained Pretences to be real, and having not the least Suspicion of Danger, set forth at the time appointed to wait upon the King at his Commands, as their Duty obliged them, but in the Way they received a certain Information from some Friends, what Mischiefs were really intended them, which they would hardly be able to avoid if they ventured themselves into the City. Whereupon the Lords, who were surprized at such base Treachery, thought it best to provide for their own Safety, and sending their Retinue before them into *Coventry*, as tho' they themselves were coming, they fled every one to their Castles, viz. the Duke of York to *Wigmore* in the *Marches of Wales*, *Salisbury* to *Middleham* in *Richmondshire*, and *Warwick* to *Calis*, having contrived and agreed at their Parting upon a secret Way of holding Correspondence by Letters, till they could meet again with greater Terror to their Enemies. The Queen was not a little disappointed at this their Retreat, and loss of her Prey, but was forced to sit down contented with the Satisfaction, that tho' she had not obtained her Desire, yet she had so terrified them, that they were parted one from the other for Safety, and so were become less formidable to her.

Two Prodigious ap-pear in England.

In November in the Island of *Portland* not far from *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire* was seen a Cock with a great Crest upon his Head, great red Gills, and Legs half a yard long, who stood upon the Sea and crowed Three times, turning himself every time a several way, and nodding his Head towards the North, South and West, he was particoloured like a Pheasant, and when he had so done he vanished. A little after there was taken at *Erithe* within 12 Miles of *London* Four wonderful Fishes, viz. Two Whales, One Sword-Fish, and a Fish called *Mors Morina*. These Prodigious were a little amazing to all Men, and such as would venture to prognosticate the Signification of them, gave it out, that they were Fore-runners of Wars and Troubles in England, which after proved true.

*A. D.* 1457. King of France plunders the English Coasts.

The Dissentions which had for some time been in England between the King and his Nobles, continuing and daily increasing, put the French King in Mind of revenging the Wrongs and Injuries, which France had suffered from the Eng-

lish; and tho' he could not pretend any Right or Title to the Crown, nor hope to form an Invasion with Success, yet he might endamage and plunder the Coasts without any Resistance or great hazzard to his Men. And for this End he caused all suitable Preparations to be made both of Ships and Men against the Spring, which when equipped and fitted out he divided into Two Navies, and sent them to Sea under the Command of *William*, Lord *Pomiers*, and Sir *Peter Bressy*. At the Mouth of the *Saine* these Two Fleets parted, and went the one Eastward and the other Westward. Sir *Peter Bressy*, who sailed East, coasted along the Shore of *Sussex* and *Kent*, but not daring to land, staid in the Downs till they could get Information about the State of those Counties, and being at length certified, that *Sandwich* was neither well Peopled nor fortified, because being lately infected with the Plague, the Magistrates and most of the chief People were remov'd out of it, and gone to the neighbouring Villages and Towns; he entered into the Haven, and pillag'd the Town, taking such poor Stuff as was found therein, and then hastned away, because he heard that the Country was rising upon them. The Lord *Pomiers*, who took his Course Westward, in the mean time committed the like Outrages in *Devonshire*, in plundering and robbing the Town of *Fulney* or *Fowey*, (o) which done, they both retir'd into *Bretagne*, but hardly with Prey enough to recompense the Charge the French King had been at in setting them out. While the French thus molested the Coasts, the Scots, who ever join'd with the French against England, invaded the Borders, and entering *Northumberland* in a good Body under the Command of their King, *Jame II.* burnt and plundered several small Villages and Houses. But the Duke of York hearing of their Attempts, got together a good Army, and hastned with all speed to drive them out of the Country, which when the Scots had Knowledge of, they immediately return'd Home with little Profit to themselves, tho' they had done no small Damages to the English. Besides these Troubles which England suffered from her Enemies Abroad, the Disorders caused by the Nobility at Home, wrought no small Prejudices to it; for at the same time in the Northern Parts there happen'd a great Fray between Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Lord *Egremont*, and the Earl of *Salisbury's* Son, whom the said Lord hated for his Father's Sake, as being of the opposite Faction to himself and Family, fell upon them and their Retinue in open Field, and slew and wounded many of their Followers, and then fled. The King and Queen, tho' they did not much dislike the Action in themselves, yet least by overlooking the Wrong, they should provoke their Father and his Friends to any new Attempts, they gave out strict Orders for apprehending the said Lord, and having taken him, he was examin'd and tryed before the King's Council, by whom he was found guilty of an high Misdemeanour, and condemn'd to pay a large Fine to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and because he would not pay it, nor give him Security for the same, was committed to *Newgate*, with his Brother Sir *Richard Piercy*, who was guilty of the same Riot, but whether thro' the Negligence of the Keeper, or by the Weakness of the Prison, in a little time after he made his Escape, and let out several other Prisoners with him, to the great Trouble of the Sheriffs of *London*, who were oblig'd to find them out again.

*A. D.* 1457. Reg. 35.

The Scots invade England.

A Fray between the Lord Egremont and Earl of Salisbury's Sons.

The Lord Egremont imprisoned, but escapes. Reg. 36.

(o) Fowey is in Cornwall.



A. D. 1457. Reg. 36. The Lord Egremont kept himself private for a while, but at length by his Friends obtain'd his Pardon, and Release of his Fine of the King, and so was restor'd to his Liberty. Not long after the like Dissention happen'd between the Young Duke of Somerset and Sir John Nevil, the Earl of Salisbury's Son, who met at Salisbury with large Retinues, and threatned each other with Slaughter and Destruction, but by the Vigilance and Care of the Mayor, who kept strong Watches and Guards upon both Parties, they were hindred so long from joyning, that by the Mediation of Friends their Anger was pacified and no harm followed at that time. Thus was England miserably harass'd at Home and Abroad thro' her own Divisions, and she that was so lately formidable to all her Neighbours, was made a Prey to the Meanest of them.

The Troubles of Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester. Soon after the Feast of St. Michael in this Year began the Troubles of that learned and godly Divine Reginald Peacock, then Bishop of Chichester. He had for many Years lived in very great Reputation for his Holiness and Piety, and for the promoting of the Truth of the Gospel had wrote several Books, which he entitl'd, 1. Of the Christian Religion in general. 2. Of Marriage. 3. Of the just expressing of the Holy Scripture in Three Parts. 4. The Donet of Christian Religion. 5. The Follower of the Donet. 6. A Book of Faith. 7. The Book filling the Four Tables. 8. The Book of Worshipping. 9. The Provoker of Christian Men. 10. The Book of Counsel. Besides these Writings which were intended chiefly for the Benefit of the People, he had moved several Questions in the Universities about the Annates, Peter-pence, and the Jurisdiction of the Pope which he exercised here in England, and delivered his Opinion freely concerning them, but no ways in Favour of the Pope. He is also said to have pitied the Ignorance of the People so much, that he spent many Years Labour in translating the Bible into the English Tongue. By all these Things he very much angered the Hierarchy, but nothing was attempted against him so long as his great Patron, and Favourers of his Piety and Learning lived Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, by whose Means he was first made Bishop of St. Asaph, and then of Chichester. But soon after that good Duke was murdered, the Bishop was then exposed to his Enemies, who reading over his Books and picking up his Assertions delivered in his Disputations brought an heavy Charge of Heresie, and other Crimes against him to Thomas Bourchier, then Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who being a Person zealous for the Papal Grandure and Power was forward and active in the Prosecution of him. This Arch-bishop began his Process against him October 22. sending out a Citation to all Persons who had any thing Heretical and Erroneous to charge the said Bishop of Chichester with, to appear before him within 20 Days after Summons, to speak, propound, alledge and affirm fully and sufficiently in Writing whatsoever they had to say against him, strictly forbidding all Persons as well of the Clergy as Laity in the mean time to inveigh against any Propositions laid down by the said Bishop in his Books so long as the Examination of them was depending in the Arch-bishop's Court. Upon the Day appointed not only the Enemies of the Bishop, but the Bishop of Chichester himself, being as valiant for the Truth as his Enemies were furious against him, appeared before the Arch-bishop, and the Divines and Lawyers belonging to his Court at

He is accused of Heresie.

Lambeth. The Articles laid to his Charge by his Adversaries were these, viz. That he had in his Books, Works and Writings asserted many Heresies and erroneous Doctrines contrary to the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith: As, 1. That it is not necessarily to be believed, that Jesus Christ after his Death descended into Hell. 2. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe in the Holy Catholick Church. 3. Or in the Communion of Saints. 4. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe the Body of Christ to be materially present in the Sacrament. 5. That the universal Church may err in Matters of Faith. 6. That it is not necessary to Salvation to believe, that what every general Council doth ordain, approve or determine should be holden and approved by all Christians. Other Opinions and erroneous Assertions he was charged with, as that he said, That the Office of a Christian Bishop is chiefly to preach the Word of God; That Bishops who bought their Admission to their Sees of the Bishop of Rome did sin; That no Man is bound to obey or believe the Determinations of the Church of Rome; That the wilful begging Friars were an idle and needless Order; That Spiritual Persons ought not to have any Temporal Possessions; And that personal Tithes were not due by the Law of God. But these last with many of the like Nature were imputed to him to blacken his Name, and make his Condemnation seem deserved. The former Six were in all probability the Articles proved upon him out of his Books, Sermons and Disputations, when he was brought before the Arch-bishop in his Consistory, and these he defended very strenuously and boldly in the Presence of the Arch-bishop and many great Lords, but at length partly by Menaces and Threats, and partly by Flattery, and Perswasions, he was prevailed withal by his Brethren the Bishops to recant his Opinions, which he did Decemb. 4. at St. Paul's Cross in the English Tongue, consenting that his Books should be burnt as a Terror to others, and exhorting all Men present to give no Belief to any of the Doctrines delivered in them. But tho' he recanted, yet he was not thought by the Bishops themselves to renounce his Errors heartily, and therefore he was not only deprived of his Bishoprick, but kept in Prison all the remaining part of his Life, where whether he died of Trouble and Grief, or was destroy'd by his Enemies is uncertain, but sure it is he lived not long after. (p)

His Opinions alledg'd against him.

He recants his Opinions.

King Henry and his Council observing, that notwithstanding several Provocations had been given the Lords to rebel by the Queen and her Friends, yet they retained a great Desire of Peace, as they had testified partly by their living quietly upon their Estates, and partly by sending their Friends to him to mediate for an Agreement, removed to London about Christmas, and soon after his Arrival summoned a great Council, and there freely and openly declared, That since he perceived that the Divisions which of late had happened between himself and some of the chief of his Nobles had been the only Encouragement to the Scots and French to molest and invade his Kingdom the last Summer, and would still more embolden them to do the like, if these Home-Animosities continued, it was his Desire, that a Reconciliation should be made with all convenient Speed, promising upon his Salvation, that no Injuries done to his Person or Friends should be any Impediment to a perfect Amity between them, but at their Desires all Things should be forgotten and forgi-

A. D. 1458. Henry returns to London, and offers a Reconciliation with the Lords.

(p) He was confin'd first to his own House, and then he had leave to retire to an Abby, where he had a Pension assign'd him for his Maintenance.

ven,



A. D. 1458. Reg. 36. ven, and the Duke of York and his Friends taken into especial Favour and Love, that so the Nation might unanimously oppose its Enemies.

The King, who was at all times a Stranger to Dissimulation, was immediately by all the Council judged to speak these Things with his usual Candour, and out of a pure Desire of the Peace of the Nation, and therefore pursuant to his Order certain Persons of Quality, who were judged fittest to mediate between the King and the Duke of York for their Gravity and Moderation, were dispatched to the Lords of the York Faction, to command them to repair to the King's Court without Delay, there to treat and consult with the King about a Pacification of all Parties for the good of the Publick. This Message was accepted by the Lords with great Readiness, and accordingly on the 15th Day of January the Earl of Salisbury with a Retinue of 500 Men arrived in London, and lodged by the King's Appointment at his own House, called the Harbour, and on the 26th of the same Month came the Duke of York with a Train of 400 Men, and took up his Residence at *Bainard's-Castle*. Soon after him came the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham and Somerset with a mighty Throng of Attendants, viz. 800 Men, and had their Lodgings ordered them without *Temple-Bar*. Next arrived the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford with a Train of 1500 Men, and had their Quarters allotted 'em in the Suburbs of the City. The Earl of Warwick, who was Captain of *Calis*, and resided there, required a greater Time to prepare and come over, and therefore came up to London not till February 14. but appeared with the greatest Splendour, having 600 Men to attend him, all in Red Jackets with White ragged Staves embroidered on them behind and before, and made his Abode in the *Black-Friers*. When all the Lords were arrived, the King and Queen followed on March 17. with a very strong Guard and Attendance, and lodged in the Bishop's Palace. And tho' the King and his Council had well provided, that the two Factions might be so separated, viz. the one in the Suburbs, and the other in the City, that there might happen no Quarrels between them; yet least any unexpected Difference should arise, the Mayor and Magistracy of the City were order'd to keep up a Body of 5000 armed Men to maintain the Peace indifferently between them, who accordingly Day and Night kept a strict Guard, and rode up and down the Suburbs and City with them to prevent all Disorders which might arise. The King and his Nobles on the one part held their Consultations apart at first in the Chapter-house at *Westminster*, and the Duke of York with his Party met at *Black-Friers* to debate upon such Conditions of Peace as they should agree to accept, and when Things were settled among themselves the Arch-bishop and Bishops, who perswaded both Parties to moderate Terms, brought 'em to a Communication together, and at length after many Debates and hot Contests on both Sides, they promised to forget all Wrongs and Injuries done on either Side, and to be Friends to each other, and obedient to the King, but upon these Conditions, which being set down in Writing were signed, sealed and delivered by both Parties March 23. and were to this Effect, viz.

The Lords accept the King's Offer, and come to London.

Articles of Agreement between the King and Lords.

I. That the Duke of York and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury should settle 40 l. a Year upon the Abby of *St. Albans* for ever, for Suffrages and Obits to be kept, and Alms to be employ'd

for the Souls of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas, Lord Clifford, with the rest of the King's Friends, who were slain in the Battel of *St. Albans*, which Lords were declared faithful Subjects to the King at their Deaths, as well as the Duke of York, and Earls of Warwick and Salisbury.

II. That the Duke of York should pay Eleanor, Dutches of Somerset, and Duke Henry her Son, the Sum of 5000 Marks to be divided as the King should think convenient among the younger Children of the said Dutches, and the Earl of Warwick 2000 Marks to the Lord Clifford to be distributed among his younger Brethren and Sister by the King.

III. That whereas Sir Thomas Piercy, the Lord Egremont, and Richard Piercy, Sons of the Countess of Northumberland were fined to pay to the Earl of Salisbury, his Wife and Sons, Thomas and John Nevill 14800 Marks for Trespasses found by Richard Bingham and Ralph Pool the King's Judges to be done to the said Earl of Salisbury and his Sons, it was agreed, that the said Sums should be released by them to the said Offenders, yet upon Condition, that the Lord Egremont and his Brethren should enter into a Recognisance in Chancery to keep the Peace with the said Earl of Salisbury, his Wife, Children, Servants and Tenants, and the said Earl should discharge the Tenants of the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Egremont from their Obligations to stand to their Order and Government.

IV. That all Variances, Discords and Debates, all Controversies, Appeals and Actions personal, that are or have been between any of the said Lords and their Servants shall be for ever determined and ended, saving to every one their Title, Action and Right to all Arrerages of Rents, Services, Accounts, Detinues or Debts due by any Contract or Deed, and that Releases should be given to each other accordingly.

V. That if any Action, Suit or Quarrel chanced between any of the Servants or Tenants of the said Lords for any Matter or Thing, that none of the said Lords should support, maintain or aid the Persons so suing, but use their utmost Endeavours to bring them to Peace and Quietness.

VI. That if any Party complained of the Breach of this Agreement he should not bring his Action, unless the King's Council see just Cause to allow it.

VII. That if any Variance arose about the Recognisances, Releases or Acquittances between the Council of both Parties, it shall be determined by the two Chief Justices.

VIII. That whereas the Persons bound in Chancery by this Award were obliged to obey it in great Sums, the King should not pardon them without the Consent of the Party aggrieved; and if they were recovered, the King should have one Moiety and the Complainant the other.

This Award and Agreement was sealed with the Great Seal at the King's Palace of *Westminster*, March 24. in the Thirty Six Year of the King's Reign; and the next Day being openly proclaim'd and publish'd, was receiv'd with universal Joy, and a solemn Procession celebrated by the King and Court, within the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in London, in Testimony of their Thankfulness to God for this happy Union. In this Procession all Things were contriv'd to declare a perfect Amity between the Factions; for before the King, went the Duke of Somerset, and Earl of Salisbury Hand

A Procession after the Sealing of it.



A. D. 1458. Reg. 36. in Hand; the next the Duke of Exeter, and Earl of Warwick, and so on, the one of the one Faction, and the other of the other, being join'd together. The King came behind them in his Regal Robes, and the Crown on his Head; and after him the Duke of York leading the Queen, who was very familiar with him, as if she had a real Favour for him; but as she was always a great Artist at Dissimulation, so she never more used it than at this Juncture, when it ought to have been quite laid aside, as the following Transactions will evidently shew.

Earl of Warwick takes Six Spanish Ships. All Things being thus concluded, the Lords parted from the King and Queen with all outward Signs of Friendship; and the Duke of York and Earl of Salisbury went to York, but the Earl of Warwick staid at the Court a while about the Business of Callis, and about Witsundside passed over to his Charge. While he continued there, he went out with Fourteen of the King's Ships, (for he was also made Admiral of the Narrow Seas) to scour the Coasts, and met with a Fleet of Spaniards laden with Merchandize, but well furnish'd for their Defence. The Earl was not able to deal with them, yet being unwilling to part with so rich a Prey, he resolv'd to encounter them, and so began the Fight, which they as resolutely maintain'd against them. The Battel continued almost two Days, but at last determin'd in Favour of the Earl, who took Six of their Ships laden with Wine, Oil, Wax, Iron and other rich Merchandizes, worth 10000 Pounds Sterling; and sunk and put to flight Twenty-six more, having slain a 1000 of their Men in the Fight, and taken many Prisoners, with the Loss of not above an 100 Men. This Victory not only increased the Fame of this great Earl, but by his generous Temper in carrying (q) over into England the Goods he had taken; he caused those Things to be sold for a Shilling which before would have cost Two.

The Genoefes take some English Ships, and are punished for it. Among this Fleet of the Spaniards were Five Genoa's Carricks, of which Three were taken; and the other Two which fled Home, bringing the News of the Loss, incensed the Genoefes to revenge it upon such English Ships as they could light on, which not long after they did in this Manner. One Sturmyne, a Bristol Merchant, had been travailing some Years in divers Countries of the Levant, and other Eastern Parts, from whence he was returning with rich Merchandizes, and as was said, brought green Pepper and other Spices with him, to have set and sown in England. The Genoefes having Intelligence of his Return, laid wait for his Ship, and taking it, spoiled it of all its Goods, and several others with it. The News of this Action being heard of by the King and his Council, an Order was sent out to seize all the Merchant Genoefes in London, and commit them to the Fleet, till they could find sufficient Security to answer the Damages done by their Countrymen to the English Merchants; and because they did not or could not do it, they were made to pay 6000 Marks for the Damages done to Sturmyne and this Realm, and then dismissed their Imprisonment.

Printing used in publick this Year. In this Year Historians say, that Printing began to appear in Publick, which had lain hid about Ten Years, after this Manner. One John Faustus, a Goldsmith and Citizen of Mentz, having casually engraven some Letters upon a Piece of Metal, laid Ink upon them, and finding

they made a fair Impression, fram'd them into Words, and so arriv'd at some Probability of improving it into a more speedy Way of putting out Books, which he communicated to certain Friends of his of the same City, viz. John Cuthemburge and Peter Schafferd, yet with an Injunction to keep it secret for a Time, that they might improve it. John Cuthemburge being a Man of a more publick Spirit, could not endure to keep so useful an Art private long, and therefore this Year began with Faustus to exercise it in publick at Strasburg, and by imparting the Knowledge of it to the Inquisitive, he was a Means, that it not only was much improv'd by others, but was carried into several Parts of Europe, as Rome, by Conradus Gallus, a German, and to England by William Caxton, a Mercer of London, who introduced it into the Abbey of Westminster in 1471, and afterward it spread it self into many other English Monasteries.

A. D. 1458. Reg. 37. The Earl of Warwick about Michaelmas return'd into England, and remain'd about the Court, moving and carrying on divers Affairs, as well in reference to the Publick as belonging to his own Charge. In November it happen'd, that as he sat in Council in the Palace-Royal at Westminster, one of the King's Servants affronting a Yeoman of the Earl's Attendants, they fell to Blows, and the Earl's Servant having sorely hurt and wounded the King's, he fled to secure himself. The King's Guards and other of his menial Servants, seeing their Fellow-Servant harm'd, and the Offender escaped, reflected upon the Earl his Master, as an Enemy to the Court and King, and since they could not be avenged of his Servant, resolv'd to have amends of his Master, as being an Encourager of him in the Attempt; and watching him when he return'd from the Council-Chamber to his Barge, suddenly set upon him and his Retinue, the Yeomen with Swords, and the Cooks and Black-Guard with Spits and Fire-forks. The Earl's Men made as good a Defence as they could, while their Master, not without great Danger, by the Help of his Friends got into the Barge, and fled into the City of London, but many of them were dangerously wounded and hurt. The Queen shewed more than ordinary Concern in this Affair, and as tho' she had been engaged to make good the Quarrel, (which some from thence believed she was the Mover of) commanded that the Earl should be apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower, where she determin'd to have put a Period to his Life. This the Earl being advertised of by some of his Friends, feared to stay longer in the City, and therefore departing to Warwick, he took his Journey into Yorkshire, where he found the Duke of York and his Father, to whom he declared the Occasion of his coming, and what Danger he had escaped from the Queen and her Servants, (r) which malicious Intention, as he thought, was not to be pass'd over without just Resentments; and he would leave it to their Judgments to take such Methods to do it as were proper, while he should go over to Callis to secure that important Garrison; for it was not to be doubted, but the Queen would endeavour all she could to wrest it out of his Hands, and put it under the Command of some of her Friends, and so he posted away with all speed thither, and was receiv'd by the Garrison with Joy, and all due Respect to his Authority. He was scarcely arriv'd there, and put Things

(q) He carried his Booty to Callis, and return'd not to England till new Troubles call'd him thither. Holl. p. 648.  
(r) This Accident happen'd before he took the Booty. See Hol. Page 648.



*A. D.*  
1458.  
Reg. 37.  
The Queen endeavours to place the Earl of Warwick.

*A. D.*  
1459.  
The Earl of Salisbury goes with an Army to the King.

The Queen orders the Lord Audley to raise an Army, and apprehend the Earl of Salisbury.

in good order for his own Security, but the Queen, who imagin'd that the Earl of Warwick had raised this Stir to begin a new Quarrel, and set the Crown upon the Duke of York's Head, by the Advice of the Duke of Somerset and Buckingham, sent a Messenger with an Order under the Privy-Seal to him, that he should resign the Captain's-Office of *Callis*, because she had given that Charge to the Duke of Somerset, whom the King intended shortly to send over thither. But the Earl of Warwick reply'd, That he was made Captain of *Callis* by Authority of Parliament, and would not resign his Charge but into their Hands that gave it him, and therefore could not obey the King's Seal, because he was accountable for so doing to him in Parliament; and so he held out the Garrison against her. While these Things were done at *Callis*, the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury, with their Friends, entered into a deep Consultation about the Assault offer'd to the Earl of Warwick by the King's Servants, and concluded, That this Disorder proceeded purely from the Queen's Malice to them, who encouraged her Servants to slay the Earl of Warwick, that they might be the more easily suppressed and destroyed; and that now since Oaths and Promises were of no Force with the Queen and her Friends, but even the sacred Pretences of Peace and Friendship were made use of to draw them more securely into their Snares, it was high time for them to stand upon their own Guard, and with Sword in Hand to demand Satisfaction for the Injury intended, so that if they would not hearken to Reason, they might be brought to it by Force. And to this End, it was agreed, That the Earl of Salisbury should take such Troops of their Attendants as were in readiness, which amounted to a Body of about 5000, and should go up to London to the King, and put up his Complaints of the Wrong done to his Son the Earl of Warwick, contrary to the late Agreement made between himself and his Lords, and demand the Satisfaction in Reason due; which if granted, he would lay down his Arms; but if denied, their future Actions would be justifiable in the Sight of all Men. The Earl of Salisbury according to this Plan began his March from *Middleham* Castle a little after *Candlemas*, and took his way thro' *Lancashire*, to go towards London; which, tho' the furthest Way about, yet he hoped to augment his Troops there. The Duke of York in the meantime was to raise another Army, and as Occasion required to go to meet him, and so jointly oppose their Enemies, if they stood upon the Defence of the Quarrel. The Queen who kept a watchful Eye upon all the Motions of the Lords, and at the first Beginning of this Contest imagin'd, that the Earl of Warwick had purposely raised this Combustion to set the Crown on the Duke of York's Head, thought it now unnecessary to talk of any Parleys, and therefore by the Advice of her two chief, but enraged Counsellors the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham contrived to suppress them by Force, and to this End, dispatched Orders in the King's Name to *James Touchet* Lord Audley, who was a very potent Man in those Countries, thro' which the Earl of Salisbury was to march, to raise an Army with all speed, and by surprize to apprehend him: And that she might engage many Gentlemen of those Parts to assist him with their Persons and Interests in this Attempt as she could, she sent down to several of them a Badge of her Favour and their Loyalty, a white embroidered Swan, which they should wear in Token of their Love to the King. By these Arts she drew so many to her Party, that the

Lord Audley, who prosecuted his Commission with due Zeal and Expedition, got together a Body of 10000 Men out of *Cheshire* and *Shropshire* in a very short Time, and ranked them in Order of Battel, ready to receive him. The King and Queen hearing in what Readiness the Lord Audley was to encounter their Enemies, came down towards him to be under his Guard as it were, and the King remain'd at *Coleshill* in *Warwickshire*, but the Queen lay at *Ecclesale* in *Staffordshire*, expecting a good Event of this Undertaking. The Lord Audley and his Spies had Intelligence of the Earl of Salisbury's Motions, and hearing that he drew near him, ranged his Men upon *Blore-Heath*, near *Draiton* in *Shropshire*, where the Earl was to pass, ready to receive him. The Earl of Salisbury not suspecting this Opposition, was surpriz'd at the first Sight, but considering, that his Retreat would be disgraceful to him, resolv'd to abide the Battel, tho' much inferior in Strength, and pitched his Camp in the Front of his Enemy; a small River, but pretty deep, being between them, and so remain'd the following Night. In the Morning, which was *St. Tecla's* Day, the Earl of Salisbury caused his Men to shoot a great Flight of Arrows upon the Lord Audley's Camp, and then ordered them to make a Retreat, as tho' they intended to fly; which when the Lord Audley saw, he commanded his Men to pass over the River, and pursue them, giving charge to them to take the Earl of Salisbury if possible, alive or dead, as the Queen had order'd him; which they accordingly obeyed: but in the Hurry and Confusion, before Half the Army was gotten over, the Earl of Salisbury and his Men return'd in good Order upon the Lord Audley's Army, and fell upon them with great Fury, which tho' they courageously opposed, yet thro' Disorder and Surprise, they were after a sharp Battel routed, and the Lord Audley and all his chief Captains slain, with above 2400 common Soldiers. In this Fight were the Two Sons of the Earl of Salisbury, Sir *John Nevill* and Sir *Thomas Nevill* dangerously wounded, and going into a neighbouring Town for Cure, were set upon by some of the Queen's Friends, and taken Prisoners, with Sir *Thomas Harrington*, who accompanied them, and all of them carried to *Chester* Castle; which Misfortune was a sad Allay to the Victory in the Earl of Salisbury's Mind, because he knew that the Queen would immediately put them to death, unless they were delivered; which happen'd as soon almost as desir'd; for the Townsmen, who themselves were well affected to the Duke of York, having received a Message from the March-Men of *Wales*, That unless they were forthwith released, they would come and pull down the Castle; were glad of the Pretence to set them at Liberty, and so sent them away to their Father, who welcom'd them with all Joy.

The Duke of York having receiv'd the News of this Victory, resolves no longer to conceal his Intention; and since the King and Queen sought his Ruin, as a Competitor with them for the Crown, he determin'd either to get it, or perish in the Attempt; and upon that Account hastens to meet the Earl of Salisbury, that they might join their Forces together, and take all necessary Courses to augment their Army so as to fear no Opposition, which they after Consultation did, by sending into all Parts of *Wales*, *Shropshire*, and other Counties in the Marches of it. They wrote also to *Callis* to the Earl of Warwick, to bring over to their Assistance some Troops of his most experienc'd Soldiers, which he

*A. D.*  
1459.  
Reg. 37.  
Reg. 38.

A Battel between the Lord Audley and the Earl of Salisbury.

The Earl of Salisbury's Sons taken Prisoners, but released.

Duke of York resolves to get the Crown, and gathers an Army.



A. D.  
1459.  
Reg. 38.

The King  
raises an  
Army to  
go against  
him, but  
offers  
Pardon.

The  
Lords's  
Answer.

A Letter  
from the  
Lords.

he did, under the Command of *Andrew Trollop*, and *John Blunt*, Two Captains of great Experience and approved Policy in the late Wars in *Normandy* and *Guien*; which all being united into one Body, assembled in *October*, and encamped at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*. The King had Intelligence of the Lords's Proceedings, and that he might put a Stop to their further Designs, sent out Commissions into all Parts of the Nation, where he had any Friends, to raise an Army with all speed to suppress them; which he had no great Difficulty to do, because many out of Love and Duty to the King, but more out of Fear of the Queen, flock'd to his Standard, so that he had gathered a mighty Army in a short Space. With it the King in Person, accompanied with the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Exeter*, and *Somerset*, and others of the Nobility, who were Favourers of the *Lancastrian* Line, marched forwards towards the Lords, and came to *Worcester*, where staying a while to refresh their Army, it was after some Consultation agreed, That a Messenger of some Account should be sent to the Earls and Duke, to offer them a free and general Pardon of all their Offences, if they would lay down their Arms, and become obedient Subjects. The Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Richard Beauchamp*, was the Person thought fittest to be employed in this Affair; and accordingly was sent to them with a Message of Pardon, which he delivered to them with the Gravity and Seriousness of a Prelate. The Lords gave no Answer till they had consulted among themselves, and then by the Earl of *Warwick* reply'd, That they dare not trust to the King's Pardon, because they had several Pardons before, and those confirm'd by Parliament, and yet found them of no Security to them, but rather a Snare to draw them into Danger of their Lives, as the late Assault upon the Earl of *Warwick* manifestly shewed, by which he had perished, had not God wonderfully preserv'd him. Yet if any Way could be devised for their Safety, to which they might trust without fail, they were ready to submit to his Grace, and sue for his Favour. This Answer being brought to the King by the Bishop, did not at all please him, and thereupon he commanded his Standard to advance towards them; but before he and his Army arriv'd at their Camp, he received a Letter from the Lords, declaring, That as they had heretofore given Demonstrations, that they only sought the Prosperity of his Majesty and the Nation, with the Security of their own Persons and Estates, so, if they knew their own Hearts, they intended nothing else by being now in Arms, and therefore they kept themselves in the furthest Parts of the Nation, not with any ill Design, but to abide his Majesty's coming, that they might in all humble and submissive Manner beg his Grace and Favour, and have all Grievances redressed; and tho' they were unjustly and untruly defamed as Traitors and Rebels, and their Lordships and Tenants robb'd and spoil'd, against his Peace and Laws, yet they were so tender of the Effusion of Christian Blood, that they would not stand up in their own Defence till Necessity compell'd them; and therefore besought him to accept them as his true and faithful Subjects, and hear their Complaints and Answers to the Calumnies of their Adversaries, that the Nation may be restored to its Quiet, and they to their Estates. This Letter bears Date *October 10.* and is subscribed, *R. York*. *R. Warwick*, *R. Salisbury*.

The King having read this Letter, was not much better satisfied, but gave a Second Order for his Army to march towards them, till coming within half a Mile of the Enemy, they pitched their Camp, and the King immediately

put out his Proclamation, That whosoever would lay down their Arms, and come over to him and beg Mercy, should be pardoned for this Attempt. Which Act of Grace being heard in the Duke of *York*'s Camp, begat a great Discontent and Murmuring, the Generality of the People fearing a bad Issue of their Rebellion, and desiring now to provide for their own Safety. *Trollop* and *Blunt* with their *Calistian* Troops, were amaz'd to see themselves engag'd against their King, whom they always had served, and in whose Pay they still were; for the Earl of *Warwick*, who sent them over, had not declared to them the Reason of their coming; wherefore as soon as they saw where they were, they fled the next Night to the King's Army, and advertised him of the Duke of *York*'s Design, to set upon his Camp suddenly, that he might at once destroy the King and his People; and by their Example drew many others to do the like, which much lessened the Lords's Forces. This sudden Desertion of the Captains, in whom they put much Confidence, and of many of their People, was a Discouragement to the Lords to attempt any Thing further. They saw their Counsels betray'd, their best Soldiers gone, and the Remainder not willing to fight, and thought it in vain to run the certain Danger of Life, and so they resolv'd to provide for their own Safety, and depart. The Duke of *York* with his Younger Son *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*, fled privately into *Wales*, and from thence sailed into *Ireland*, where he was received with an universal Joy. The *Irish* offering him to live and die with him, as if he had been their Natural Prince. The Earl of *March*, the Duke of *York*'s Eldest Son and Heir Apparent, accompanied with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and Sir *John Wenlock*, went into *Devonshire*, where by the Help of *John Dinham*, Esq; afterwards Treasurer of *England* in *Henry* the Seventh's Days, they bought a Ship at *Exmouth* for an 110 Marks, and sailed into *Gernsey*, and so to *Callis*, where being let in at a Postern by Sir *William Nevill*, Lord *Falconbridge*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Uncle, who kept the Town and Castle, they were joyfully received by their Friends. The News of their Flight being carried to the King's Camp, he sent out some Troops of Horsemen to pursue them, but all was in vain, they were got out of their Reach and out of Danger. As for the private Soldiers, who by the Retreat of their Leaders, were left to the King's Mercy, they were all pardoned and sent Home, except some few, who being remarkable for their Forwardness in this Rebellion, were some of them fined, and others hang'd and quarter'd. The Town of *Ludlow*, which belonged to the Duke of *York*, and had sided with him in this Rising, was plunder'd and robb'd to the very Walls. In the Castle the King took the Dutches of *York* with her Two Youngest Sons, whom he sent to be kept under Confinement by the Dutches of *Buckingham* her Sister. And the Duke of *York* and his Sons, with the Earls of *Warwick* and *Salisbury* were proclaim'd Traitors to the King, Enemies to their Country, and Rebels to the Crown: And then having made the Earl of *Northumberland* and the Lord *Clifford*, Wardens and Keepers of the Northern Parts of *England*, as his trusty and most faithful Friends, and *Henry*, the new Duke of *Somerset*, Captain of *Callis*, he began his Journey towards *London*.

When *K. Henry* was come to *Coventry* in his way Home, he call'd his Parliament to meet there *Novemb. 20.* and being met they attain'd of High-Treason, *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and *his*

A. D.  
1459.  
Reg. 38.

A Pardon  
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A. D. 1459. his Eldest Son *Edward*, Earl of *March*, *Richard*, Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund*, Earl of *Rutland*, *Richard*, Earl of *Salisbury*, *Sir Thomas Harrington*, *Sir John Wenlocke*, *Sir Thomas* and *John Nevill*, the Earl of *Salisbury's* Sons, and many others, their Goods were confiscated, their Lands seized, and their Heirs disinherited to the Ninth Generation. As soon as the Parliament was risen, the Duke of *Somerset* was sent over with a choice Company of valiant and hardy Soldiers to take possession of his Government at *Callis*, but when he came to enter the Haven, the Artillery shot so hotly upon him both from the Town and the *Rice-bank*, that he was forced to retire out of Danger, and land at *Whitsunday*, from whence he sent his Commands to the Captains of the Town to receive him, shewing them his Commission for the Lieutenancy of it, but not being regarded, he betook himself to the Castle of *Guifnes*, and resolv'd by Force to bring the Town into Obedience to him, for which end he maintain'd daily Skirmishes with the Garrison of *Callis*, tho' more to his Loss than Gain. In the mean time the Mariners, who carry'd him over, bearing a greater Affection to the Earl of *Warwick* than him, convey'd their Ships into the Haven of *Callis*, and in them certain Persons, who were the Earl of *Warwick's* Enemies, as *Jamin Findill*, *John Fellow*, and some others, who being presented to the Earl of *Warwick* he caus'd them forthwith to be beheaded.

A. D. 1460. The News of the ill Success of the Duke of *Somerset* being related to the King and Queen, they sent over *Richard*, Lord *Rivers*, and *Sir Anthony Woodville* his valiant Son with 400 Men to aid the Duke of *Somerset* at *Guifnes* against the Garrison of *Callis*, who went down to *Sandwich* in order to pass over, but lay there some time to expect a Wind. The Earl of *Warwick* who kept the *Narrow-Seas* with a good Navy, having Intelligence of the Design watched his Opportunity, and sent *Sir John Dinham* with a small Number of Men to surprize them, who entering the Town took the Lord *Rivers* and his Son in their Beds, and having plundered the Town return'd, carrying all the King's Ships, which were laid there to transport them, along with them, except a Vessel nam'd *Grace de Dieu*, which could not be stirr'd, because it was very leaky, all which he presented to the Earl of *March*, of whom he had due Praise and Encouragement. With these Ships which were well Victualled and Manned, the Earl of *Warwick* immediately sail'd to the Duke of *York* in *Ireland* to commune and consult with him about their Return into *England*, and divers other Matters of Importance. The Wind and Weather were so favourable to the Earl's Voyage, that he pass'd and repass'd from *Callis* to *Dublin* in less than 30 Days. The Duke of *Exeter*, who was then Lord High-Admiral of *England*, hearing of the Earl of *Warwick's* Voyage into *Ireland*, lay in the Way of his Return with a competent Number of Ships well mann'd to have seiz'd him as he pass'd by them, which the Earl of *Warwick* being aware of, prepared to give him Battle: But the Duke of *Exeter* when he came to put in Execution his Design found such a great Inclination to the Earl of *Warwick* in his Captains, Mariners, and many of his Soldiers, that he durst not meddle with him, and so let him pass unattacked. Soon after the Earl's Return to *Callis*, because all Attempts against him had proved Unsuccessful hitherto, the Queen entertain'd a groundless Proposal to destroy him made to her by *Sir Baldwin Fulford*, a Man of more Daringness than Prudence, who undertook

upon pain of losing his Head to kill the Earl of *Warwick*; but after he had spent the King 1000 Marks he return'd again without having done any Thing.

The Earl of *Warwick* being return'd out of *Ireland*, and bringing his Mother to *Callis*, gave some Suspicion to the King and Queen, that there were some fresh Resolutions of invading *England* entertain'd by them of his Party, and that they might make their Endeavours in vain, two Methods were made use of as most effectual. 1. To suppress all such Persons as were known to favour the Duke of *York* and his Party in *England*: And 2. To guard the Coasts well with a sufficient Navy, that they might not dare to land any Forces, which could not be done without Hazzard. In order to the former of these the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Treasurer of *England*, the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Hungerford* were sent with the King's Commission to *Newbury*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *York*, to inquire out such as favour'd the said Duke, some of whom being found Guilty were hang'd and quarter'd, and the whole Town was plunder'd and spoil'd. From thence the Earl went to *Southampton*, and other Places, where he used the like Severity. The Fame of these Actions and Dealings, tho' just, much terrified such Towns as knew themselves obnoxious to the same Punishment; and because *Kent* had given greater Proofs of their Affection to the Lords Side several times this Reign, than any other County had, not only in *Jack Cade's* Rebellion, but in betraying *Sandwich*, they expected nothing but Ruin, unless they could come under the Protection of the said Lords: To that End they sent a Message to them at *Callis* to invite them over to their Defence, promising them their utmost Assistance. The Lord's tho' in some Forwardness for their intended Design, yet would not venture till they had better Knowledge of their Sincerity, and therefore sent over the Lord *Falconbridge* to try their Resolutions, and concert with them about their further Proceedings. *Sir Simon Manford*, who for some time before was laid with a Navy of Ships well mann'd and victuall'd to defend the Sea Coasts against all such Attempts, was ready to oppose his landing, whereupon arose an hot Dispute between 'em, but the Victory at length fell to the Lord *Falconbridge*, who took *Sir Simon* himself with many other Prisoners, and sent them over to *Callis* to the Earl of *March*, where he with Twelve of the chief of his Captains were beheaded upon the *Rice-bank*. The Lord *Falconbridge* having thus removed all Impediments of his Landing was receiv'd into *Sandwich* with an hearty Welcome, and the Gentry of that Country and the adjoining Shires immediately resorted to him, shewing him their Causes of Fears from the Queen and her Friends, and earnestly requesting the speedy Return of the Lords to free themselves and the whole Kingdom from apparent Destruction, promising them their utmost Help and Concurrence. The Lord *Falconbridge* could not distrust their hearty Protestations, which had all the Signs of Veracity in them, and therefore dispatch'd away a Messenger to the Lords at *Callis*, to assure them, that he found a general good Inclination in all People in those Parts to them, and a Readiness to do them all the Service they could both in Body and Goods, and it was his Advice, that they should lose no Time, but passing over the Sea should land in *England*, while the People were so hotly affected to them. The Earls were sensible of the Fitness of this Opportunity to

A. D. 1460. Reg. 38.

The King suspects an Invasion of *England*, and endeavours to hinder it.

*Kent* invites the Lords to invade *England*.

The Lord *Falconbridge* at *Sandwich* invites the Lords to come into *England*.

Duke of *Somerset* made Captain of *Callis*.

The Earl of *Warwick* takes the King's Ships from *Sandwich*.

Some Attempts to take the Earl of *Warwick*, but in vain.



A. D. 1460. Reg. 38. to effect their Design, and sending the Messenger back to the Lord Falconbridge with a Declaration to be sent to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and dispersed up and down the Maritime Counties to prepare the People for their Reception, and draw over all they could to their Aid, they made all the necessary Preparations for their Passage into England.

The Lord's Declaration. The Sum of their Declaration was to this Effect, That the Duke of York, Earls of March, Warwick and Salisbury had divers Times offered and sued to come into the King's Presence to have declared for their Duty to God, His Highness, and Prosperity of the Realm these following Matters, viz.

I. The great Extortion, Murther, Robberies and Oppressions done to the Church and Ministers of it, against the Laws both of God and Man.

II. The Poverty and Misery of His Highness himself, who being cheated and defrauded of the Revenues of the Crown, which might and would support his Royal State, by the Destroyers of the Commonwealth, was forced to oppress and spoil his Subjects.

III. That the Laws were partially and unjustly executed and made to support their Injustice and Oppression, by such as should most love and tender them.

IV. That the Commons were marvellously taxed, and their Goods taken from 'em without Payment, because he permitted the Destroyers of the Land to live upon his own Revenues, suffering all the King's Possessions in France to be lost.

V. That the People begin to have new Impositions laid upon them, viz. every Town to find Men for the King's Guards after the Example of the French our Adversaries, which if continued to our Heirs, will be such a Charge and Bondage, as none of our Ancestors were subject to.

VI. That divers Lords had caused the King to write Letters to his Enemies in Ireland and France to conquer the said Kingdom and take Callis, which Letters were shew'd to the Duke of York by the Irishmen with Detestation of their Villany.

VII. That since the barbarous and shameful Murther of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester at Bury, it hath been studied and conspired to have destroy'd and murther'd the Duke of York and his Issue of the Royal Blood, as also the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, for no other Cause but for the true Heart they have ever born and do bear to the King's Profit and Wealth of the Realm.

VIII. That the Earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, and the Lord Beaumont, the mortal Enemies of the said Duke and Lords, having the guiding of our Sovereign Lord, would not suffer the King to receive and accept them as he would have done, into his Presence, dreading the Charge, which would have been brought against them for destroying the Nation.

IX. That the said Earls of Wiltshire and Shrewsbury, and Lord Beaumont, not satisfied with the King's Revenues and Goods, had stirr'd up and excited His Highness to hold his Parliament at Coventry, where an Act was made by their Provocation and Labour to destroy the said Duke of York, Earls of March, Rutland, Salisbury and Warwick, and their Issue and their Estates and Tenants were given up to their Hands, who robbed them, and hang'd many of them without the King's Consent or Approbation.

A. D. 1460. Reg. 38. These Mischiefs they declared, they could not but behold with Grief, and therefore now purposed again to offer themselves to the Presence of their said Sovereign Lord to declare them to him in the most reverent Manner, that he may have Pity and Compassion on his miserable Subjects, and not suffer these Mischiefs still to reign. To the effecting of which they required all People to whom their Declaration should come, in God's Behalf and their own, to assist them doing their Duty to their Sovereign, his Person and Dignity, to whom they have been and ever would be true as any of his Subjects alive, to which they called God, the Virgin Mary and all the Saints in Heaven to witness.

What Effect this Declaration had appeared in a short time: For the Earls of March, Warwick and Salisbury, who in a few Weeks after arrived at Sandwich with 1500 Men only, were no sooner arriv'd, but the Lord Cobham met them with 4000 Men, and when they had refreshed themselves a few Days, they march'd thro' Kent to London, and were in their Way joyn'd by several Gentlemen and their Friends, who came in so thick, that before they got to the City they were increased into a Body of near 40000 fighting Men, many Gentlemen and Yeomen of the South-parts joyning with them near London, which they enter'd July 2. and were joyfully receiv'd by the Mayor and the whole City, whether also came the next Day Thomas, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Ely and Exeter, with many other Priors and religious Persons to congratulate their Arrival, by whose Means they hoped for a Reformation of all Abuses in Church and State, tho' not such as follow'd.

The King, who at the Time of the Lords landing was at Coventry, was not unactive as far as in him lay, to stop the Progress of this Rebellion, for which End he appointed the Lord Scales to assemble what Troops he could, and get Possession of London, as the most important Place of the Kingdom, and which if secured, would alone baffle their Attempts. That Lord with the Earl of Kendall, Lord Lovell and others was zealous to obey the King's Command, and with all Expedition marching towards that City, arriv'd there before the Lords, and demanded Admission in the King's Name, assuring the Mayor and chief Citizens, that their coming thither was only to defend and keep the City from the Spoil of those Traitors, who, as the King was credibly inform'd were hastning thither. The Mayor, who secretly favour'd the Lords Undertakings, answer'd, That he needed no Help either to defend or govern the City committed to his Charge, nor would permit any armed Men to come within his Jurisdiction. This Reply much incensed the Lord Scales, who evidently saw the Disloyalty of the Citizens by it; and that he might annoy them, as much as was possible, he entred into the Tower and threaten'd them, that he would with his great Ordnance beat down their City, if they receiv'd the Rebels, which Menaces he endeavour'd after to make good.

The Queen in this Time (for the King hated Wars, and would not mind his own Defence) gathered a good Army about Coventry, (which Place was then call'd, The Queen's secret Harbour) and making the Duke of Somerset (who was in June come from Guisnes into England) the Duke of Buckingham, and divers other Lords, the Captains and Commanders of it, march'd with it, having the King himself with them, to Northampton, where when the Queen saw, that she had Power enough to encounter

A. D. 1460. Reg. 38.

The Lords welcomed and assisted in Kent.

The King sends the Lord Scales to secure London.

The Queen gathers an Army against the Lords.



*A. D.* 1460. counter their Enemies, she took upon her to encourage them to vindicate the Rights of their King, whose peaceable Disposition, and pious Temper bespoke their Fidelity the more to defend it, by how much it was of it self the more unable or unwilling to act in its own Defence, and by her good Words raised in them a Resolution to keep him on his Throne, or die for his Right.

While the Queen was thus preparing for her own and the King's Defence, the Lords at London were in great Consultation how to proceed in their Business, and having, to keep up the same shew of Loyalty, to which by their Declaration they had pretended, taken an Oath in a full Convocation of the Clergy at St. Paul's, that they had, and ever would bear faithful and true Allegiance to King Henry, and had no other Intentions, than to redress the Grievances of the Nation, and remove the Destroyers of their Country from about the King's Person; it was agreed, That the Earls of March and Warwick, William, Lord Falconbridge, and Henry, Lord Bourchier, call'd also Earl of Eu, should march with an Army of 25000 Men towards the King and Queen, leaving behind them, to keep the Londoners in their promised Obedience, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Cobham, and Sir John Wenlocke, who by their Vigilancy kept not only the City in Order, but defended it against the Lord Scales, who annoy'd it with his great Ordnance, and did much Harm to the Citizens; but these Lords by mounting Guns on the other side of the Thames over against the Tower, and preventing all Supplies of Victuals to be sent, put him to equal Straights and Losses. When the King and Queen heard that the Earl of March and Warwick drew near them, it was advis'd, that the King's Army should pass over the River Tyne, and encamp themselves strongly in the open Fields, and wait their coming, which was accordingly done. On July 9. the Earls with their Army encamp'd between Toucester and Northampton, and resolv'd the next Day for the Fight; but at the Mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops which were present, it was thought convenient, that the Bishop of Salisbury should be sent to the King to beseech him to admit the Earl of Warwick into his Presence to declare his Innocency, and offer such an Accord, as that all Things might be settled without Blood-shed. This Request was deny'd by the Duke of Buckingham, and though repeated again and again, yet had no better Answer, the King's Party, it seems, trusting so much to their Strength and Ordnance, and being encourag'd by the Bishop of Hereford to fight, would not hearken to any Proposals of Peace.

The Lord Scales in the Tower annoys the City.

The Lords sue for Peace, but being rejected come to a Battel.

The Earl of March, who being in the heat of his Youth, and very courageous, consider'd not so much the ill Effects of a Battel as the Laurels he longed for, seeing all Proposals of Peace rejected resolv'd to set upon the King's Army without Delay, and in the Night remov'd his Camp towards Northampton, marching in order of Battel; The Earl of Warwick led the Van-Guard, the Earl of March the Body, and the Lord Falconbridge the Rear. About Two a Clock in the Afternoon, July the 9th, the two Armies met, and the Earls of March, and Warwick having given a strict Charge to their Soldiers, that they should none of them lay Hands on the King, nor the Common People, but the Nobles and Gentlemen only, the Battel began and lasted for Five Hours, (or as

others, Two Hours) with great Fierceness on both Sides; but at length by the Treachery of the Lord Grey, who went over to the Enemy with a good Party and assisted them, the King's Side was vanquish'd with the Loss of 10000, partly drown'd and partly slain, among which were these Men of Note, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the valiant Son of as valiant a Father, Thomas, Lord Egremont, John, Viscount Beaumont, and Sir William Lacy. The Duke of Somerset escap'd narrowly, and with the Queen and Prince Edward fled into the Bishoprick of Durham. Many were taken Prisoners. The King himself, who remain'd in his Tent during the Battel, being left alone, fell into his Enemies Hands, but the Earls of March and Warwick assuring him, That they sought the Welfare of his Person, and Happiness of the Realm, in destroying their malicious Enemies, he was much comforted; and being led to Northampton with Procession, he tarried three Days there, and on July 16. arriv'd at London, where he was lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace.

This Victory reduced the Lord Scales to a low Condition, so that despairing of Help he resign'd the Tower upon Terms, which yet he supposing hardly secure enough, to preserve himself, he endeavour'd to have fled to the Queen in Disguise; but being discover'd by some of the Earl of Warwick's Watermen they slew him, and stripping him of his Cloaths, left his Body naked on the Shore, and wallowing in his own Blood many Days. After this great Inquiry was made for the Favourers of the Lancastrians, and many of them find, and some executed for Treason. Judge Thorp, second Baron of the Exchequer, was taken in a Monk's Habit with his Crown shaven, and imprison'd a while in the Tower, and after executed by the Mob at Highgate.

Queen Margaret hearing, that the King was taken, and that most of her Fast Friends were dead, was in great Perplexities what to do; and fearing she might also with her Son be betray'd to her Enemies, she fled into Wales to the Castle of Harbrough, having only Eight Persons with her, and so got into Scotland, but in Lancashire was robb'd of all her Goods to the Value of Ten Thousand Marks.

The Victorious Lords having the King now in their Power, and ruling all Things almost at their Pleasure proceeded vigorously in the Execution of their Designs; and first call a Parliament to meet at Westminster, October the 8th following, but in the King's Name, and then send into Ireland to the Duke of York to acquaint him with their Success, and invite him to come with all convenient Speed into England, which when he heard he was greatly pleas'd, perswading himself, that now no Obstacle remain'd between himself and the Crown. Ambition needs no Spurs, Preparations are made with all Speed for the Duke to pass into England. At Dublin he and his Retinue took Ship, and in a few Days landed at the Redbank near the City of Chester, and from thence by long Journies came to London upon Friday, October the 10th, which City he entred with Trumpets sounding, and a naked Sword born before him, accompany'd with a great Train of armed Men.

The Parliament was met Two Days before, and the Duke having passed through the City went directly into the Upper-House or Chamber of the Peers, and placed himself in the

*A. D.* 1460. Reg. 38. The Lords conquer

The Lord Scales resigns the Tower.

Reg. 39. Seven-i-teenth Parliament, its Acts.

Duke of York returns, and goes to the Parliament.



A. D. 1460. King's Seat, (f) laying his Hands upon the Cloth of State, as if he had taken Possession of the Crown and Kingdom. When he had stood so a while he turned himself to the Lords; and looked upon them stedfastly, as tho' he would read in their Countenances their Thoughts and Resentments of that Action. After he had stood a while in that Posture, the Archbishop of Canterbury, *Thomas Bourchier*, whom King *Henry*, who was then in the Queen's Lodgings, had sent to him, came into the House, and having paid him the usual Reverence, asked him, *Whether he would not go and see the King.* The Duke at this Question was observ'd to change his Colour, and then answer'd him in a Passion, *That he knew none in this Kingdom, to whom he owed that Duty or Honour; but on the contrary, all Men owed it to him, and therefore King Henry ought to come to him.*

Duke of York calls himself King, and possesses himself of the King's Lodging, and claims the Throne in Parliament. The Archbishop having received this Reply, went back to the King to let him know it; which the Duke of York perceiving, he rose up, and following him into the Palace, got Possession of the King's Lodgings, breaking open several Doors and Locks, that he might enter them. He stayed there but a little while, and then returned to the House again, leaving his Servants and chief Attendants to keep them for him. Being again settled in the Regal Throne, he boldly made his Demand of the Crown, and the Regal Authority of *England*, in Words to this Effect. (t) 'That he approached that Throne, as the Place to him in Justice belonging, which, he said, not as requiring their Favour, but friendly Indifferency, and true Administration of Justice, for the High and Mighty Prince, *Richard II.* Son of *Edward the Black-Prince*, Eldest Son of King *Edward III.* was the true and undoubted Heir of these Realms, and was in Possession of the Regal Dignity, with all the Rights and Priviledges thereunto belonging, till *Henry*, Earl of *Derby*, and Duke of *Lancaster* and *Hereford*, Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Fourth Son to the said King *Edward III.* and Younger Brother to my Noble Ancestor, *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, Third Son of the said King *Edward III.* by Force and Violence, contrary to his Duty of Allegiance done and sworn, raised War against the said King *Richard*, imprisoned him, and usurped and intruded upon his Royal Power, and assumed the Name and Authority of King, and after compassed his Death and Destruction, upon whose Decease, having no Heirs lawfully begotten, the right and Title of the Crown, and Superiority of this Realm, lawfully reverted and return'd to *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the Lady *Philip*, only Child of the abovesaid *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, to which *Roger's* (u) Eldest Daughter *Ann*, being my dearest and Well-beloved Mother, I be-

ing the True and Lawful Heir, have an undoubted Right to the Crown. And if the Title be mine, why am I kept from it? If my Claim be good, why have I not Justice? For Men of Knowledge must own, that usurp'd Possession, tho' strengthened with a lineal Descent, can nothing prevail, if continual Claim lawfully made, and openly publish'd by the Right Heirs, as it hath been by *Edward*, Earl of *March*, my Uncle, *Richard*, Duke of *York*, (x) my Father, and my self; but thro' sinister Counsel and unjust Detention, I can neither obtain nor recover it, so that I am compell'd to make use of Force to regain my Right, and settle the Peace of the Realm, which thro' a Succession of Usurpers has been miserably ruined, and undone, especially in this last Reign; and therefore I have, and now do take Possession of the Royal Throne, trusting thro' the Assistance of you, the Peers of this Realm, to beautifie and maintain the same to the Glory of God, Honour of my Blood, and publick Welfare of all my People (y). This Speech struck all the Auditors with a kind of Consternation, and the Lords themselves sat mute, neither whispering nor moving, as if in some Discontent at what he had said, or at least in a doubt what to do; for King *Henry's* Piety and Holiness, Succession in the Third Degree, and Thirty eight Years Possession of the Crown, had so far confirm'd most of them in the Opinion of his Right, that they were loth to be instrumental in deposing him, whose very Innocency and Goodness entitl'd him to a better Crown than ever he had worn. The Duke of *York*, whose Eagerness to be King, taught him to expect a ready Compliance with his Desires, was much disappointed, when he saw no Man almost seconding his Wishes; wherefore being neither well contented, nor willing to seem much displeased, he advis'd them to consider thoroughly of what he had said to them, and do to him, what in Justice and Wisdom they judged Right; and so departed to his Lodgings at *Whitehall*. (z) While the Duke was thus declaring and shewing his Title to the Crown in the House of Lords, it happen'd, that in the House of Commons a Crown, which hung up in the Middle of the Roof to adorn a Branch set up for Lights, fell down suddenly, without any imaginable Cause, and also another Crown upon the Top of *Dover-Castle*, which were both looked upon at this Juncture as ominous Accidents, which did betoken that the Crown should some way or other have a Fall, and that there would be sudden Alterations in the Government.

The Crown hanging now in doubt as it were, between King *Henry* and the Duke of *York*, and Consultations being held every Day by the Lords about their Titles, on whose Head it should be settled; The Duke of *York* taking upon him a

A. D. 1460. Reg. 39.

Advise the Lords to consider of his Right to the Crown.

(f) He did not sit down on the Throne, he only took hold of the Cloth of State.  
(t) His sitting on the Throne, and making this Speech, is very much to be doubted: For *John Whethamsted*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, who was present in the House of Peers, makes no Mention of any such Speech in the History that he wrote of this Reign, and particularly this Revolution. *Hol.* 655.  
(u) As a Proof of the Forgery of this Speech, we shall instance one Mistake, which could not come from the Mouth of the Duke of *York*, he says, *Which Roger's Eldest Daughter Ann* — She was not the Eldest Daughter, the Lady *Elinor Mortimer*, as we have said elsewhere was Elder, tho' she left no issue, and so the Right of Inheritance devolv'd to *Ann*. But this may be an Error of the Author; and indeed in the original Speech 'tis only said, *Unto which Roger's Daughter call'd Ann*, &c. See *Hol.* pag. 656 The Nonsense of the Oration is as remarkable as the Subject of it, He tells them in the first Paragraph, *This Noble Realm, and our Natural Country shall never be Unbuckled from her daily Feaver, except I as the Principal Physician, and you as the Trusty Apothecaries consult together in making of the Potion, and try out the Clean and Pure Stuff from the Corrupt and Putrified Drugs.*  
(x) His Father was not Duke of *York*. His Uncle *Edward* had the Title, and his Father only that of Earl of *Cambridge*, which Earl was beheaded for Treason at *Sourhampton* in the Third Year of *Henry V.*  
(y) He did not make use of the Term *My People*, and it had been arrogant in him. His Words were, *To the Publick Wealth, as well of you all here present, as of all the poor Commons of this Kingdom and Regiments.*  
(z) *Whitehall* was not then built. He went to his Lodgings in the King's Palace at *Westminster*, near the Abby.

kind



*A. D.* 1460. kind of Majesty, kept in the King's Lodgings, and tho' near King Henry, would not for all the Requests and Prayers that could be used, vouchsafe to visit him, till some Conclusion were made in the Matter, saying, *That he was subject to no Man, but God only, under whom, none was Supreme in this Realm, but he.* He sent also a Message to James II. King of Scots, to quit the English Dominions. King (a) James at the Duke's Request had entred the Kingdom of England with a powerful Army, and besieged Roxborough, upon the Promise, that he would restore to him the Towns which the English had taken away from him. (For that King was very unwilling to meddle in the Dispute, and would not be induced to it but by this Advantage.) The Duke had his Messengers tell the Scotch King, that the Siege was so displeasing to him and all his People, he could hardly keep them from taking up Arms to relieve it, thanking him for his Assistance, and telling him, that he had now no more need of him. The King of Scots answered, *He was glad at his good Success, and asked the Messengers, Whether they had a Commission to deliver up the Towns to him according to the Duke's Promise?* They answer'd, *No.* Whereupon the King reply'd, *Neither will I quit the Siege, which for all these Threats, whether his, or People's, I hope to put a speedy End to.* And play'd upon the Town with his Cannon more furiously than ever, with a Resolution to gain it before any Succour could come; but ere he could effect it, he was slain by the Breaking of a Cannon, no Man else save the Earl of Angus being hurt by it. Yet this Accident did not put an End to the Siege, for the Scots continued their Assaults rather the sharper, and the Besieged being reduced to a low Condition by their great Losses, yielded themselves to the new King James III. their Lives and Goods being saved. About the same Time died Charles, King of France, in a strange Manner; for he being sick, some of his Courtiers inform'd him of a Design to poison him; whereupon he forbore any Food for Seven Days, and after not being able to eat, died.

King of Scots besieges Roxborough.

Charles, King of France died.

The Crown disputed, but at last settled on these Conditions.

While these Things were doing, many hot Disputes had passed between the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, about the Settlement of the Crown; some thought it very unreasonable to call King Henry's Title in Question, who had been so long in Possession of the Sovereignty, and so much the rather, because the Duke of York himself had in swearing Allegiance to King Henry so often, and declaring him his lawful Sovereign, tied up himself from Claiming the Crown, if he had any Right to it. But on the other Side, the Duke of York's Friends (which were not a few) argued that the Duke's Title was so clear, and so well known to them all, that it would be the greatest Injustice in the World to deny him his Right, and tho' King Henry, it is true, had been long in the Possession of the Throne, yet his Usurpation being so evident, he ought to be as willing to recede from what he was wrongfully possessed of, as they were in Justice bound to declare him deprived. 'Tis true, they said, the Duke of York had often sworn Allegiance to King Henry, and taken him for his lawful Sovereign, yet he never renounced his Right, and 'tis plain, his Oaths and Promises were out of Fear or Force, not willingly. These Arguments were thought strong on both Sides, and

therefore the middle Way was pitched upon by the Lords, and upon All Saints-Day, an Agreement was made between these two Princes, King Henry, and Richard, Duke of York, under these Articles.

*A. D.* 1460. Reg. 39.

I. That notwithstanding the clear and undisputable Title of Richard, Duke of York, to the Crown of England, as Heir to Lionell, Duke of Clarence, the said Duke tenderly desiring the Wealth and Prosperity of this Land, and to lay aside all that may be a Trouble to the same; and considering the long Possession of the said King Henry, who hath all his Time been named, taken, and reputed for King of England, and Lord of Ireland, is contented, and agreed, that the said King Henry, shall be taken and reputed King of England, and Lord of Ireland, during his Natural Life, and the said Duke shall honour him as his Sovereign Lord.

II. That the said Richard, Duke of York, with his Two Sons, Edward, Earl of March, and Edmund, Earl of Rutland, shall promise and bind themselves by solemn Oaths, neither to do, procure, or suffer any Thing to the Prejudice of the Natural Life of King Henry VI. or to the diminishing of his Royal Dignity, but shall withstand to their utmost Power any Person that shall attempt it, as God shall help them.

III. That Richard, Duke of York, shall from thenceforth be called and reputed the Very and Rightful Heir to the English Crowns, and after the Decease of the said King Henry, the said Duke and his Heirs shall immediately succeed to them.

IV. That the said Richard, Duke of York, shall have by the Authority of this present Parliament, Castles, Mannors, Lands and Tenements, with their Appertinances, to the yearly Value of 10000 Marks over and above all Charges and Reprises, of which 5000 Marks shall be for his own Estate, 3000 for the Earl of March, and 2000 for the Earl of Rutland, yet with such Intents and Considerations, as shall be declared by the Lords of the King's Council.

V. That if any Person imagine, or compass the Death of the said Duke, and thereof be convicted, they shall be adjudged guilty of High Treason.

VI. That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, shall take an Oath, to accept, take, worship and repute the said Richard, Duke of York, and his Heirs, as abovesaid, and the said Duke shall protect them in keeping this Agreement.

VII. That this Accord and Agreement shall be notified and publish'd by the King's Letters Patents, and his Consent and Agreement be openly declared to all and every one of them; and if the said King Henry shall break, or go against any Point of this Accord, then the said Crown and Royal Dignity, shall immediately devolve and come to the Duke of York, if he be alive, or to the next Heir of his Linage.

VIII. That all Statutes and Acts of Parliament, made in the Time of Henry IV. or V. to entail the Crown on their Heirs, shall be annul'd and repeal'd.

IX. That the Duke of York shall be Protector of the Realm for the future, and be called Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester.

(a) He was so far from entering the English Dominions at the Request of the Duke of York, that he came to revenge the Death of the Duke of Somerset, his Mother's Brother, whom the Duke of York had been the Means of killing at the Battel of St. Albans.



A. D. 1460. Reg. 39. This Agreement drawn up in the Form aboveſaid, was engroſſed, ſealed, and ſworn unto by both Parties on *All Saints-Day*, and then it was enacted by the Parliament, that it be made unalterable on all Hands. King *Henry* was obſerved to be very much pleaſed with this Agreement, not doubtleſs, becauſe he was willing his Son, ſhould be excluded from the Crown. But becauſe he feared more ſevere Dealings with himſelf, and hoped Time would better provide for his Son, and therefore appointed a ſolemn Proceſſion the ſame Day to give Thanks to God for this peaceable Settlement of Affairs. In it the King rode to the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, attended with the Duke of *York*, Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and many other Lords, with his Crown upon his Head, and heard Even-Song, and then return'd to the Biſhop's Palace, where he continued ſome Time. The next Day *Richard*, Duke of *York*, was by Sound of Trumpet ſolemnly proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, and Protector of the Nation, during the King's Life. After theſe Things the Parliament made an Act, ' That the Parliament (b) at *Coventry*, Nov. 20. An. 38. Hen. VI. ſhall be repealed, and all the Acts Statutes and Ordinances made by the Authority of the ſaid Parliament, diſannull'd, becauſe that Parliament was unlawfully ſummon'd and holden, and the Knights and Burgeſſes not duly choſen, but privately appointed by thoſe Men, who ſought the Deſtruction of the Nobility and Commonwealth: And, that a Woman at Fourteen Years of Age at the Death of her Anceſtor or Parent, ſhall without any Difficulty or Queſtion, have Livery and Seizin of the Lands deſcend'd to her: And then the Parliament was diſſolv'd, being the laſt that ever King *Henry* call'd, or ended.

Duke of York rules as Protector, and cauſes the King to ſend for the Queen. And now the Duke of *York*'s Power began, as Guardian of the King's Perſon, he took care of all Things, but chiefly of himſelf, how he might keep what he had obtained; for he very well knew that the Queen, who was a Woman of a maſculine Spirit, and the Lords of her Council, who were his utter Enemies, would make all the Oppolition they could to this Settlement, and either by Force or Fraud undo all; whereupon he cauſed King *Henry* to ſend for her, and her Son Prince *Edward*. But the Queen, (who by that Time the Meſſengers arrived, was got at the Head of a good Army of 18000 Men, which ſhe put under the Command of the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Northumberland*, Lords of *Clifford* and *Roſſe*, who encouraged her with great Hopes of Victory, to engage her Adverſaries, and reſtore her Husband to his Dignity, and her Son to his Succeſſion) refus'd to go along with them. Which when the Protector had Knowledge of, he aſſign'd his truſty Friends the Earl of *Warwick* and Duke of *Norfolk* to be the Keepers of the King; and he himſelf, and the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, with a ſmall Body of Men departed from *London*, December 2. to go into the North to repreſs the Queen, and her northern Adherents, ordering the Earl of *March* to follow him with all the Forces he could gather. Upon *Chriſtmas-Eve*, the Duke arrived at his Caſtle of *Sandal*, near *Wakefield*, in *Yorkſhire*, and there muſter'd up all his Tenants and Friends to the Number of 5000. With theſe he intended to oppoſe the Queen's Army, who, by his Scouts,

he underſtood were marching towards him, which the Queen, and Lords of her Party halt- ned, that they might fall upon him before the Earl of *March* could join with him. When they drew near, the Duke found the Queen's Forces much to exceed his, and therefore it was the Advice of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *David Hall*, That he ſhould keep himſelf within the Walls till the Earl of *March* ſhould arrive, becauſe the Queen had no Artillery with her, and ſo could do them no Harm in that Time.

The Queen and her Army came before the Caſtle, and having laid two Ambuſhes under the Command of the Lord *Clifford* and Earl of *Wiltſhire* at the beſt Advantage, the Queen and Duke of *Somerſet*, who commanded the Body of the Army, preſented themſelves in Sight of *Sandal*, and going up to the very Walls, brav'd the Duke to come out and fight them. The Duke being hot and furious at this Bravado, and counting it a Shame to be ſhut up in a Caſtle by a Woman, which he had never been in ſo many Years of the *French Wars*, reſolv'd to venture out in the open Field, and give her Battel. All his Friends were much againſt it, but not being able to diſſwade him from it, by all the Arguments they could uſe, they all march'd out of the Caſtle upon the laſt Day of *December*, and going down the Hill in very good Order, came into the open Field before the Face of their Enemies, who immediately join'd Fight with them. Soon after the Battel was begun, the Ambuſhes roſe, and encompaſſed the Duke and his Men on every Side, ſo that within Half an Hour he himſelf was ſlain, with many of the Perſons of Note that were with him, valiantly fighting, and his whole Army utterly defeated, 2800 of them being killed. The Earl of *Salisbury* was wounded and taken, with ſeveral Gentlemen and others. *Robert Aſpell*, the Duke's Chaplain, and Tutor to the Earl of *Rutland*, who ſtood at ſome Diſtance to ſee the Event of the Battel, with his Pupil, who was then about Twelve Years of Age, perceiving that it was likely to prove unſucceſſful and fatal to his Lord, fled with the Young Earl to ſecure him, but was overtaken by the Lord *Clifford*, who in the Heat of his Fury, ſtabb'd the young Prince to the Heart, tho' the poor Child with Tears begg'd Mercy of him upon his Knees (c). The Chaplain pleaded much for the Child's Life, and promiſed the Lord, That if he would ſpare him, he ſhould be his Servant for ever. But *Clifford* ſwore fearfully, That as his Father had ſlain his, ſo he would be the Deſtruction of him and all his Race; and then ſlaying him, departed in Triumph to find the dead Body of his Father, whoſe Head he cut off, and having made a Crown of Paper, and ſet it on it in Deriſion, preſented it to the Queen, whoſe Tent was at Hand, and ſhe not long after, ſent it with other Lords to be ſet upon Poles over the Gate of the City of *York*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, who was committed to the Care of the Duke of *Somerſet*, and by him impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Pomfract*, with a Promiſe to ſave his Life for a large Sum of Money, was a little after by the Common People, who hated him, pull'd out of the Caſtle, and beheaded, and ſo his Head, with others, was ſent to *York*.

King *Henry*, by the Inſtigatiſon of his Governours, the Duke of *Norfolk* and Earl of *Warwick*, ſent Commiſſions into the Parts about *Coventry*, to raiſe what Forces they could to ſup-

(b) *Holinhead*, p. 659. ſays, This Parliament declared that of *Coventry* a devilish Council.  
(c) He could not ſpeak for Fear, but he held up his Hands for Mercy. *Hol.* 659.



A. D. 1460. Reg. 39. preſs the Northern Rebels, but like a Torrent they came down upon them towards London, plundering and robbing, ſo that they were irreſiſtible by any Strength that could be ſuddenly got together, and paſſed on without controul.

A. D. 1461. The Queen having obtain'd this Victory over the Duke of York was ſenſible, that tho' the Advantage might do her much good, becauſe the Commons generally follow the conquering Side, yet it had done her Enemies Side but very little Harm, becauſe it was but a ſmall Party, and thoſe pick'd up in the Country about Wakefield, which ſhe had conquer'd. She knew Warwick's Courage and Interests were great in London, where he had a ſtrong Army to oppoſe her, and the Earl of March was gone into Wales, where his Father had many Tenants and Dependants to gather an Army, ſo that ſhe had no ſmall Difficulties to grapple with, before ſhe could accompliſh her Deſigns, and ſettle her Husband and Son in their Rights. She expected no ſmall Oppoſition on both Sides, and therefore after a ſerious Conſultation with the Lords and other grave Men that follow'd her Interests, it was reſolv'd, That ſhe her ſelf, the Prince and Duke of Somerſet ſhould march towards London with the greateſt part of her Army, and Jaſper, Earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, Earl of Ormond and Wiltſhire, who raiſed a great Number of Iriſh and Welch to the Queen's Aſſiſtance ſhould obſerve the Earl of March, and gather freſh Forces out of her Friends to encounter him. The Earl of March in the mean time having heard of his Father's Death at Glouceſter, where he then lay, was ſtrangely amaz'd and diſcourag'd at the Accident; but being comforted by his Friends, who told him 'twas his Father's Raſhneſs, not his Enemies Power, that had been the Cauſe of this Miſfortune, he remov'd to Shrewsbury, and there declaring his Father's Death, the Queen's Cruelty, and the Ruin of the Kingdom to all the Inhabitants of that City, and the adjoining Countries, he got an Army out of the Marches of Wales, and the Places near, to the Number of 23000, who out of Love to Mortimer's Race offered themſelves readily to go againſt the Queen and his Father's Murderers. With theſe he departs from Shrewsbury to follow the Queen's Army, which was marching towards London, and revenge his Father's Death; but at his firſt ſetting out, hearing that Jaſper, Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Ormond with a great Army of Welch and Iriſh were purſuing him, he turn'd back to fight them, and on a large Plain near Mortimer's Croſs on the Eaſt-side of Hereford, met them. On Candlemas-day in the Morning, when the Sun at its riſing appear'd to the Earl of March like Three Suns, and ſuddenly running into One gave him (as he gueſſed) an Omen of Victory, the two Armies entred the Battel, and after a ſharp Conflict, the Earl of March put the Queen's Forces to Flight, with the Slaughter of 3800. The two Earls of Pembroke and Ormond fled, and many Gentlemen of Note were taken, and to propitiate York's Ghoſt were beheaded at Hereford.

Earl of March gathers an Army of 23000 Men, and engages the Forces of the Earl of Pembroke and Ormond and conquers.

The Queen, who was marching towards London with her Northern Rabble, who after they had paſſed the River Trent, plunder'd the Villages and Towns, as if they were entred an Enemy's Country, heard of the Diſcomfiture of her Friends; but being elevated with the Thoughts of her former Victory, and knowing that the Mayor and many of the chief Men of London were for her, ſhe went on confidently

in hopes of ſoon recovering that Loſs. But when ſhe approach'd St. Albans, ſhe receiv'd the News that the Earl of Warwick and Lords, who had the Government of the King, were coming againſt her with a numerous Army, raiſed by the King's Authority, and having the King himſelf at the Head of them, (for the Commons of the City of London fearing they ſhould fall into the Hands of the Northern Men, flock'd to the Lords to defend the City againſt the Queen). The Northern Lords and others that were with the Queen, adviſed her to paſs thro' St. Albans and meet their Enemies on the other ſide of the Town; but the Earl of Warwick having ranged his Archers in the middle of the Town, they were forced to retreat, and find another Way; which having done, the two Armies joyn'd upon Barnard-beath on the North-side of St. Albans. The Battel was fierce, and the Victory remain'd dubious a certain time; but at length through the Treachery of Lovelace, who kept back the main Body of the King's Army from aſſiſting their Brethren, till they being over-power'd were forced to fly, the Queen's Side gain'd the Victory, and with the Slaughter of 2300 Men obtain'd the King into their Power, with the Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kiriell: Who upon the King's Promise of Safety to them ſtay'd with his Majeſty, but to their Coſt: For, when the Queen heard that the Commons had beheaded Judge Thorp at High-gate, ſhe cut off both their Heads.

After this Battel, which was fought upon February the 15th, the King and Queen with Prince Edward, now about Eight Years Old, and the Northern Lords went to the Abby-Church and gave Thanks to God for this Victory, and then the King made the Prince Knight, with Thirty others, who had ſignaliſed their Courage in fighting for her, which done the King and Queen were conducted to their Lodgings in the Abby. But the Town of St. Albans was not at quiet. The Northern Men ranſack'd and plunder'd the Houſes without Mercy: Whereupon the Abbot and chief Inhabitants made an humble Petition to the King and Queen to reſtrain the Soldiers Rudeneſs and Theft, which was granted, and a Proclamation accordingly put out; but they reply'd, That it was their Bargain to have all the Spoil of every Place beyond the Trent, and ſo they continued their pillaging and Robberies.

While the Queen lay at St. Albans her Army being in want for Proviſion, ſhe gave an Order to the Mayor of London to ſend her a ſufficient Quantity of Lenten-fare for her Soldiers, which he readily obey'd; and having fill'd ſeveral Carts was conveying it to her, but the Commons of the City in a great Company met them about Cripple-gate, and ſtopp'd them, ſaying, They would not feed them that would cut their Throats, and rob them of all they had. The Mayor with many mild Exhortations adviſed them to let them paſs, being for the Relief of the King and his Friends, but he could not perſwade them to it, and he ſaw it was in vain to uſe any Force with them: Whereupon the Mayor fearing the Queen's Diſpleaſure, ſent the Recorder of the City to the King's Council at Barnet, and the Dutcheſs of Bedford and Lady Scales with ſome Biſhops to the Queen to excuſe the Matter, and pacifie her Diſpleaſure, promiſing the Queen to admit her into London, when Things were a little better appeaſed among the Commons. The Queen was pleaſed with the Propoſals, and paſſed by the Diſappointment of Relief for her Army, ſending 400 Men

A. D. 1461. Reg. 39. Queen and Lords engage at St. Albans, and the Queen conquers.

The Northern Men plunder without controul.

The Mayor of London ſends Proviſion to the Queen.



A. D. 1461. Reg. 39. 400 Men to prepare for her entring into the City, which if she could secure to her self, she hop'd to win all again.

But while these Things were acting, News came to the Queen, that the Earl of March, who had vanquish'd the Earls of Ormond and Pembroke was join'd with the Earl of Warwick, and the Forces escap'd from St. Albans, and that they both were coming towards London, making a mighty Army. The Queen fearing their Forces thought not fit to oppose them, and so withdrew from St. Albans into the North, (because she had few or no Friends in Kent or Essex). The Earl of March having certain Intelligence of the Queen's Departure, thought it not convenient to pursue her, but took his Way directly towards London, and was there receiv'd with universal Joy by all the Commons, and many other Citizens, February the 28th.

His coming to London being known, the Gentry of the South and East-parts flock'd to him, bringing great Numbers to his Assistance. In this Concourfe of People it was thought convenient to settle Matters fully, and place the Earl of March on the Throne, if possible: And to that End, March the 2d, the Earl of Warwick drawing up his Army into St. John's Field in the midst of Throngs of People, which he cast into a Ring round him, read the Agreement made the last Parliament between King Henry and the Duke of York, which having told them was notoriously broken by King Henry, and so his Crown forfeited, he demanded of them, whether they would have King Henry to reign still or no? They all cry'd out, No, no. Then he again ask'd them, Whether they would have the Duke of York's Eldest Son to reign over them, according to that Settlement? They unanimously cry'd out, Yea, yea. The Affection of the People being thus known, a general Council of the Nobles, Bishops, Gentlemen and chief Citizens was summon'd at Baynard's Castle, and there the Earl of March declared again his Title to the Crown, and recited the Articles made the last Parliament, by which he was to have Possession of it, if King Henry broke the said Articles, as undeniably he had. The whole Council after a long Debate at length concluded, That because King Henry had done contrary to the Agreement in the last Parliament made and concluded, and was insufficient of himself to govern the Realm, he was therefore to be deprived of all Regal Authority and Power, as being incapable of it, and a Detriment to the Commonwealth of England; and that Edward, Earl of March, Son and Heir to Richard, Duke of York, having the unquestionable Title to the Crown of England, was by them all unanimouf-

ly nam'd, elected and admitted for the King and Governour of this Realm. The Earl of March modestly declared his Insufficiency for so great a Charge, being as yet young (d) and unexperienced; but being encourag'd by the Arch-bishop and other Lords he accepted their Petition, and took upon him the Name and Title of King of England. The next Day he went in Procession to St. Paul's, and there offer'd his Thanks to God for this his Exaltation to a Throne by singing *Te Deum*, which done he was with great State conducted to Westminster; and there in the Great Hall set in the King's Seat with St. Edward's Scepter in his Hand; where being throng'd with Multitudes of People to be Spectators of the Ceremony, it was again ask'd them, whether they would have the Earl of March for their King, and serve, love, honour and obey him as their only Sovereign and Lord; they all joyfully answer'd, Yea, yea. Then he took the Homage of the Noblemen there present, and after was conducted by them to the Abby, where having sat in the Quire till *Te Deum* was sung, he went to St. Edward's Shrine and offer'd according to the usual Custom. Things being thus finish'd, he return'd by Water to St. Paul's, and took up his Lodgings in the Bishop's Palace, and the next Day was proclaimed King of England by the Name of Edward IV. in the Streets of London and adjoining Towns.

Thus ended the Reign of Henry VI. many Years before his Death (for he lived twelve Years longer) after he had reign'd thirty eight Years, six Months, and three Days, a Prince very Pious and Religious, but always attended with ill Fortune; for whatever Side he was of, the Victory ever went against him, as the former History shews. He had no Genius for Government nor Parts fit for the Management of State Affairs; but being a great lover of Charity and good Works, he might have been as good a King as England ever had, if he had been guided by a wise and good Council; but he was ruled by the Queen and her Favourites, who were envy'd by a proud Nobility, and was the Cause of great Miseries to the Nation. His Queen indeed may seem to have excell'd her Sex as much as the King sunk below the Dignity of his own, but her ambitious assuming the Regal Power beyond her Sphere, made it thought no Rebellion to take it out of her Hands, and put it where it would be better order'd and was more due. His Fall was much pitied, because as to his Person undeserv'd; but the common Good so much requir'd a Change, that it was judg'd better, That One suffer an Injury, rather than the whole Nation should perish.

(d) In his twentieth Year.



THE  
Remarkable OCCURRENCES  
IN THE  
*Reign of HENRY the Sixth.*

The Author of King HENRY VI's Life having taken Notice of the Remarkable Occurrences of all Kinds which happen'd in his Reign, we shall only add the Names of those Great Captains and Men of Learning, who distinguish'd themselves most in this Space of Time.

THE first and most Eminent for Feats of Arms was *John*, Lord Talbot, created Earl of Shrewsbury, the Terror of France and the Glory of England; The Lord Scales, the Lord Poynings, the Lord Clifford, the Earl of Arundell, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, Father of the Famous Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, Sir Matthew Gough a Welsh Man, who after he had signaliz'd himself in the French Wars for almost 20 Years together, was kill'd at last by the Rabble in Cade's Rebellion, Sir Thomas Rampston, Sir Thomas Kiriell, Sir John Grey, Sir John Aubmond, Sir Francis Surienes a Spaniard, who spent his Days in the English Service, and for his Valour was made Knight of the Garter, Sir Thomas Curson, Captain Gonville, and Captain Andrew Trollop, were all brave Soldiers and wise Commanders. Many others were noted for their Courage and Conduct in the Wars of France. But these are the Names that shine most in the History of those Times. The most eminent for Learning were,

*John Hainton*, a Monk of Lincoln.  
*Robert Coleman*, a Franciscan Frier of Norwich, and Chancellor of Oxford.  
*Will. White*, a Priest of Kent. He was a Wicklivist. He marry'd a Wife, and continu'd Preaching till he was prosecuted for Heresie and burnt.  
*Alex. Carpenter*, he wrote against the Bishops for persecuting the poor and godly Christians.  
*Richard Kendall*, a Grammarian.  
*Thomas Ismalit*, a Monk of Sion.  
*Walter Hilton*, a Monk of Sheen.  
*Rob. Hounslow*, a Monk of that Town in Middlesex.  
*John Tilney*, a Monk of Yarmouth, an excellent Divine.  
*Dr. John Low*, Bishop of Rochester.  
*Dr. Thomas Ringsted*, a Civilian and Divine.  
*Dr. John Felton*, of Magdalen College, Oxon.  
*Nich. Botlesham*, D.D. in the University of Paris.  
*John Holbrook* of Surrey, a Mathematician.  
*Peter Pain*, a Wicklivist. He fled to Bohemia, and liv'd there in great Reputation for his Wisdom and Learning.  
*Nicholas Upton*, a Civilian. He wrote a Treatise of Heraldry.  
*Will. Beckly*, Professor of Divinity in Cambridge.  
*John Torpe*, a Monk of Norwich.  
*Dr. John Capgrave*, an Augustine Frier of Kent, the most learned Man of his Order in England.  
*Humphrey*, Duke of Gloucester, a Patron of Learning, and learn'd himself particularly in Astronomy. He wrote a Treatise, call'd *Tabula Directionum*.  
*Roger Onley*, he was accused of Sorcery in *Elinor Cobham's* Plot, for which he was hang'd, tho' he was supposed innocent. He was Author of a Book, call'd *Contra vulgi Superstitiones*, and another, *De sua Innocentia*.  
*Nicholas Cantlew*, a Welsh Man of an ancient Family, and a Monk of Bristol.  
*Hen. Wickengham* of Norwich, a noted Preacher.  
*John Lidgate*, a Monk of Bury, the best Poet of his Time.  
*Dr. Nicholas Hostresham*, a Physician.  
*John Blackney*, Prior of Ingham.  
*Thomas Beckington*, Bp. of Bath, wrote against the Salick Law, which was defended by the French Writers, and occasion'd a War with the Pen, as well as of the Sword.  
*John Baringham*, a Frier of Ipswich.

*Dr. David Bois*, a Welsh Man.  
*John Brome*, an Augustine Frier.  
*Michael Trigury*, a Cornish Man Rector of the University erected at Caen by K. Henry.  
*John Amundishaw*, a Monk of St. Albans.  
*Oswald Anglicus*, a Monk of the Order of the Charterhouse.  
*John Keningale*, a Monk of Norwich.  
*Peter* of St. Faith's, the same.  
*Dr. Reginald Pocok*, Bishop of Chichester, a great Favourer of Wickliff's Principles, for which he was depriv'd.  
*John* of Bury, a Monk of Clare.  
*Rob. Fleming*, he wrote a Gr. and Lat. Dictionary.  
*Dr. Tho. Gascoigne*, sometime Chancellor of Oxon.  
*William Staplehart*, a Monk of London.  
*Robert Finningham*, a Monk of Norwich.  
*John Chandler*, Chancellor of Wells.  
*Sir William Botoner* of Bristol, an Antiquary.  
*Dr. John Stow*, a Monk of Norwich.  
*Thomas Lanley*, a Monk of Halm.  
*Cardinal Beaufort*, Great Uncle to the King.  
*William Coppinger*, A. M. of Oxford.  
*Tho. Lacy*, an Astronomer and Mathematician.  
*John Talangem*, a Monk of Worcester.  
*William Sutton*, an Astrologer.  
*Robert Barsack* wrote a Treatise of Chivalry and War, intituled, *De Re Militari*.  
*William Grey*, Bishop of Ely.  
*Cardinal Kemp*, Arch-bishop of Canterbury.  
*Adam Molins*, Lord Privy-Seal, was a Man of great Learning, he lost his Head in his Master's Quarrel.  
*Dr. Thomas Chillenden*, L. L. D.  
*These that follow were Historians.*  
*Sir John Bourchier*, Lord Barnes, transl. Froissard.  
*Roger Wall*, a Herald, wrote the Reign of Henry the Fifth.  
*John Pole*, he wrote the Life of St. Walburgh.  
*Thomas Walsingham*, a Monk of St. Albans.  
*Thomas Radburn*, a Monk of St. Swithins.  
*John Whethamstead*, Abbot of St. Albans.  
*Nicholas Mountacute*.  
*Nicholas Bungey*.  
*Tho. Dando* wrote the Life of Alfred K. of Eng.  
*Nich. Cantelupus*, the Cambridge Historiographer.  
*Rob. Bale*, Recorder of Lond. wrote a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Magistrates, Offices, Orders, Changes, &c. of the City.

THE



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
EDWARD IV.

A. D.  
1461.

Richard,  
Duke of  
York slain  
at Wake-  
field Fight  
by Queen  
Margaret's  
Forces.

**R**ICHARD, Duke of York overthrown by his own Rashness, and the happy Conduct of Queen Margaret, at the Battel of Wakefield in Yorkshire, left the Justice of his Title with a more prosperous Fortune to his Son Edward, Earl of March, and then Duke of York. His Head during Life, busied with Expectations of Sovereignty, was mock'd with a Paper Crown after his Death, and being fix'd on a Pole was set on the Walls of York. For the Queen, to make his Pretensions to the Kingdom the common Scorn, forgot that Compassion she ow'd Human Nature in Calamity, and in a phantastick Cruelty expos'd it thus to the barbarous Mirth of the Be-holders. With him died his young Son Edmond, Earl of Rutland, then but 12 Years Old, coming too soon with his Tutor to the School of War; and learning at first the sharpest Lesson from the Lord Clifford, who most inhumanly stab'd him prostrate at his Feet, intreating but for Life.

The un-  
lucky  
Fate of  
the  
Richards.

In the very Haven, after a long and tempestuous Voyage, thus perish'd the Duke of York; as if it had been in the Fate of all the Richards, who were either in Fact or Title Kings of England, to end by violent Deaths. Richard the First and Second preceding him: His Son Richard the Tyrant, and Richard, Duke of York his Nephew, following him in the like Disaster, though several Ways, and upon different Quarrels.

Edward,  
Duke of  
York per-  
ishes in his  
Father's  
Claim,  
and ga-  
thers an  
Army to  
revenge  
his Death.

This great Overthrow was suddenly rumor'd thro' the whole Kingdom, and stretch'd up to the Highest, to advance the Reputation of the Queen's Felicity. And soon it arriv'd at Gloucester, where Edward now Duke of York lay with some small Forces, expecting Directions from his Father: By whose Death perceiv- ing himself in so foul Weather to sit alone at the Helm, he began more warily to steer his Course: And considering how dangerous Delay is to increase the Approaches of Misfor- tune, remov'd to Shrewsbury. By the way his Army swel'd up to 23000 fighting Men; which might appear strange if we weigh the necessary Unexperience of his Youth, being then but 18 Years of Age, and the slender Retinue that usu- ally waits on Infelicity. But now he was the Head of the great Body of that Faction, which his Father at the Expence of so long Trouble, had purchased to his Side; and whom the Queen's implacable Nature had made resolute, and only to hope for Safety by running into the common Danger. Moreover all the Men of Pow- er who inhabited between Gloucester and Shrews- bury, had Dependency on him as Heir to Mor-

timer; or held in chief of his mighty Confede- rate the Earl of Warwick.

A. D.  
1461.

With this sudden and unexpected Addition of Forces, he entertain'd a Confidence to be able to revenge his Father's Death, and obtain that Greatness which as yet had been in vain at- tempted. He therefore look'd about, where he might on the best Advantage make Experience of his Fortune: Fortune appearing easie to be courted by him as if enamour'd with his Youth; having been seldom observ'd but froward to Age, in any Design that depends chiefly upon Courage.

And Occasion was immediately offer'd: Cer- tain Discovery being made of a great Power rais'd by the adverse Party, with purpose to sur- prize him in the Amazement of the late Mis- fortune. The Army consisted of Welsh and Irish, according to the several Nations of the two Commanders, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and James, Earl of Ormond: Pembroke half Brother to Henry VI. as Son to Queen Catherine, Dowager to Henry V. by Owen Tudor: And Ormond a most faithful Servant to the House of Lanca- ster, by whose Gift in England he enjoy'd the Earldom of Wiltshire.

Jasper,  
Earl of  
Pembroke,  
and James,  
Earl of  
Ormond  
fight Ed-  
ward,  
Duke of  
York at  
Mortimer's  
Cross.

Against these two the Duke of York led back his Forces, and in a large Plain near Mortimer's Cross, near Ludlow in Shropshire, on Candlemas- Day in the Morning, gave them Battel. Before the Fight, the Sun (as by many Authors it is asser- ted) appear'd to the Earl in the Resemblance of Three Suns, and suddenly united into One: The Truth of which I will not dispute, but certainly the Pretension of such Apparitions strangely prevails with the superstitious Multi- tude, and therefore it hath been both the Pra- ctice and Advantage of the most expert Com- manders to set them on Foot: Yet how this O- men could be expounded happy to his Design, I understand not, unless we seek the Interpreta- tion from the Event; for that indeed gave him the Victory, and brought the Glory of the two adverse Generals over to his Side, so that the three Suns which with equal Brightness appea- red in the Morning, before Evening shin'd alone in him. For the two Earls and their whole Army were put to Flight, with the Slaughter of 3800 on the Place: Many Welsh and some English of Name were taken Prisoners, and af- terward at Hereford beheaded, among whom an extraordinary Fortune hath made Owen Tudor, the Father of the Earl of Pembroke, most the Discourse of Posterity. For the good luck of an amiable Person, wrought him into the Affection, and soon after advanced him to the Marriage of Catherine, Daughter of France, and Widow

A Prodi-  
gy of  
three Suns  
appearing  
at once.  
Duke of  
York con-  
quers  
them.

to



A. D. 1461. to the most glorious Prince our Nation ever gain'd Honour by, *Henry V.* Yet all that this so envied Splendor in a Wife got him, was, to render his Life obnoxious to Imprisonment and Faction, and his Death more eminent on a Scaffold.

Duke of  
York marches to  
London.

This Victory raised *Edward's* Imaginations high, so that now he resolv'd to spend his Fortune no longer in small Enterprizes: And left the Spirit of his Army should begin to languish, having no Enemy near to find him Employment, he resolv'd to search for one about *London*, whither he had Intelligence the Queen with her triumphant Forces directed her March, not without Hopes of obtaining Admission, because the Mayor and others were her Friends: Moreover, it concerned the Policy of his Affairs, to retain the Possession of the capital City of the Kingdom, whose Commons continued firm to his Service, and in which the Lords of his Party had the Custody of King *Henry's* Person, left to their Faith, when the Duke of *York* went his last fatal Expedition.

The  
Queen  
engages  
the Earl  
of  
Warwick,  
and  
vanquish-  
ing him  
on  
Strove-  
Tuesday,  
Feb. 17.  
takes her  
Husband.

But in the Way at *Chipping-Norton*, he met the Earl of *Warwick*, who, with the Lords King *Henry's* Keepers, whom they brought with them, had lately fought and lost the Field to the Queen at *St. Albans*. In which, beside the Honour of the Day, and Slaughter of Two thousand of her Enemies, she recover'd the Person of her Husband. *Warwick*, tho' he brought with him only a Relation of his late Overthrow, yet it was with such a Courage as disdain'd Misfortune, and cover'd nothing more than by the Tryal of a new Day to persuade, or else to force back Victory to his Side.

Q. Mar-  
garet's  
Army  
spoils and  
ravages  
all the  
Country  
South of  
Kent.

And oftentimes a small Loss to an Army, like opening a Vein to a Body, doth rather correct than any way impair the Health; whereas too much Prosperity, like the worst Surfeit, suddenly becomes uncureable. And so the Two late obtain'd Conquests wrought in the Enemy only Infolvency and Disorder. For the Queen, wanton with Success, vainly imagin'd a Security from future Competition, and either wanted Power to restrain her Soldiers, or licens'd them to a free Spoil; by which unruly Violence she untied the Affection of the Commons, who by their Quiet and Profit, measure the Vertues of Princes. And indeed they had Title to their often Complaints against the northern Troops, who, as soon as they had past *Trent*, as if there they had parted with all Obedience to Discipline, made use of all Kinds of Licence, that might serve their Avarice or Pleasure. And having by the Way left no Towns, and in them no Place how sacred soever unspoiled; after the Flight of *Warwick*, they design'd for *London*, hoping to find it abundantly stor'd for Prey, and utterly unable for Defence.

City of  
London  
deny  
Queen  
Margaret  
Recep-  
tion.

But the Citizens perceiving Hostility in their Approach, shut their Gates, and arm'd for Resistance; and with such Valour and good Order behav'd themselves, that the rude Assailants were with Loss repuls'd, and the Queen perswaded to retire Northward, knowing the Disorder of her Men had begot her in the Place where she then lay encamped, nothing but ill Aspects and worse Wishes: She therefore dislodged from *St. Albans*, and every Day as she march'd towards the North, new Relations came of the Greatness and Resolution of the Earl of *March's* Power, who, with the Earl of *Warwick* was on his Journey to *London*.

And doubtless the Report of his Approach confirm'd the City in her Courage to resist the late Assault; which otherwise would without

question have comply'd with the Fortune of the more powerful. For presently after the Departure of the Queen, the Earl of *March* on the Twenty eighth of *February*, made his triumphant Entry, and was receiv'd with such Acclamations, as an over-joy'd People could express, who only hoped for Safety by the Fortune of his Side. To encrease the Glory of this Entry concurr'd, besides his Title to the Crown, his late Victory at *Mortimer's Cross*, the Memory of a most glorious Father, and great Authority of his Confederate *Warwick*, the Beauty of *March's* Person, than which that Age beheld not any more excellent. Neither is the outward Form a small Circumstance to induce the Multitude to Reverence; since as Deformity in a Prince, hath oftentimes occasion'd Contempt even to Deprivation: So on the contrary, hath an amiable Shape strengthened very weak Pretensions, and in *Antonius Heligabalus* was sufficient Title to an Empire, even in a military Election.

A. D. 1461.  
City of  
London  
receives  
the Duke  
of York  
joyfully.

Beauty as  
Induce-  
ment to  
make  
Kings.

But the Earl of *Warwick*, (whose Mind was still in labour, and felt continually most violent Throws, till it had brought forth a settled Sovereignty to the House of *York*) contented not himself with this general Applause, knowing how the least Change of Fortune would create new Affections. He therefore resolv'd so to fasten the City to his Designs, that any Alteration in *Edward's* Fortune should be Ruin to them; and thereupon caused on the Second of *March* a general Muster of all his Forces to be made in *St. John's Fields*; where, when he found an universal Confluence of all Men, answerable to his Expectation; he cast his Army into a Ring, and with a loud Voice, made to be read the Agreement which the last Parliament had made between *Henry VI.* and *Richard*, Duke of *York*. By which *Henry* (out of Compassion to a long Possession) was permitted to enjoy the Crown during his natural Life; the Remainder to *Richard* and his Heirs, in whom it was then apparently proved that the Title to the Kingdom did remain. In which Agreement was likewise manifested, That *Henry* should make immediate Forfeiture, whensoever either he, or any of his Party should attempt to disannul this Act. This being read, and commented on with the best Efficacy of Language, to express the foul Breach on King *Henry's* Side, in the Destruction of *Richard*, Duke of *York*: The Question was propos'd to them, whether they would longer continue in their Obedience to *Henry's* Usurpation, who so impiously had violated his Faith? To which with an universal loud Consent of Voices, they cry'd out, *No, No*. Then were they demanded, *Whether they would admit Edward, whose Title to the Crown was so apparent, and whose Wrong had been so great in a perfidious violent Entry, and a long injurious Possession of the Kingdom by the Family of Lancaster?* To which with Acclamations of Assent was answered, *Yea, Yea*.

Earl of  
Warwick  
draws the  
Citizens  
of London  
to elect  
Edward,  
Duke of  
York,  
King.

Thus by the Soldier and the People, was *Edward's* Title approv'd, and he admitted King *March 3. 1461.* And happily did this Ceremony then appear needful, in regard the same Voices had vow'd Obedience to another. Otherwise, whosoever shall alledge, that the Suffrage of the Multitude is necessary to confirm a Prince, destroys the Right of Succession, and in that the Monarchy, which so long and triumphantly hath ruled this Nation. And to understand the Uncertainty and Injustice of all popular Election, History instructs us, That no Tyrant yet in *England*, by what indirect Practice soever he

A. D. 1461.  
Mar. 3.  
Reg. 1.  
Edward,  
Duke of  
York,  
elected  
King.

Popular  
Elections  
of Kings  
exploded.



A. D. 1461. Reg. 4. he attain'd, or Cruelty maintain'd the Government, but entred in by a seeming Approbation of the Commonwealth, and settled his State by Confirmation of the People. For I know not by what universal Distemper of Humours it happens, that generally when the Head of this Kingdom hath been sick, the whole Body was diseased; so far, that Usurpation hath been legitimated, and Tyranny applauded: Which Misfortune must have necessarily been occasion'd thro' the Power of the prevailing Faction; and Fear which possess all honest Minds: Who tho' they neither wanted Knowledge to see the Injury, nor Desire to redress it, yet private Interest made them too cowardly to undertake the Remedy.

Edward's Title to the Crown of England. But in Edward's first Entrance on the Kingdom the popular Suffrage (which in the Inauguration of Christian Princes is of ancient Custom esteem'd a convenient Ceremony) met with a just Title. For he by his Grand-mother, Ann, Daughter and Heir of Roger Mortimer, Son and Heir to Philippa, only Child of Lionell, Duke of Clarence, third Son to Edward III. King of England; of necessity must have (where Women are admitted to inherit) better claim to the Crown than Henry VI. though in the fourth Descent from Edward III. by John of Gaunt, being but his fourth Son. For however Casuists may dispute, or civil Lawyers argue; that the being remov'd one Degree further, can no way prejudice Succession, whereby the younger Brother may come to be prefer'd before the Elder Brother's Son, if by chance the Elder die during his Father's Life; yet 'tis an Injustice so against Reason and Custom, that whosoever yet attempted it, was reputed to violate the Laws of Nature.

Edward accepts the Kingdom. From St. John's Fields, the Principal of the Army, and Common-Council of the City, brought News of this Election to Edward, Earl of March, remaining at Baynard's Castle: Who soon as he understood the Intention of their Address (with such Modesty as some Clergy-Man may have used at his Consecration, who by simoniacal Practice hath obtain'd a Bishoprick) refused that a while, which most ambitiously he coveted. But soon the Animation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Bishops of London and Exeter, and divers others of Eminence prevail'd, and he at their Request took on him the Royalty.

King Edward declares his Title to the Crown, but requires the Peoples Approbation which he had again. That Night he rested, the next Morning with as much Ceremony and State, as the Shortness and Unquietness of the Time could license, in solemn Procession he went to St. Paul's Church; whence after Te Deum sung, and Oblation made, he rode to Westminster, there seated in the most perspicuous place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of St. Edward the Confessor in his Hand, himself made Declaration of his double Title to the Crown. First, By descent, as Heir to the third Son of Edward III. the Line of whose eldest Son Edward the Black Prince extinguish'd in the Deposition and Parricide of Richard II. procured by Henry of Bullingbrooke, first King of the House of Lancaster, Edward the Third's second Son William dying without Issue. Secondly, By Authority of Parliament, which upon Examination of the Duke of York's Title, conferred the Possession of the Kingdom immediately on him or his Heirs, when Henry VI. should make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Relinquishment, or Breach of that Accord sworn there so solemnly by them. And that this Accord was broken, the Slaughter of the Duke oppos'd with unequal Numbers on K. Henry's Party at the Battel of

Wakefield, did sadly manifest. Nevertheless he protested himself ready to forgo the Justice of his Claim, rather than to enter upon it without the free Vote. At which unanimously the Assembly cry'd K. Edward, K. Edward, joyful that their Voices might confirm him King, who had daign'd them so humble a Complement, as to profess that he would not receive the Title without their Suffrage. The Formality of this second Election thus past, he went in Procession to the Abby; whence after much Solemnity and Homage of all the Nobility there present, he return'd by Water to the Bishop of London's Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King throughout the City by the Name of Edward the Fourth.

The first Fortnight of his Reign was dy'd, I will not say stain'd, with the Blood of Walter Walker a Grocer, who keeping Shop at the Sign of the Crown in Cheapside, said he would make his Son Heir to the Crown; a bold Jest broke in an evil Time, yet do I not side with them in Opinion, who tax the King of Severity in this Execution, unless I could clear this Man from being particularly factious for the House of Lancaster, or know that these Words were utter'd in innocent Mirth, without any Scorn to King Edward's Title. And however perhaps the extraordinary Punishment of such saucy Language, was not then unnecessary to beget Authority, and make Men cautious to dispute the Descent of Princes, when the Question was so nice, and Arguments not improbable on either Side.

But here in her very first Courtship, Fortune rais'd K. Edward higher than the Endeavours of a long Ambition had done his Father. For now was he consecrated King in the Imperial City of this Realm, adorn'd with every Circumstance of Sovereignty; and all his Enterprizes hitherto so flatter'd with Success, that he could promise nothing but Prosperity to his Hopes. Yet was the Ground whereon he built uncertain, and his State brought into Comparison with his Competitor, frail and obnoxious to Ruin.

For Henry had equal Dignity with the Advantage of a long Reign, an uninterrupted Descent in Majesty for 60 Years, a Sovereignty acknowledg'd Abroad by all Christian Princes, and obey'd at Home by all English Men without Dispute, a Title according to the Law Salick indubitable, and which had been confirm'd at the first Entry of his Grand-father Henry IV. into the Kingdom, not only by Resignation of Richard II. by general Acknowledgment of all the Nobility, and by Authority of Parliament, but even by Approbation, nay particular Negotiation of Edmond, Duke of York; Edward, Duke of Aumerl; Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Grand-Father, Great-Uncle, and Great-Grandfather to the late anointed K. Edward IV. Only a feeble Judgment, and a long evil Fortune rendred Henry VI. inferiour, which to counterpoise Q. Margaret and the Lords of her side were daring and vigilant, omitting no Stratagem or Endeavour that might add to the Honour or Safety of their Designs.

Whereupon she continu'd still in the North, and obliging that People every Day more to her Service, labour'd to prepare such an Army as might upon the worst of Fortune be able enough for Defence: And soon she found how much her own and the Authority of the great Lords of her Side prevail'd, having rais'd 60000 fighting Men, and they all resolv'd with Expence of their Blood to buy back that Majesty, which the House of Lancaster by evil Fate had lost. An Army if arm'd and order'd well, able

A. D. 1461. Reg. 1.

K. Edward proclaim'd, and one Walker executed for saucy Language

K. Henry's Title to the Crown.

Q. Margaret and the Lords of her Party raise an Army to dethrone King Edward. Q. Margaret's Army consists of 60000.



A. D. 1461. to the most glorious Prince our Nation ever gain'd Honour by, *Henry V.* Yet all that this so envied Splendor in a Wife got him, was, to render his Life obnoxious to Imprisonment and Faction, and his Death more eminent on a Scaffold.

*Duke of York marches to London.* This Victory rais'd *Edward's* Imaginations high, so that now he resolv'd to spend his Fortune no longer in small Enterprizes: And lest the Spirit of his Army should begin to languish, having no Enemy near to find him Employment, he resolv'd to search for one about *London*, whither he had Intelligence the Queen with her triumphant Forces directed her March, not without Hopes of obtaining Admission, because the Mayor and others were her Friends: Moreover, it concern'd the Policy of his Affairs, to retain the Possession of the capital City of the Kingdom, whose Commons continued firm to his Service, and in which the Lords of his Party had the Custody of King *Henry's* Person, left to their Faith, when the Duke of *York* went his last fatal Expedition.

*The Queen engages the Earl of Warwick, and vanquishing him on Shrewsbury, Feb. 17. takes her Husband.* But in the Way at *Chipping-Norton*, he met the Earl of *Warwick*, who, with the Lords King *Henry's* Keepers, whom they brought with them, had lately fought and lost the Field to the Queen at *St. Albans*. In which, beside the Honour of the Day, and Slaughter of Two thousand of her Enemies, she recover'd the Person of her Husband. *Warwick*, tho' he brought with him only a Relation of his late Overthrow, yet it was with such a Courage as disdain'd Misfortune, and coveted nothing more than by the Tryal of a new Day to perswade, or else to force back Victory to his Side.

*Q. Margaret's Army spoil and ravage all the Country South of Trent.* And oftentimes a small Loss to an Army, like opening a Vein to a Body, doth rather correct than any way impair the Health; whereas too much Prosperity, like the worst Surfeit, suddenly becomes uncureable. And so the Two late obtain'd Conquests wrought in the Enemy only Insolency and Disorder. For the Queen, wanton with Success, vainly imagin'd a Security from future Competition, and either wanted Power to restrain her Soldiers, or licenc'd them to a free Spoil; by which unruly Violence she untied the Affection of the Commons, who by their Quiet and Profit, measure the Vertues of Princes. And indeed they had Title to their often Complaints against the northern Troops, who, as soon as they had pass'd *Trent*, as if there they had parted with all Obedience to Discipline, made use of all Kinds of Licence, that might serve their Avarice or Pleasure. And having by the Way left no Towns, and in them no Place how sacred soever unspoiled; after the Flight of *Warwick*, they design'd for *London*, hoping to find it abundantly stor'd for Prey, and utterly unable for Defence.

*City of London deny Queen Margaret Reception.* But the Citizens perceiving Hostility in their Approach, shut their Gates, and arm'd for Resistance; and with such Valour and good Order behav'd themselves, that the rude Assailants were with Loss repulst, and the Queen perswaded to retire Northward, knowing the Disorder of her Men had begot her in the Place where she then lay encamped, nothing but ill Aspects and worse Wishes: She therefore dislodged from *St. Albans*, and every Day as she march'd towards the North, new Relations came of the Greatness and Resolution of the Earl of *March's* Power, who, with the Earl of *Warwick* was on his Journey to *London*.

And doubtless the Report of his Approach confirm'd the City in her Courage to resist the late Assault; which otherwise would without

question have comply'd with the Fortune of the more powerful. For presently after the Departure of the Queen, the Earl of *March* on the Twenty eighth of *February*, made his triumphant Entry, and was receiv'd with such Acclamations, as an over-joy'd People could express, who only hoped for Safety by the Fortune of his Side. To encrease the Glory of this Entry concurr'd, besides his Title to the Crown, his late Victory at *Mortimer's Cross*, the Memory of a most glorious Father, and great Authority of his Confederate *Warwick*, the Beauty of *March's* Person, than which that Age beheld not any more excellent. Neither is the outward Form a small Circumstance to induce the Multitude to Reverence; since as Deformity in a Prince, hath oftentimes occasion'd Contempt even to Deprivation: So on the contrary, hath an amiable Shape strengthened very weak Pretensions, and in *Antonius Heligabalus* was sufficient Title to an Empire, even in a military Election.

*Earl of Warwick draws the Citizens of London to elect Edward, Duke of York, King.* But the Earl of *Warwick*, (whose Mind was still in labour, and felt continually most violent Throws, till it had brought forth a settled Sovereignty to the House of *York*) contented not himself with this general Applause, knowing how the least Change of Fortune would create new Affections. He therefore resolv'd so to fasten the City to his Designs, that any Alteration in *Edward's* Fortune should be Ruin to them; and thereupon caus'd on the Second of *March* a general Muster of all his Forces to be made in *St. John's Fields*; where, when he found an universal Confluence of all Men, answerable to his Expectation; he cast his Army into a Ring, and with a loud Voice, made to be read the Agreement which the last Parliament had made between *Henry VI.* and *Richard*, Duke of *York*. By which *Henry* (out of Compassion to a long Possession) was permitted to enjoy the Crown during his natural Life; the Remainder to *Richard* and his Heirs, in whom it was then apparently proved that the Title to the Kingdom did remain. In which Agreement was likewise manifested, That *Henry* should make immediate Forfeiture, whensoever either he, or any of his Party should attempt to disannul this Act. This being read, and commented on with the best Efficacy of Language, to express the foul Breach on King *Henry's* Side, in the Destruction of *Richard*, Duke of *York*: The Question was propos'd to them, whether they would longer continue in their Obedience to *Henry's* Usurpation, who so impiously had violated his Faith? To which with an universal loud Consent of Voices, they cry'd out, *No, No.* Then were they demand'd, *Whether they would admit Edward, whose Title to the Crown was so apparent, and whose Wrong had been so great in a perfidious violent Entry, and a long injurious Possession of the Kingdom by the Family of Lancaster?* To which with Acclamations of Assent was answered, *Yea, Yea.*

*A. D. 1461. Mar. 3. Reg. 1. Edward, Duke of York, elected King.* Thus by the Soldier and the People, was *Edward's* Title approv'd, and he admitted King *March 3. 1461.* And happily did this Ceremony then appear needful, in regard the same Voices had vow'd Obedience to another. Otherwise, whosoever shall alledge, that the Suffrage of the Multitude is necessary to confirm a Prince, destroys the Right of Succession, and in that the Monarchy, which so long and triumphantly hath ruled this Nation. And to understand the Uncertainty and Injustice of all popular Election, History instructs us, That no Tyrant yet in *England*, by what indirect Practice soever he

A. D. 1461. City of London receive the Duke of York joyfully.

Beauty 22 Inducement to make Kings.

Earl of Warwick draws the Citizens of London to elect Edward, Duke of York, King.

A. D. 1461. Mar. 3. Reg. 1. Edward, Duke of York, elected King.

Popular Elections of Kings exploded.



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King Edward declares his Title to the Crown, but requires the Peoples Approbation which he had again. That Night he rested, the next Morning with as much Ceremony and State, as the Shortness and Unquietness of the Time could license, in solemn Procession he went to St. Paul's Church; whence after Te Deum sung, and Oblation made, he rode to Westminster, there seated in the most perspicuous place of the great Hall, with the Scepter of St. Edward the Confessor in his Hand, himself made Declaration of his double Title to the Crown. First, By descent, as Heir to the third Son of Edward III. the Line of whose eldest Son Edward the Black Prince extinguish'd in the Deposition and Parricide of Richard II. procured by Henry of Bullingbrooke, first King of the House of Lancaster, Edward the Third's second Son William dying without Issue. Secondly, By Authority of Parliament, which upon Examination of the Duke of York's Title, conferred the Possession of the Kingdom immediately on him or his Heirs, when Henry VI. should make Forfeiture of it, by Death, Relinquishment, or Breach of that Accord sworn there so solemnly by them. And that this Accord was broken, the Slaughter of the Duke oppos'd with unequal Numbers on K. Henry's Party at the Battel of

Wakefield, did sadly manifest. Nevertheless he protested himself ready to forgo the Justice of his Claim, rather than to enter upon it without the free Vote. At which unanimously the Assembly cry'd K. Edward, K. Edward, joyful that their Voices might confirm him King, who had daign'd them so humble a Complement, as to profess that he would not receive the Title without their Suffrage. The Formality of this second Election thus past, he went in Procession to the Abby; whence after much Solemnity and Homage of all the Nobility there present, he return'd by Water to the Bishop of London's Palace, and was immediately proclaim'd King throughout the City by the Name of Edward the Fourth.

The first Fortnight of his Reign was dy'd, I will not say stain'd, with the Blood of Walter Walker a Grocer, who keeping Shop at the Sign of the Crown in Cheapside, said he would make his Son Heir to the Crown; a bold Jest broke in an evil Time, yet do I not side with them in Opinion, who tax the King of Severity in this Execution, unless I could clear this Man from being particularly factious for the House of Lancaster, or know that these Words were utter'd in innocent Mirth, without any Scorn to King Edward's Title. And however perhaps the extraordinary Punishment of such saucy Language, was not then unnecessary to beget Authority, and make Men cautious to dispute the Descent of Princes, when the Question was so nice, and Arguments not improbable on either Side.

But here in her very first Courtship, Fortune rais'd K. Edward higher than the Endeavours of a long Ambition had done his Father. For now was he consecrated King in the Imperial City of this Realm, adorn'd with every Circumstance of Sovereignty; and all his Enterprizes hitherto so flatter'd with Success, that he could promise nothing but Prosperity to his Hopes. Yet was the Ground whereon he built uncertain, and his State brought into Comparison with his Competitor, frail and obnoxious to Ruin.

For Henry had equal Dignity with the Advantage of a long Reign, an uninterrupted Descent in Majesty for 60 Years, a Sovereignty acknowledg'd Abroad by all Christian Princes, and obey'd at Home by all English Men without Dispute, a Title according to the Law Salick indubitable, and which had been confirm'd at the first Entry of his Grand-father Henry IV. into the Kingdom, not only by Resignation of Richard II. by general Acknowledgment of all the Nobility, and by Authority of Parliament, but even by Approbation, nay particular Negotiation of Edmond, Duke of York; Edward, Duke of Anmerl; Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Grand-Father, Great-Uncle, and Great-Grand-father to the late anointed K. Edward IV. Only a feeble Judgment, and a long evil Fortune rendred Henry VI. inferiour, which to counterpoise Q. Margaret and the Lords of her Side were daring and vigilant, omitting no Stratagem or Endeavour that might add to the Honour or Safety of their Designs.

Whereupon she continu'd still in the North, and obliging that People every Day more to her Service, labour'd to prepare such an Army as might upon the worst of Fortune be able enough for Defence: And soon she found how much her own and the Authority of the great Lords of her Side prevail'd, having rais'd 60000 fighting Men, and they all resolv'd with Expence of their Blood to buy back that Majesty, which the House of Lancaster by evil Fate had lost. An Army if arm'd and order'd well, able

A. D. 1461. Reg. 1.

K. Edward proclaim'd, and one Walker executed for saucy Language

K. Henry's Title to the Crown.

Q. Margaret and the Lords of her Party raise an Army to dethrone King Edward. Q. Margaret's Army consists of 60000.



A. D. 1461. Reg. 1. to oppose the mightiest Enemy, or undertake the boldest Enterprize. On sight of which the Queen entertain'd a Confidence easily to scatter the Forces of the New Mushroom King, who in a Night seem'd to have sprung up to Majesty; especially when she understood how with unequal Power he march'd Northward, a Clime not unlikely to prove as disastrous to him as to his Father.

King Edward's Resolution to maintain his Right. King Edward on the other Side as soon as the Voice of the People had saluted him Prince, resolv'd with hazzard of his new-gain'd Sovereignty to extirpate his great Opposer: For while the Side of *Lancaster* was supported with the Assistance of so large a Portion of the Kingdom, which as yet adhered to *Henry*, he could be King but at the curtesie of his Faction, and the Body of the Land must of Necessity grow monstrous, being charg'd with two Heads, each of which look'd divers Ways: He therefore while his Men had yet the Memory of their late good Fortune fresh in their Courage, march'd towards the Queen, and chose rather, as worthier his Spirit, to provoke than expect an Enemy.

King Edward's Arrival at Pomfret Castle. Of his Arrival at *Pomfret* Castle when it was understood, and that part of his Army led by the Lord *Fitzwalter*, had posselt it self of *Ferribrig*, a Passage over the River *Aire* of great Importance: All they of *Lancaster* began carefully to look to their Affairs. King *Henry*, the Queen, and Prince (who were by their several Weaknesses unfit for Action) retired to *York*, there to attend the event of Business. The Army being committed to the Charge of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*.

K. Henry's Army, commanded by the Duke of Somerset, &c. Among these it was resolv'd that *Ferribrig*, in regard of the Consequence of the Place, was at any hazzard to be recover'd, and the Enterprize left to the Undertaking of *Clifford*; who early the next Morning, least Delay might betray his Design to the Enemy, with a competent Number march'd thither, and that with such Diligence and Secrecy, that before there was the least Suspicion of an Assault, the uncircumspect Guard was entred upon and defeated. With the Tumult the Lord *Fitzwalter*, and the Bastard of *Salisbury* were awaken'd, and suspecting a Mutiny among their own Soldiers, rose hastily from their Beds, and coming down encounter'd a merciless Enemy, who deny'd all Quarter, and on the Place slew them.

Lord Clifford gains Ferribrig of Edward's Men. The Loss of this so comodious Passage and Slaughter of such eminent Persons came first to the Ear of the Earl of *Warwick*, who somewhat too much transported with the evil Fate of their first Attempt posted in all haste to *K. Edward*, in whose Presence he kill'd his Horse, and said, *Sir, God have mercy on their Souls, who for love of you in the Beginning of your Enterprize have lost their Lives, yet let him flie who will flie, by this Cross (kissing the Hilt of his Sword) I will stand by him who will stand by me, fall back, fall edge.*

Great Men have their Frailties. Words certainly, tho' mingled with a high Resolution strangely distemper'd, and representing so much of Danger as might have troubled the Courage of the Army. And howsoever partial History in mentioning the Actions of Great Men, will not allow them to participate with the Vulgar in the Weaknesses incident to human Nature, yet every greatest Spirit hath his Alloy of Imbecillity. The most knowing Scholar hath found a Period, beyond which his curious Search could not move; the wisest Politician hath discover'd where he err'd, and blush'd at the Mistake; and the boldest Soldier at some time

A. D. 1461. Reg. 1. or other hath found the Coward trembling in him. We may by our Endeavours raise Nature somewhat above her Frailty, but never triumph over her till Death.

King Edward's Courage and License to his Soldiers to depart. And certainly *Warwick* was too much amaz'd at this Accident; but soon he settled himself, and by his stout Comportment animated the fainting Army: But King *Edward*, whose Youth was beautified with Valour and Wisdom, even to Wonder, soberly entertain'd this sad Report, and to oppose against any Fear which might shake the Souldier; caused immediate Proclamation to be made, That it was lawful for any Man whom the present Loss, or Fear of future Danger discourag'd safely to depart; That whosoever should perform the Duty of a Soldier and fight manfully, should have a certain and a most large Reward: On the contrary to any Man who should continue in the Army, and hereafter fly away, the severest Punishment and Liberty for any one to kill such a Coward, with promise of double Pay.

None left the Army for fear. No Man accepted the Offer of so contemptible a Safety; and indeed the Body of his Army consisted of Southern Men, whose Flight had perhaps been as unsafe as the present Danger: Moreover the Example of the Valiant perswaded the rest, who blush'd to appear single in their Fears; whereby not being known they grew afterward to have equal Title, with the most daring to a glorious Victory.

The King seeing the Spirit of his Army so bold, and so devoted to his Service, thought the Loss of Time might endanger the Loss of his Design; and thereupon resolv'd with the first Convenience to bring his Fortune to the Tryal of a Battel. The Lord *Falconbridge* and Lord *Fal-* Sir *Walter Blunt*, in regard the Duke of *Norfolk* was then disabled by Sickness, had the leading of the Vanguard, who finding the Passage of *Ferribrig* impossible on the sudden to obtain, three Miles above, at *Castleford* past the River; and soon after about *Dindingdale* discover'd the Lord *Clifford*, whom they suddenly overtook and encompass; in vain labouring to retire to the main Battel. But he perceiving no way to escape from his Enemies but thro' Death, defended himself bravely with his small Forces even to the Envy of them who overcame, till shot with an Arrow thro' the Throat, he perish'd. The Lord *John Nevill*, Son to the Earl of *Westmerland* with almost all those unfortunate Troops fell there with their Leader the Lord *Clifford*; who in too mild a manner paid them the great Debt he ow'd to Justice for the Murder of the Young Earl of *Rutland*.

K. Henry and K. Edward's Army come to a Battel at Towton. Next Day being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning both Armies came in Sight: A fatal Meeting, which like the Union of the Soul with the Body, never parts but by Death. The Field was between *Caxton* and *Towton*, from the latter of which this Battel afterwards took Name. On full Survey of King *Henry's* Host so dreadful in advantage of Number, Proclamation was made in King *Edward's* Camp, that no Quarter should be given nor Prisoner taken. A necessary Cruelty not to be avoided but with danger of his own Ruin: In regard otherwise the common Soldier might in hope of Spoil, or of the Ransom of an Enemy, be wanting to his Duty.

It was about the Hour of Nine, when the Armies drew near; 60000 for *Lancaster*, for *York* scarce 40000; only the Presence and Courage of King *Edward* made an Equality. The Lord *Falconbridge*, to whom the Van was committed, and who was most able for the Place, when



A. D. 1461. Reg. 1. The Lord Falconbridge's good Conduct. when the Fight was ready to begin, charg'd his Archers, soon as they had shot, to fall Three Strides back, and make a Stand, whereby they might avoid the Arrows of the Enemy: Which Stratagem happen'd as was expected; for the northern Men with a sudden Fury answer'd the Onset, and having emptied their Quivers, hastened to hand Blows. But the Arrows, which they had discharged at Adventure by reason of the Fogg, having never reach'd them against whom they were shot, turn'd now to their Annoiance and Trouble, so far, that the Splinters of them sticking in the Ground, pierc'd and gaul'd their Feet, and forc'd them to a confused Stop. In this Trouble the Southern Men shot another Flight, and the Wind conspiring with their Cunning, blew a Tempest of Hail and Snow into their Faces; by which the Vanguard of King Henry, led by the Earl of Northumberland and Andrew Trollop, gave back.

Yet did not the main Battel tremble with this Motion; but, as if the Enemy had gain'd no Advantage, continued with the first Constancy. Ten Hours Victory hung in Suspence; equal Courage appeared on both Sides, equal Hopes of Good, equal Despairs for Fear of bad Success, which occasion'd so much Cruelty in the Fight. But at length (the Field stain'd with Blood, and the Earth groaning with the Burden of so many Heaps of dead and dying Bodies) the Northern Men began to hope for Safety only in flight. Neither did they yield to the prevailing Fortune of the Enemy, until their Courages were dismay'd with sight of so many eminent Persons slain before their Eyes. For the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, the Lords Beaumont, D'acres, Gray and Wells, and Andrew Trollop, who was famous in the French Wars, with divers others of the greatest Reputation, for Nobility and Courage, had already fallen, and in their Slaughter taught the Survivors what to expect. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, seeing all Things desperate, the greater Part of the Army slain, the rest broken and flying, posted to York, to carry the fatal News of this Overthrow to the unfortunate King, whose Vertue yet had a Patience greater than his Ruin.

In no Battel was ever power'd forth so much English Blood; for in this, and the Two precedent Days were slain 36776 Persons, all of one Nation, many near in Alliance, some in Blood, fatally divided by Faction; yet all animated with the same Zeal to maintain their Princes's Right, which being so difficult to resolve, doubtless made the Quarrel on either Side, how ruinous soever to their Families, not unsafe to their Consciences. And it is worthy Observation, that in this so long and cruel Conflict between the Two Houses, never any Stranger of Name was present at our Battels; as if we had disdain'd to conquer or perish by other Weapons than our own.

K. Henry's Flight into Scotland. King Henry perceiving how desperate his Hopes were in England, with the poor Remains of his Party, secured himself by flight into Scotland. And with such hast, that before King Edward got to York (where he hoped to have surpriz'd him dismay'd with the late Discomfiture) nothing was there left but the City humbly devoted to the Dispose of the Conqueror. But on the Walls yet remain'd the Heads of Richard, Duke of York, and his Friends, an ignominious Spectacle, unluckily there standing to incense him to Cruelty. For on sight of so barbarous an Injury, he gave present Command, that Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devon-

shire, should be beheaded with Three others taken in the former Battel; that these new Heads might relieve them, who had stood Centinel so long; and that his Father and Friends might not want that busie Part of the Body to be inclosed with them in the Grave. An Action too much favouring of the ancient Heathen; the Souls of Christians no way requiring their Murthers to be reveng'd, or their Injuries appeased with such an Offering.

After this dire Oblation, he sent Part of his Forces to clear the Coasts toward Scotland, from the Dreggs of War; where to terrifie that People prone to Innovation in King Henry's Quarrel, some Examples of Severity were made. In the Interim, he, with as glorious Triumph and large Joy as a Victory could beget, which brought no less to him than absolute Sovereignty, march'd toward London. By the Inhabitants whereof, who were deeply interested in his Fortune, he was with all the Solemnity of a secure Gladness entertain'd June 29. To the Triumph of his Entrance, soon succeeded that of his Coronation, perform'd on the 29th of June, with usual Ceremonies, but most unusual Congratulations.

Immediately, that no Circumstance of Sovereignty might be wanting, a Parliament was summon'd; by which his Title might be reconfirm'd, his Partakers rewarded, his Enemies punish'd. And tho' private Respects were his chief Business, desiring to disannul all Acts made heretofore in Prejudice to the House of York and its Adherents; yet the outward Pretension was the Safety and Quiet of the Realm. For he publicly profess'd his only Care to be, that such wholesome Laws might be enacted, as might redress Disorders crept into the State, by free Licence given to Rapine in the former Troubles. By which Appearance of Sollicitude for quieting the Kingdom, he gain'd Authority among the Wise, and created a Belief in all, that his Government in Peace would be as fortunate as his Success in War. Having by his Wisdom and Providence thus gotten the good Opinion of the Generality, he bestowed his Graces on particular Persons, whom Blood join'd with Merit rendred dear to him. His Brothers, George and Richard, he created Dukes, the Elder of Clarence, the Younger of Gloucester. John, Lord Nevill, the Earl of Warwick's Brother, he made Viscount, Mountacute, Henry Bourchier, Brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl of Essex, and William, Lord Falconbridge, Earl of Kent. He rais'd divers others to the Title of Barons, and honor'd many with Knighthood. The Conclusion of this great Assembly was Punishment; for John, Earl of Oxford, Aubrey Vere his Son, Sir John Tiddenham, Knight, William Tirrel and Walter Montgomery, Esquires, were without any Tryal convicted of Treason, and beheaded on Tower-Hill. A rough Proceeding, which favoured something too much of the Conqueror, and made John, Earl of Oxford, his implacable Enemy, Heir to the late Earl.

Business thus happily settled at Home, to check the Audaciousness of our transmarin Neighbours, (who had thrown Injuries on our Nation weakned by Discord) the Earls of Essex and Kent, with the Lord Audley, were sent with 10000 Soldiers to scour the Narrow Seas; who first landing in Brittain, took the Town of Conquet; and afterward invading the Isle of Ree, pillag'd that little Country, and with Victory return'd. By which Enterprize, tho' of no signal Consequence to his Affairs, yet King Edward

A. D. 1461. Reg. 1. King Edward's Severity to the Captives.

K. Edward returns to London, and is joyfully receiv'd.

K. Edward crowned, and his Title confirm'd by Parliament.

King Edward rewards his chief Adherents with Honours.

A. D. 1462. Reg. 2. King Edward's Achievements by Sea.



A. D. 1462. *ward* made the *French* to understand how unsafe it was to provoke the *English* govern'd by an active Prince, who might perhaps hereafter in Person appear abroad, for the Recovery of those Provinces, which nothing but our Diffension could have lost. As likewise to terrifie all forreign States from adhering to *K. Henry*, who both in Courage and Fortune was so far inferior.

And now was the Prosperity of *Edward* in so full Splendor, and so dark a Cloud hung over the House of *Lancaster*, that *Henry Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, and *Sir Ralph Percie*, forsook the Ruins of that Family they had so long endeavour'd to support. To King *Edward* the Submission of Two so eminent Persons appear'd as welcom as a Victory; and they by his Favour were presently restor'd to full Possession both of their Honours and (a) Estates; and the same Grace promised to any, whom their Example should perswade to return to their Allegiance.

Yet did not the indefatigable Queen lose any Thing of her Spirit or Endeavours, by her late so sad Discomfiture, and Revolt now of her chief Adherents, which were able perhaps to break her Fortune, not her. And having upon full reckoning perceiv'd, that she must account of no Power at Home, she made her Addresses to all Princes abroad, whom Alliance, Reason of State, or Compassion of so great a Disaster, might move to her Assistance. But, as it is in the Fate of all Women, who usurp on their Husbands, she had been unhappy in the Management of his Prosperity, and now was much more incapable to oppose against his so great and constant Infelicity. Great Undertakings being seldom successful in that Sex, whose Government over Man, as in Nature it is monstrous, so for the most part in it self hath it been disorderly and ruinous. But certainly, how erroneous soever it was heretofore, she was now defective only in the Event, which is not ruled by ours, but by a higher Mind.

For with the King of *Scotland* (with whom as in the nearest Place of Safety, she left her Husband) to confirm a secure Friendship, she contracted a near Alliance, by promising the young Prince her Son in Marriage to the Lady *Margaret*, his Sister. And that this Marriage might not seem a Gift but a Bargain, she bought the Lady by the Delivery of *Berwick* into the *Scots* Hands, the strongest Fort the *English* had in the North. But the Unfortunate are ever Losers in their Traffick, and forc'd to purchase what otherwise they would with Difficulty be perswaded to receive.

With *Lewis XI.* the *French* King, she prevail'd little, though near to him in Consanguinity; for the Discontent of his Nobility, held him in continual Suspicion. Otherwise she had Title to promise her self large Supplies from so potent and politick a Prince, whose Interest it must in Reason have been, by fomenting Discord at home, to hinder us from any Attempt abroad. After much Solicitation, she obtain'd that he declar'd himself for King *Henry*, by prohibiting all Favourers of the House of *York* Access into the *French* Dominions, and opening them to all those of the Party of *Lancaster*. A negative kind of Help, which rather shew'd there yet was Sanctuary left for *Henry's* unhappy Friends, than any considerable Aid to be expected.

*Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, tho' a mighty Prince, and near allied to *Lancaster*, (whose Wife's Mother was *Philippa*, Daughter to *John of Gaunt*) yet by Age, and a passionate Love to quiet, was become altogether unactive. Neither had *Charles*, Earl of *Charolois*, his Son, though of a daring Spirit, and an Affecter of Business, Leisure to look over into our Island, being engag'd in domestick Troubles, and suspicious of the Designs of the *French* King.

With *Charolois*, the Duke of *Brittain* held a strong Confederacy; and both of them Intelligence with the discontented Lords of *France*. The War which was afterward so known by the Name of the *Weal-Publick* being at that Time among them privately in Contrivance; so that all these neighbouring Princes, to whom the Affairs of *England* might seem considerable, were wholly taken up with Attention to their own.

The Emperor *Frederick III.* was more remote, and so cautious from entering into the Quarrels of other Men, that by any Art, and even with Loss he would decline his own. Moreover, he justly stood in continual Fear of the growing Fortune of the *Turk*; who, having lately subverted the Eastern, threatened now Ruin to the Western Empire: And questionless had not the great God of Armies miraculously given a Stop to his Victories, *Christendom* had now been only several Provinces enslav'd to his Tyranny. For Pride and Emulation had then turn'd our Arms upon our selves, and left our Bodies naked to the Scourge of the common Enemy.

*Spain* was far off, divided between a Christian and *Mahometan* Government, each labouring the Extirpation of the other, so that they had Liberty to be Actors in no Tragedy but their own. And indeed no Conflict is so fierce and irreconcilable, as when Religion animates to War, and makes it Piety to be cruel.

To her Father *Renate* therefore, who enjoy'd the specious Title of King of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Jerusalem*, but Possession of none of them, the afflicted Queen was forc'd to make a sad Retreat. A poor contemptible Lord, living now to see his Son-in-Law, once the greatest Monarch of the Christian World, a Prince as merely titular as himself. As if it had been the Fate of these Two, that the one could say, he might have been, the other that once he was a King.

Leaving therefore forreign States intentive to their own Designs, with her Son, whom to move Compassion she had carried up and down, the Queen return'd to *Scotland*; by her long but unsuccessful Labour, having gathered together 500 *French*; a Number so small and so unworthy the Name of an Army, that it was but a competent Retinue for so great a Princess. With these nevertheless she sail'd to (b) *Timmouth*, from whence she was repulsed by the Inhabitants as soon as she landed, and forc'd again to put to Sea. But there (for where may the Unfortunate meet with Friendship?) she found the Winds her Enemies, whose unruly Force drove her at length disorderly to *Berwick*; and the *French* under the Command of *Monsieur Varrennes* into the Hand of the Bastard *Ogle*, whom the King had sent to watch their Enemies; and he slew above an 100 of them, and took almost all the rest Prisoners, the Captain and some few only escaping.

(a) Mr *Ibin* in his History of the Dukes of *England*, says, that the Duke of *Somerset* had only a Pension of a 1000 Marks a Year granted him, which was never paid; and he places his Submitting to King *Edward* on the Second of December, in the Year 1463.

(b) She took *Ainwick*, and garrison'd it.



A. D. 1463. Reg. 3. K. Henry with an Army of Scots invades England.

Here some thin Regiments of Scots resorted to her, in company of whom she enter'd Northumberland; and having won Banbury-Castle, passed into the Bishoprick of Durham, her Husband marching in the Front, that the Name and Presence of K. Henry might invite the People to their ancient Service, and add Authority to the Design. But soon she found her Error; for Hope, not Compassion perswades to Danger: And the Commonalty sat still, when by rising they understood themselves only likely to share in the King's Misfortune: For having upon a just Account discover'd how War is only necessary to the most desperate, and that in the End it leaves them to nothing but Beggary and Punishment, they were reconcil'd to the Love of Peace, and every Man betook himself to Industry. And for the Nobility, the King had won them either by the Reputation of his Fortune, or Terror of his Courage; so that no Man of Eminency resolv'd to change Subjection: Only Henry, Duke of Somerset, and Sir Ralph Peirce, who not long before had forsaken K. Henry in his Tempest; now upon a false Hope of fairer Weather fled back again. For it is a ridiculous Cunning in Historians to ascribe the Actions of great Men perpetually to Policy, since Irresolution prevails equally in them as with the Vulgar. And why might not Despair beget Submission in these two to K. Edward, and a vain Appearance of a Return of Fortune to K. Henry's Side, perswade them to this last Revolt?

Upon this so weak Access of Power, Queen Margaret perceiving so unsound Friendship in her Husband's native Country, destroy'd it as if an Enemy's. And wanting Force to reach the Prosperity of her Competitor, fell cruelly upon the common People, who had hitherto been only subjects to his Fortune, bearing inwardly a most passionate Love to the Family of Lancaster. But this outrageous Carriage of the Army, chang'd absolutely their Affections to the Queen, who was questionless by Necessity compell'd to Things unlawful, whereby to prevent the Disbanding of her Forces, which were only paid and kept together by a licentious Spoil.

To oppose this Attempt, which only betrayed the Weakness of the Enemies, King Edward sent down John Nevill, Lord Mountacute, himself staying behind to raise an Army, besitting the Greatness of his Name and present Quarrel. Giving likewise Order that his Navy should guard the Seas, to hinder any Succours to the Queen from foreign Confederates: But this was an unnecessary Caution; no State Abroad being so desperate, as to embark it self in the broken Seas of her Fortune.

Mountacute at Land had a braver Occasion to shew his Courage; who having in the Bishoprick of Durham gather'd some convenient Forces, and receiv'd others from King Edward, then at York, march'd directly against K. Henry. By the Way the Lords Hungerford, and Ross, and Sir Ralph Peirce presented themselves to hinder his farther Course; but perceiving the good Order and Courage of his Army, all fled but the valiant Peirce. Who disdain'd to secure his Life with Loss of his Honour, or to shew the least Weakness beneath his Name or

Spirit, fought it out with his Regiment, till over-press'd with Number, he and his were all cut to pieces. The valiant Knight contenting himself, that he had saved the Bird in his Brest, as he said; that is, died in his Loyalty.

Encouraged with this Success Mountacute attempts, without Expectation of any farther Succour or Direction, to finish the present War, and immediately marches to a Plain call'd Levells, near the River Dowell in (c) Hexhamshire, where King Henry's Army lay encamped. The Camp he suddenly assaults in the Night, and had taken it without any Loss, had not the Enemy beyond Expectation gather'd themselves into some Order and valiantly opposed. But no Courage could withstand the Fortune and Spirit of Mountacute, for the Queen's Camp at length was lost, and in it taken the Duke of Somerset, the Lords Hungerford, Ross, Moulins, and Sir Thomas Hussy, with Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir John Findern: Somerset on the Place lost his Head, the rest sent to Newcastle to suffer there the same Punishment, with twenty Gentlemen more, but King Henry and the Queen escaped (d) into Lancashire at the first on-set, whose Tragedy drew not yet near the last Act.

King Edward whose Fortune fought for him, even in his Absence, encounter'd the News of this Victory in his march towards Durham; so that finding the Presence of his Person and Army needless he return'd towards York: Giving command to Warwick to take in all the Forts and Castles, which yet in the North held out, as (e) Alnwick, Banbury and Dustambury. On the Way he was certified of the Apprehension of King Henry's Person, who was surprized as he endeavour'd by shifting from Place to Place to have recover'd Scotland (f). With the Joy of which Report King Edward return'd to London, whither as yet he never came but glorious by the Accession of some new Triumph.

Thomas, the Son of Sir Edward Talbot of Lancashire, apprehended King Henry as he sat at Dinner at Waddington-Hall, in Cleatberwood in Lancashire, and forgetting all Respect due to so great a Prince, like a common Malefactor with his Legs tied under the Horse's Belly, (g) guarded him up towards London. By the Way the Earl of Warwick met him, who adding Indignities to his Affliction, with the general Reproaches of the People, (the Acclamations they give to the Unfortunate) arrested him, and taking off his Gilt Spurs, led him Prisoner to the Tower. The only Companions of his present Calamity were Dr. Manning, Dean of Windsor, Dr. Bedle, and Mr. Allerton a young Gentleman, all of so divine a Calling, as shew'd no Misfortune could separate him from his Piety, nor them from their Duty.

The miserable Queen seeing the Desolation of her Greatness, her Husband imprison'd, all her great Friends fled or slaughter'd, made again her Retreat into France; and with her Son Prince Edward, (whose Preservation flatter'd her with some hopes, that one day he might rebuild the now ruin'd House of Lancaster) fled to her Father's Court. A most wretched Sanctuary to her Fears, where she had only leisure

(c) Once a County by it self, under the Jurisdiction of the Arch-bishop of York, but now annex'd by Act of Parliament to Northumberland, the Arch-bishop retaining his Ecclesiastical Power over it.

(d) The Queen fled to Scotland. Hol.

(e) These Castles says This in his History of Dukes, were yielded to King Edward by the Duke of Somerset, for which Cause he was again taken into the King's Favour.

(f) Holinshead writes, he got into Scotland, and did not return into England till the next Year.

(g) Tied to their Stirrups.



*A. D.* 1464. by long Patience to prepare her Mind for future Misery.

*Reg. 4.* But this her Dejection raised *Edward* up to an unsuspected Sovereignty, so that now he began to set strong the disjointed Body of his Kingdom. And knowing Liberality the only Ligament that ties Affection to a Prince, he resolv'd by attainting his Enemies to enable himself to reward the Services of his Friends. And tho' he pretended the Gate of Mercy ever to stand open to the Submission of the *Lancastrians*, yet few or none accepted the Favour, either distrustful of his Reality, or feeding their Hopes with Imagination, that the Tide of Fortune would not always flow with so impetuous a Torrent.

*K. Edward* attaints the *Lancastrian* Nobles, and gives their Houses and Estates to his Friends.

*Sir William Herbert* made Earl of *Pembroke*.

*Lord Mountacute* made Earl of *Northumberland*.

The Earl of *Warwick* and *Lord Mountacute* not satisfied with their Rewards.

*K. Edward* labours to endear himself to the People.

But King *Edward* angry, that a Faction so contemptible in their Ruin, should disdain his Clemency, proceeded to punishment (*b*). The Earldom of *Pembroke*, an Honour heretofore enjoy'd by *Jasper Tudor*, half-Brother to *Henry VI.* (who, with *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland* was then fled with King *Henry*;) he bestowed on *Sir William Herbert*, a Knight of *Wales*, both for Descent and Power most eminent, and to whose Aid a great Part of the present Felicity was owing. To the Lord *Mountacute*, whose Person and Service he equally lov'd, he gave the opulent Possessions belonging to the Family of the *Peircies*, together with the Honour of Earl of *Northumberland*.

But the most open Hand cannot satisfy the Expectation of great Deservers, who set so high a Price upon their Merits, that they leave their Princes no Power of Reward. The greatest Benefit being received in the Degree of a Debt, not a Gift. And certainly *Mountacute* and his Brother *Warwick*, had by too much Merit even disobligh'd the King; what Honour soever they were in future to have, being so little able to cancel the Obligation, that it could scarce defray the Interest. And in that Way was this Title and Inheritance accepted, which gave the King occasion to distaste whom otherwise he would have with Passion embraced. Whereupon reflecting on the Danger of adding Power to them, who wanted only Will to do Mischief, and knowing how easily Innovation might be resolv'd on, when nothing but the Conscience was to be perswaded; he began seriously to wish the Mightiness of that Family he owed the Crown to in some Degree lessened. Yet that he might no way appear unthankful to so great Deserts, he thought fit to weaken their Strength, and yet to add to the Splendor of their Title. Whereupon he willingly admitted the Friends of *Percy* to interceed for Restitution both of his Honour and Revenue, and soon granted it; rewarding *Mountacute* with the more specious Stile of Marquess. But this State-trick was by the Brothers easily understood, and accepted with the same Brow they would have entertain'd an Injury.

This the King dissembled; and to build his Estimation high in the Air of popular Applause, endeavour'd by all the Arts of humble Greatness to raise himself into the Opinion of the Multitude. His Presence was easie to any Man's Love or Curiosity, his Aspect clear and smiling, his Language free and familiar. And to the Ladies, who have also their Share in the Motion of States, he applied a general Courtship,

which used by a Prince of so amiable a Personage, made them, who are usually the Idols of others, to be Idolators of him. Among his Nobility he was so courteous and free in Gesture, and liberal in Affability, that he appeared King, not in his Assumption of State, but in their Application of Duty. This he did to win outward Applause; while to settle an inward Sense of his Wisdom, he look'd into Abuses of Officers, and reform'd them. Neither was there any Oppression or Mistake in Government, but what he relieved or corrected. And that it might appear how zealously he sought due Administration of Justice in greater Causes, he in Person sat Three Days together on his Bench at *Westminster-Hall*, to see a foul Rape on a Widow punish'd; which, tho' it little advanc'd the uncorrupted Execution of the Laws, yet it serv'd happily for Example, and created what he then most courted, a good Opinion of him in the Minds of all Men.

Thus he grew upon his People at home, while abroad the neighbouring States began to decline the Danger of his future Enmity, who ever measure the Power of Princes by that Sway and Affection they have among their Subjects. *Charles*, Earl of *Charolois* (a Widdower, but without Heir-male) Heir to a large and opulent Territory (the Seventeen Provinces with the Dutchy and County of *Burgundy*, and the greatest Part of *Picardy*, being subject to Duke *Philip* his Father) first made his Address; who, bearing an implacable hatred to *Lewis XI.* King of *France*, desired to gain so Potent a Neighbour to his Party; and that he might secure his Friendship against all Faultering, he, by his Ambassadors entreated a Marriage with the Lady *Margaret*, the King's Sister: A Motion heard in *England* with much Acceptance, and which, if every Circumstance were well weigh'd, brought both Honour and Security. But it was thought by some intimate with the Earl in his most secret Counsels, that really he never intended this Marriage, having from his Mother, Niece to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, deriv'd an irreconcilable Malice against the House of *Tork*. And that this Negotiation aim'd only to temporize with *England*, in case the Duke of *Brittain* and the French King's Brother should desert him and make their Peace with *Lewis*, against whom these Three were then in Confederacy; but this I believe an Overcunning in Conjecture, since Marriage among Princes, as it seldom confirms a sound Friendship, so doth it never extirpate an ancient Hatred; the Proof of our and all Times shewing how false a Love is created by Alliance. But the Thoughts of Princes are so unknown to Posterity, that they are beyond the Scrutiny of the present Time. I will not therefore dispute what the Earl's inward Designs were; but certainly, both according to Reason of State and the Event (which is the best Light Historians can discern by) as it was pretended, so was it intended.

(*i*) The Marriage of his Sister being thus far advanc'd, the King began to advise with his Council concerning his own. A strong Alliance abroad was soon resolv'd most necessary both for the Dignity and Safety of his Crown; and among all the Princesses which that Time gloried in, and of whom several were propos'd to his Choice, viz. *Margaret*, Daughter of the King of *Scots*, and *Isabel*, Sister of *Henry IV.*

*A. D.* 1464. *Reg. 4.*

*Edward's* Alliance courted by Foreign Princes.

A Treaty of Marriage between the Lady *Margaret*, King *Edward's* Sister and the Earl of *Charolois*.

Marriages with Princes do little good.

King *Edward's* Marriage resolv'd on, and sought in *France* with the Lady *Bona*.

(*b*) This was done in the last Year while King *Edward* was at *Tork*. See *Hol.*

(*i*) This Marriage was not propos'd till the 6th Year of his reign nor effected till the 8th.



A. D. 1464. Reg. 4. King of *Castile*; the Lady (k) *Bona* was thought worthiest his Bed, in respect of the Excellence of her Beauty, Greatness of Birth (as being Daughter to *Lewis*, Duke of *Savoy*) and the mighty Marriage of her other Sister *Charlotte*, with *Lewis XI* King of *France*, with whom she then was. This last Consideration being a main Inducement, as by which all Fear might be taken away of a Tempest from that Coast, whence Queen *Margaret* seem'd to prepare a Storm.

The Earl of *Warwick* Agent for the King's Marriage. To this Negotiation the Earl of *Warwick* was deputed as the fittest Person, both for his great Faith to the King, and Authority in the Kingdom: Who, no sooner arriv'd at the *French* Court, where the young Lady then resided in Company of her Sister, but he was with all Triumph entertain'd, and his Motion heard with Joy and Acceptation.

The Consummation of it fought by both Parties. The Ambition of the *French* Queen to have her Sister married to so great a Prince, concurring with the many politick Respects, which overstay'd King *Lewis*. And soon after for an absolute Conclusion of all Business, *Monsieur Dampmartin* was design'd Ambassador for *England*. These Two Kings equally soliciting the Consummation of this Marriage. *Edward*, that he might without Fear of more Danger enjoy the Glory of a late recover'd Kingdom. *Lewis*, that freed from the Danger of an *English* Invader, and Importunities of Queen *Margaret*, for Assistance, he might give a Period to his basie Projects at home, by laying the Devil of Civil War, raised by a tumultuous Nobility.

King Edward's Love to the Lady Gray. But while Policy acted several Parts abroad, Love on the sudden chang'd the whole Scene at home. For the young King, after Hunting in *Wychemood* Forrest, coming to visit the Dutches of *Bedford*, at her Mannor of *Grafton* near *Stony-Stratford* in *Buckinghamshire*, for a Grant of some Lands taken from her Maintenance, was solicited by a fair Petitioner the Dutches's Daughter *Elizabeth*, Widow of Sir *John Gray*, slain on King *Henry's* Part at the Battel of *St. Albans*. The King could not but yield to any Request made by so conquering a Beauty, and presently himself grew as earnest in soliciting her, tho' in a more unlawful Suit. But she arm'd her Soul with a Modesty able to break the hottest Battery of Lust; and tho' on every Side assaulted by the Engines of Temptation, she repulsed her Enemy so nobly, by telling him, That tho' she knew her self unworthy to be a Queen, yet she valued her Honour and Person more, than to be the greatest Prince's Concubine; that he offered Parly upon honourable Terms. For when the King perceiv'd her adorn'd with a Chastity strong enough to resist him, who had scarce ever fail'd to be victorious in those Attempts, he grew enamour'd with the Beauty of her Mind, and resolv'd her Vertue was Dower enough to marry her to the highest Throne. Reason of State, which his Mother and Friends were not wanting to press him passionately with, argued sharply against a Marriage so unequal to Majesty, by alledging the Peril of an-

gring so potent a Neighbour as *K. Lewis*, and so dangerous a Subject as *Warwick*, as likewise the Inconvenience of raising a Widow to his Bed, who could bring nothing with her but her Poverty, and an unprovided issue; who, if not advanc'd by him, would be a Scorn to his Children, if advanc'd a ruinous Charge to his Exchequer, and an Envy both to the Princes of his Blood, and the Nobility of his Kingdom. But Love like a cunning Sophister easily refell'd all politick Arguments, and perswaded Reason her self almost to be of his Side.

For he repeated to the King his own Prerogative, which being so large, why should he then be denied the Liberty of a free Choice, which is allow'd the meanest Subject? Why might not he wooe with his own Eyes, and make Election where his Fancy best delighted? As for the Lady her self he found her in the Treasures of her Mind most abundant, and in the Perfections of her Body excellent to please him, who, and not the State, was to marry. For her Birth, she was by the Father Sir *Richard Woodville* Noble in her Descent at Home, by her Mother of the House of *Luxemburg*, (l) a Family with which the greatest Princes of Christendom had near Alliance. As for marrying a Subject\* and the Widow of his Enemy, the latter argu'd more Charity, and the former could not but tie the Affection of his People, when they saw their Prince disdain'd not Affinity with them. For a President to authorize these his intended Nuptials, he had *Edward* the Black Prince his Great Uncle, great indeed if not the greatest among all the Princes of his Name. And for the threaten'd Danger from King *Lewis* or the Earl of *Warwick*; from *France* he could never expect how near soever the Alliance had been but an unfaithful Amity; and should this his Marriage thrust *Warwick* upon rebellious Attempts, the Rebel would but fondly run upon his own Ruin, since it could not stand with the Majesty of a King, to hold his Crown by so base a Tenure, as to have his Actions aw'd by a Subject. These and such like Arguments, which

King Edward's Love to the Lady Gray. Love is cunning upon all Occasions to enforce, prevail'd so far with him, that though the Old Dutches of *York* his Mother most violently oppos'd the Match, by throwing the highest Calumnies upon the Lady *Gray*, and alledging a Pre-contract between him and the Lady *Lucy*; yet one Morning secretly did he marry her (m). For the Disparity of Birth or Fortune is no Impediment; and for the Pre-contract, upon Examination the Lady *Lucy* her self acquitted the King, only laying to his Charge the Guilt of a most winning Courtship, which she hop'd would end in Marriage. And though afterwards during the Usurpation of *Richard* the Third, in open Parliament it was alledged against the Lawfulness of King *Edward's* Marriage, that by strange Potions and amorous Charms the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* had bewitch'd him to her Love, and likewise another Pre-contract was asserted with the Lady *Eleanor Butler*, Daughter to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Widow to the Lord of

A. D. 1464. Reg. 4. The Inconveniences of the Marriage of the Lady *Gray* removed.

King Edward's Arguments for his Marriage with the Lady *Gray*.

King Edward marries the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* against his Mother's Will.

Edward falsely said to be contracted with Lady *Lucy* and *Elinor Butler*.

(k) In *Michaelmas* Term this Year, there was a Call of Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Geneie*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Bryan*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Greenfield*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Fairfax*, Esquires. They kept their Feast at *Ely-House* in *Holborn*, to which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were invited; who perceiving the Lord *Gray* of *Rushin*, Lord Treasurer, had taken the upper Seat which belonged to the Lord Mayor, *Ely-House* being in the Liberties of the City, the Mayor went home with his Brethren, and would not stay to dine, to the great Discontent of the new Serjeants. 'Twas order'd also by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, That this Instance should be register'd for a Precedent to their Successors. Hol.

(l) And why might not he marry her, as well as *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, a Prince as wealthy as himself marry her Mother.

\* She was Servant to Queen *Margaret*, Wife to King *Henry VI.* and married to Mr. *Gray*, who was Knighted at *St. Albans* on the Day of the Fight in which he was kill'd.

(m) On the First of May.



*A. D.* 1464. *Reg. 4.* *Sudly;* I cannot but believe, that all those Scandals were by some of the Tyrant's wicked Instruments suggested to the Minds of that Assembly: For had there been a just Exception against this Marriage, neither *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, nor the Earl of *Warwick*, in their frequent Calumnies against the King being in open Rebellion, had left it unmention'd.

King Edward's Marriage distast'd by his Friends.

*A. D.* 1465. *Reg. 5.*

The Earl of Warwick incens'd at the King's Marriage, yet dissimbles his Anger.

The Queen's Kindred advanced.

The Earl of Warwick in Discontent, endeavours to raise a Rebellion.

But no sooner had King *Edward* obey'd his Fancy in taking her to his Bed, and in that tasted the forbidden Fruit (forbidden I mean by Politick Respects) than he saw himself Naked of Friends at Home and Abroad to oppose against any new arising Difficulty. But as yet by the Bravery of his Carriage did he add an Honour to the Act, Courage and Love, either denying him to foresee or to regard the Danger. Though as soon as the Marriage was divulged, he presently discern'd another Face of Men. Monsieur *D'ampmartin*, the Embassador Extraordinary from *France*, full of Indignation, return'd, and the Nobility in general look'd discontented, or else but forced a Smile. The so high Advancement of this one Lady and her Children, lately beneath so many in Fortune, begetting an universal Envy in the rest. But when the Earl of *Warwick* understood how mighty an Affront by this was given to his Employment; he entertain'd none but disdainful Thoughts against his Prince; and express'd so bold a Discontent, that *Lewis* of *France*, who was quick to perceive, and careful to foment any Displeasure which might tend to the Disturbance of another Kingdom, began to enter into private Communication with him. For ever after this common Injury, (so they call'd the Error of Love in the King) the Earl held a dangerous Intelligence in *France*, which after occasion'd so many Confusions to our Kingdom. Nevertheless upon his Return he dissimbled all Discontent, and in every Circumstance of Respect applied himself to applaud the Marriage, and in particular the excellent Personage of the Queen. The King interpreted the Intentions of the Man according to the Appearance, unwilling perhaps to rack his own Nature so far, till it had confess'd that his Carriage might dissimble Danger. And in the meantime he rais'd his Wife's Kindred as near as possibly to his own Greatness, he search'd out all Means for their Advancement (\*). The Lord *Richard Woodville* her Father he created Earl of *Rivers*, and High-Constable of *England*, with an annual Fee of Two Hundred Pound out of the *Exchequer*, whom shortly after he made Lord Treasurer. Her Brother *Anthony* he created Lord *Scales*, the Daughter and Heir to which Title, by the King's earnest Solicitation, he not long before had wedded; and her Son *Thomas* he rais'd to the Honour of Marquess of *Dorset*, for whom he procur'd in Marriage the Heir of the Lord *Bonville* and *Harrington*. By his own free Gift enobling them with Titles, and by the Industry of his Mediation enabling them with Possessions, to make those Titles no Scorn to the Owners.

Every unmarried Lord imagin'd the bestowing of these two great Heirs on the Queen's Kindred, an Injury to his own Hopes; and *Warwick* thought every great Office conferred upon another misplaced. For his many Services begot so great an Insolency, that he scarce allow'd the King a Share in the Distribution of his own: Hereupon his Thoughts grew dange-

rous, and only Opportunity was wanting to thrust him into Action. He consider'd the Vastness of his Possessions, the Greatness of his Authority among the Commons, and the general Dependencies of the Men of War upon him; and hence concluded, it was as easie for him to uncreate as to create a King. But he found the general Humour of the Kingdom not yet fully ripe for Mischief; the Vulgar enamour'd on the much Curtesie of their Prince, the Lords nearest to him in Blood and likeliest to incline to his Faction dear likewise to the King, and all of the House of *Lancaster* who in Probability would at first Invitation take fire in any Combustion of the State, exil'd and poor. Sedition therefore for the present was but an Embryo in his Brain, which after when Time had deliver'd, became so vast and bloody a Monster: Nevertheless he was not unmindful of his Design, cherishing unkind Thoughts in any whom he saw distast'd at the King, and casting forth Speeches which might lessen the Honour of his publick and private Actions; with which Discourses, as with slow Poysons he infected many Limbs of the general Body. Then upon Pretence of Infirmary, and Prescription of Physicians for the Change of Air, with License from the King he retired to his Castle at *Warwick*. Where his Observation was, what Lords great in Power or Treasure resorted to him, and with what Countenance; whether they undervalu'd the Weakness of the King's Judgment, or hated the Advancement of the Queen and her Kindred; whether they were troubl'd at any private Repulse or open Affront, or generally at the publick Business, or whether they repented not the so violent Oppression of the Family of *Lancaster*; any Discontent making for his Purpose, which either pointed at the Errors of the King, Pride of the Queen and her Kindred, or the Mis-government of the State. Upon the Affections of the meaner sort he gain'd by a profuse Hospitality, an open Kitchen and Buttery perswading more with them than any Duty to Justice: Upon the Good-will of the better sort he won by bowing his Entertainment down to an endearing Familiarity, saluting every Man curteously by his Name, and engaging them by trivial Benefits. And with all sorts by his great Service to the Crown, and a Carriage Noble both in War and Peace.

The King, though he wanted the Virtue of Cowards, Suspicion, began nevertheless to have the Earl in some Jealousie; his unusual Retiredness from the Court, and so expenceful purchasing the Vogue of the People, argu'd both distaste against his Prince, and a Hope to maintain any unlawful Enterprize by Faction. But either in Policy he dissimbled his Distrust, not having yet any firm Ground to build a just Accusation, or in good Nature would not eclipse the Earl's Greatness, by which himself enjoy'd a Benefit little less than the Crown. But that the Storm threatned from *France*, for incensing King *Lewis* in the discourf'd Marriage of the Lady *Bona*, might be diverted; he made strong Confederacies round about him. With *Henry*, King of *Castile*, and *John*, King of *Arragon*, (that *Spain*, however far remote might be near in Friendship) he enter'd into a League, and upon the Conclusion of it, granted a License for the Transportation of certain *Corsivold* Sheep thither, a Grant that is complain'd of still, as a mighty enriching to the *Spaniards*, and as

*A. D.* 1465. *Reg. 5.*

*Warwick* retires from Court, and observes all Malecontents.

His Arts of gaining a Party.

King Edward suspects *Warwick's* Actions.

King Edward makes strong Alliances against any threatening Troubles.

(\*) She was also solemnly crown'd at *Westminster*. Hol.



A.D. 1465. Reg. 5. great an impoverishing to the English Merchants. With Scotland he made a Truce for Fifteen Years, that he invading France, or invaded by the French, might be secure however not to have that Nation, according to their Custom upon all Advantages, Enemies at his Back. His Embassadors in the Low-Countries, urged the Duke of Burgundy to the Accomplishment of the Marriage between his Son the Earl of Charolois, and the Lady Margaret the King's Sister. And so happy Success had this Negotiation, that though for some Years it had hung in Suspence, and Warwick now opposed it, as prejudicial to King Lewis his Friend, yet it was now absolutely agreed on, and the Bastard of Burgundy, and some others sent over with full Instructions and Power to give the Treaty a final Conclusion. For whatsoever Dissimulation the Earl of Charolois used at first, he now intended this Marriage seriously: In regard he found himself lie open to the Malice of King Lewis a most dangerous Neighbour, who by Policy or Fortune had broken all those great Confederacies the Earl had before in France. Wherefore there was now no Safety but in arming himself by a strict Amity with the English, a Nation forward and fierce to attempt any thing upon the French, and in their Attempts scarce ever but prosperous. Neither was the Courage of the King's Youth, and his continual good Success in War a small Inducement; considering it gave a certain Hope, that he upon any Invitation of Honour or Profit might be perswaded to cross the Seas, and undertake the ancient national Quarrel. And for the Danger of any Alteration in the Government, there was then no Ground for Suspicion: The King honour'd and lov'd by his People, the adverse Faction of no Power, and the Earl of Warwick having never yet declared himself but most passionately affected to the House of York. Wherefore in Reason of State being no Impediment, the Marriage was soon agreed on, and upon the Agreement, many Triumphs glorious but Martial according to the Nature of that Time, so addicted to Arms, were celebrated between the Bastard and his Retinue, and the English Lords and Gentry.

A.D. 1466. Reg. 6. But to interrupt the Jollity of these Triumphs, an Express came from the Low-Countries, with the News of the Death of Duke Philip: Presently the Bastard return'd, and our Council stood at a gaze, being in some Suspence what Alteration the Business might receive, the Earl now absolute in Possession of his Father's Dominions. But that Scruple was soon taken away, by an Embassadour sent to hasten the full Performance of the Marriage. Whereupon the Lady was carried over with all the Ceremonies of Greatness, and at Burges marry'd to Duke Charles (o). That Nation which exceeded all the World in Bravery and Riot, exceeding even it self, at this Triumph, in the Wantonness of a superfluous Pomp. In those Countries she liv'd some while his Wife, though ever barren, with as much Love from him, as he could spare from his ambitious Wars, but she continu'd long his Widow in much Reputation among the Natives and good Esteem with neighbouring Princes. Two Things render'd her much the Discourse of those Times. An extraordinary Love and Care in the Education of the Posterity of her Husband, and an extreme Malice against Henry the Seventh. To

supplant whom, because there wanted true, she countenanced the Supposititious Princes of the House of York, and by continual Practices revenged in part the Injury of that Disrespect he ever cast upon her Family.

This so potent Alliance, and his Confederacies with Foreign States, made King Edward imagine himself in great Security, when indeed he was most unsafe: For during these Treaties Abroad and Triumphs at Home, the Earl of Warwick quicken'd so far his Designs, that now there appear'd a dangerous Life in them. The Body of his Faction was grown Mighty but Monstrous, being compacted of several Natures. For into the Conspiracy of this great Enterprize he had drawn the Clergy and the Laity, and most of them of Affections most opposite. (p) The Arch-bishop of York was the principal Actor, because he mov'd upon the Soul, and made Treason an Act of Religion. The same Multitude who build their Faith upon the Man, not the Doctrine, thinking it meritorious to rebel, in regard his Function seem'd to give Authority to the Action. With the Arch-bishop the Marquess of Montague consented, but secretly; either cunningly dissembling Mischief, or else wishing well to both Sides being in himself divided between a natural Love to a Brother, and an Allegiance to a Prince; or perhaps projecting to make his Benefit, out of which Party soever should prevail. With these agreed many eminent Persons of King Edward's Court, whom either Desire of War, having never lived but in the troubl'd Stream of Discord, or want of expected Recompence, render'd discontented.

All the Partakers in the Calamity of the House of Lancaster, most passionately at first Overture embraced this Motion, as Men whom Despair had made fit for the most hazardous Attempt; and who having found nothing but evil Fortune at Home, and contempt Abroad, were instructed in a Patience ready with Joy to suffer a not inglorious Death. Among whom Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter was a sad Example, who after his Ruin by the Fall of Henry the Sixth was reduced to so miserable a Condition, that all ragged and bare-footed he begg'd for his Meat in the Low-Countries, the absolute Prince whereof and he marry'd two Sisters, the Daughters of Richard, Duke of York. With this so unfortunate a Lord, all the rest who shared with him in Misery, ran violently into this War. But the wonder of the World then was at the powerful Sorcery of those Perswasions, which bewitch'd the Duke of Clarence, the King's Brother to this Conspiracy; but he was Young and Purblind in foreseeing the Event of Things, profuse in Expence beyond his Revenue, and almost beyond the King's Power to supply, grudging the Favours conferred upon the Queen and her Kindred; valuing his Birth too high, as who forgot the Brother of a King is but a Subject, forward upon any Terms to make himself greater, easily lending Ear to dangerous Whispers, and as rashly giving Consent. These Preparatives made this Young Prince fit to undertake any Mischief, which the Earl of Warwick ministred most plentifully.

And first to supply the Narrowness of his present Fortune, a Humour most Troublesom at the Instant, he gave him in Marriage the Lady Isabell his Daughter, and Co-heir to the Rich Earldom of Warwick: Whereupon in hatred

A.D. 1466. Reg. 6.

The Earl of Warwick's Conspiracy, and the chief Persons engag'd in it.

The Lancastrians fall in with Warwick.

Henry, Duke of Exeter begs in the Low-Countries.

The Duke of Clarence joins in Rebellion with Warwick.

(o) She was marry'd in the following Year. Com.  
(p) George Nevill made so by King Edward not many Months before.



**A. D.** 1466. **Reg. 6.** against the Queen he concurred and in Discontent against the King's so slender Rewards; but in promising Greatness to *Clarence's* Ambition, he exceeded even Proportion, though not Probability, considering the Earl's unlimited Power. But first to make the Friendship strong by a near Alliance, they sail'd over for the Consumation of this Marriage to *Calis*, of which Town the Earl of *Warwick* was Captain, and in which the young Lady then remain'd with her Mother. Soon was this Ceremony past, and soon did the Earl invite his Son-in-law from the Softness of the Nuptial Dalliance, as who had contrived this Marriage for Business, not for Pleasure, and design'd the first Issue of their Embraces to be a Monster, and the most unnatural one; War between Brothers.

He acquainted therefore his Son-in-Law by what Line he had founded the Depth of the People's Affection to the present King, and what a Tempest he was able to raise when he should resolve for Motion. He told him how, in the North 15000 Men had been in Arms, pretending revenge upon the Governours of *St. Leonard's Hospital* in *Tork*, for converting the Alimony they receiv'd from the Country every Year in Corn to their own Use, by which they both defrauded the Poor, and the charitable Intention of the Doners; whereas indeed the arm'd Multitude were mov'd, first by his Counsel only, awaiting his Presence, with Resolution to run any Hazard of his Command. And tho' the Marquess *Mountacute* raised Forces in King *Edward's* Name, by which he quieted the Commotion, and beheaded *Robert Huldron* (q) their chief Captain, yet were the People ready upon the first Summons to reassemble; and the Marquess (who by such Appearance of Fidelity had won upon the easie Faith of the dull King) prepared to bring his Forces, and join in any Enterprize he should appoint. He shewed farther, how by this his Brother's Dissimulation, his Intelligence held perfect in the King's Council, and all the Resolutions of State might be without Difficulty prevented, since no sooner made but discover'd.

**A. D.** 1468. **Reg. 8.** The Duke, who before held the Earl's Courage and Authority with the People in great Estimation, now began to wonder at the so cunning Management of this so great Business. Neither could he suspect the Success, the Earl having so order'd Things, that he left little or nothing to Fortune; whereupon he gave his Judgment entirely up to his Father-in-Law's Discretion, with whom he return'd into *England*, openly professing and justifying his Resolution to Rebellion. The Vanity of Ambition sealing up his Eyes so far, that he could not perceive the Unnaturalness of his Revolt, and the certain Hazard of Ruin, in warring against a Prince so great both in Arms and Fortune.

Against their Return, the Archbishop of *Tork* had wrought so diligently to ripen Mischief, that the Multitude dispersed before, were again in the Field, but under Leaders of a far more eminent Name. For *Henry*, Son to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Henry Nevill*, Son to the Lord *Latimer* (the one Nephew, the other Cousin-german to *Warwick*) had the Conduct of these Forces; both Gentlemen great in Blood and Spirit, but in regard of their unexperienced Youth, submitting themselves to the Directions of *Sir John Coniers*, a Commander bold in Courage and sober in Advice. Their March was not now directed against any petty Town

in the North as before, but towards *London*, the Head of the Kingdom; and the Cause of their taking Arms, not upon any trivial Injury or Oppression, but out of Desire of publick Justice, by throwing down a licentious Usurper, and re-investing in the Sovereignty King *Henry*, their lawful Monarch, so injuriously detain'd Prisoner in the *Tower*. This Pretence carried with it much of Bravery, pleased the Humour of most of the Northern Men, passionately still affected to the Line of *Lancaster*, and took generally with the Commonalty, a Beast as prone to unseasonable Pity, as to inhumane Cruelty, and ever desirous to change Government, because naturally it can endure none.

The noise of these Arms waked King *Edward*; for he now perceiv'd his Title to the Crown, (for which he imagin'd he had had so clear a Sentence) brought again to tryal, and the Sword made Judge. He cast Eye his about him, and found every where the Way open to his Jealousie, and none to Security: And those Lords, from whom he might expect Supply, being near to *Warwick* in Friendship or Alliance, and the Marquess *Mountacute*, in whose Service he had ever found most Trust and Fortune, even Brother to his Enemy. How could he therefore believe, but notwithstanding all their outward Professions of Loyalty, privately they might favour Rebellion? As for the Queen's Kindred, (of whose Faith in regard of their own Interest, he remain'd secure) he could draw little Confidence: Their Greatness so Young, that it had yet taken no deep Root in Opinion, and their Forces only weak Beams shot from the Sun of the King's own Power. But no Consideration in this Trouble begot so much Scorn and Rage in him, as the Revolt of *Clarence*, whose giddy Ambition made him rather chuse to become a Ward to a rough and insolent Guardian, than to share with his Brother a King in the Treasures of Fortune. The Forces of the Rebels he weigh'd more by the Reputation of their Leader *Warwick*, than by the Number; though even that grew every Day more Formidable.

To prepare against these dangerous Motions in his *English* Rebels, he speedily sent to the Earl of *Pembroke* Commission to raise what *Welsh* Forces he could; having in this general Suspicion of his disloyal Subjects, most Confidence in the Valour of the *Welsh*, and their natural hatred against the *English* Name. He requir'd the Earl to give Battel by the Way, while himself gather'd as great an Army as the present Danger, and Cause in Controversie requir'd. The Earl joyful of the Command, puts suddenly into the Field with his valiant Brother *Sir Richard Herbert*, having under their Conduct 7000 Men. To them soon joyn 800 Bow-men, led by the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, not long before created Earl of *Devonshire*. With these Forces he resolv'd to hinder the Rebels in their Journey, and having Notice by his Spies that they took their Way by *Northampton*, against them he led the whole Body of his Army: Having given Order to *Sir Richard Herbert* with 2000 Soldiers to wheel about, and charge the Enemy in the Reer.

*Sir John Coniers* was too valiant to be surprized, and so carefully had strengthen'd the Reerward, that the *Welsh* were repulsed with Loss, and forced by Flight to seek their Safety. Whereupon he retir'd to his Brother, while *Coniers* upon new Instructions, or else fearful

Rebels led by *Sir John Coniers*, and march to *London*.

**A. D.** 1468. **Reg. 8.**

King *Edward* in great Streights to oppose this Rebellion.

His Friends weak.

King *Edward* sends to the Earl of *Pembroke* to raise the *Welsh*, and oppose their Passage.

Earl of *Pembroke* opposes *Warwick*.

*Sir John Coniers* repulseth the *Welsh* with Loss.

(q) This Insurrection happen'd in the Year 1469. *Hol.*



A. D. 1468. Reg. 8. left *Pembroke* in the Way might gain some Advantage, diverted from his direct Course to *London*, and march'd to *Warwick*, where the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* had levied a mighty Host. *Pembroke* waits close upon their Journey, expecting the Opportunity either to cut off some Part of the Enemy disorder'd, or to give Battel to the whole Army. But while he was constant in this Pursuit of Glory, and shewed all the Parts of a great Commander, a small Division between him and the Lord *Stafford* ruin'd the whole Attempt. For encamping at *Banbury*, a Question grew concerning an Inn, to which *Stafford* pretended as having long used the House; but in which *Pembroke*, in regard of his Preheminence as General, and Commodiousness of the Place, was resolv'd to lodge. This so trivial Distaste (if there were no farther Treason in it) grew so high, that *Stafford* withdrew himself, and his English Archers, leaving the *Welsh* in Arms and Number far inferior to the Enemy; which Defect nevertheless was supplied by their great Courage.

For when the Rebels, who soon had Notice of this unhappy Discord, gave the Earl's Camp next Morning a Camisado, or sudden Assault: The *Welsh* entertain'd the Charge so stoutly, that they took Sir *Henry Nevill* the Leader; but (what savour'd too much of Barbarism) most cruelly flew him in cold Blood. By which Act they rais'd so fierce an Appetite of Revenge in the Enemy, that the next Day they gave the Earl Battel, and the Fight was long and cruel. Neither had the Victory fallen so absolutely to the Northern Men, but that *John Clopton*, Retainer to the Earl of *Warwick*, appearing upon the Top of a neighbouring Hill with 500 ragged and disorder'd Men, under *Warwick's* Standard; and the Northern Men at their Approach crying out, *A Warwick! a Warwick!* made the *Welsh* believe all the Rebel Forces were there, and that it would be but foolish Desperation to fight it out against an Enemy fresh and so far Superior in Number; whereupon they fled.

In the Battel and Flight 5000 of the *Welsh* were slain, and among the few Prisoners, the Earl of *Pembroke* and Sir *Richard Herbert* were taken, whose Heads soon after were sacrificed upon the Scaffold, to the Ghost of *Nevill*. Their Valour and brave Conduct begetting an universal Sorrow to the King's Party for their Deaths, and even an Envy in the conquering Enemy. Neither did the Lord *Stafford*, the Author of this Overthrow escape condign Punishment: For by diligent Enquiry made by King *Edward's* Order, being found in (r) *Devonshire*, without legal Process, at *Bridgwater* he lost his Head. Having so inconsiderately manag'd his Business, that he betrayed King *Edward's* Army upon a false Apprehension of an Affront; and yet provided not thereby to win Favour so far with the Enemy as by their Arms to protect himself from the King's just Indignation.

This Victory added yet a bolder Courage to the Attempt of *Warwick*; but into the Northern Multitude it infused a Madness, not to be cured by any Council or Direction. For immediately some Companies of them retired into *Northamptonshire*, where associating to them certain of the most desperate Inhabitants, no Mischief was left unacted. The Name they gave their Commander, (if such a disorder'd Rabble could obey any) was *Robin of Riddisdale*,

and their first Assault on *Grafton*, a Seat belonging to King *Edward's* Farther-in-Law the Earl of *Rivers*. The Place their wild Rage soon possess'd, and among the other Spoils violently taken there, were the Earl himself, and Sir *John Woodville*, his Younger Son. These they presently led to *Northampton*, and there beheaded without any Form of Law; that deform'd Body having no Ear open to any Discourse but to that of Blood and Fury. An envied Life and cruel Death was the Sum of all those Favours conferr'd by Fortune on this Lord, esteem'd so happy in his own Marriage with *Jaquet*, Widow of *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and Daughter to *Peter* of *Luxembourg*, Count *St. Paul*, and in his Daughter's with the present King. For as the Ascent to these strange Heights is ever envied, so the Descent is ruinous and fatal; not any one of Seven Sons which this Lord was Father to, leaving behind him Issue to perpetuate his Name; some of them likewise extinguishing violently. A Misery either seldom happening, or not observ'd in meaner Families.

This great Defeat, and these Insolencies so beyond the Sufferance of a Prince, together with the Earl of *Warwick's* openly professing himself Head to this vast Body of Rebels, struck an Astonishment in the King's Army, and I will not say Fear, but strange Diffidence in the King himself; which inclin'd him to listen to the safer, though less noble Advice of them, who perswaded him to end all Dissention with the Earl by Treaty. For in this so universal Disease of the Kingdom, there was some sound Men, both of the Clergy and Nobility yet left, whom Faction did not engage in Mischief, and who out of Experience of past Miseries, were willing to prevent future. By their Mediation (tho' the Armies by this Time were so near encamp'd, that they could hardly part without Battel) were every Hour made new Overtures of Peace, and on both Sides not unwillingly receiv'd. The Earl of *Warwick*, (whose Pretence was that of all Rebels, *The Good of the Kingdom*) entertain'd these Treaties with a Humility beneath his Nature, and late Advantages; neither appear'd stubborn to bend down to the lowest Submission, so Provision might be made for the publick Benefit. Yet never in all these Appearances of a Calm, did he neglect to prepare himself against the roughest Storm of War, knowing the best Way to be reconciled upon safe Terms to an Enemy, is not to be necessitated to Peace.

But the King of a pliable Nature, apt to receive any Impressions which best pleased his present Humour, would not trouble his Quiet to believe there might be Fallacy in *Warwick's* Pretensions. Whereupon, imagining that had receiv'd Perfection which was then but in Agitation, he neglected the Order of War, and began in his Camp to taste the Pleasures of Court. Which evil Discipline observ'd by the Earl, he takes the Advantage, suddenly sets on the King's Field, kills the Watch, and in the dead of Night at *Wollny* within Four Miles of *Warwick*, surpriseth his Person, buried in a careless Sleep: So that, he no sooner waked, but found how false his Dream had been, which flatter'd him with Peace.

This so unhappy Negligence betray'd the King to an insulting Enemy, who upbraided his Prisoner in the most insolent Terms with Ingratitude to his great Merits; and boasted, *It*

(r) He was found at *Brens* near the River *Axe* in *Somersetshire*, and carried to *Bridgwater* the next noted Town in that Country, and there beheaded. *Hol.*



A. D. 1469. *was now both in his Power and Resolution to plain that Mountain he had raised, and raise the humbled Valley of King Henry's Fortunes, up to the Throne he once possess'd.* And presently sent away the King Prisoner to *Middleham-Castle* in *Yorkshire*, there to be kept by his Brother the *busie Archbishop* of that See; not daring to retain him longer, lest his Army might unite, and hazard the Recovery of their Prince.

In this middle and unsafe Course of managing his great Fortune, questionless the Earl committed a main Oversight. For either by a free Delivery with some Conditions advantageous to himself and Friends, (and what Conditions would the King not then have sign'd?) he should have cast a perpetual Obligation upon him, or else by destroying him, have secur'd his Design from after Hazard; knowing that no Prison could hold a Prince, which would not open to Corruption or Battery; and no Brother could have a Faith so strong which would not be in Danger to be weakned either by Threats or Promises. But perhaps this Way of Policy was only beaten by that Time; and the proud Earl took a Glory to keep the whole Kingdom at his Devotion, and the Two Competitors his Captives; for both of them his Fortune had imprison'd.

But *K. Edward* grew soon weary of the Restraint, as whom a long Practice in the Liberty of Pleasure, had not indued with such a Tamefulness as armed *King Henry*: He therefore presently casts his Eye about to find some Way to redeem his Person from Captivity, and his Honour from so dark an Error as by Negligence to have been surpris'd. And having upon Pretence of necessary Exercise for Health, obtain'd Licence to hunt in the adjoining Park, he so contriv'd with *Sir William Stanley* and *Sir Thomas Burgh*, that unexpected they came to his Rescue with a Number and Resolution far Superior to those who guarded him. With them he escapes to *York*, and so to *Lancaster*, where the Lord *Hastings*, Lord Chamberlain had gathered some Forces. With this Increase of Followers he march'd directly to *London*, his Company growing by the Way to such a Body, as might not unworthily be termed an Army.

Into the City he was receiv'd with the accustomed Triumph, the Affection of the Inhabitants being ever devoted to his Prosperity. The Occasion of which extraordinary Zeal was certainly either a Delight to continue him their Prince, whom their Voices first inaugurated King, or a Hope by his Re-establishment to recover those vast Sums of Money, his Necessities heretofore had borrowed in the City; or else a general Affection born him by the Merchant's Wives, who having (according to the uxorious Humour of our Nation) a Command over their Husbands, urged them on to side with that Prince, the Beauty of whose Personage, not the Justice of whose Title, mov'd them.

But the Earl of *Warwick*, as soon as he had Intelligence of the Escape, and the Fortune which attended it, was distracted with a Thousand several Imaginations. He had just Reason to suspect his Brother the Archbishop's Faith, as corrupted by the King's Persuasions; as likewise the Weight of his own Reputation in the Kingdom, grown lighter by so evil managing so good a Fortune. He condemn'd the Folly of his too much Confidence, in having disbanded his Army, and knew the Difficulty, if not the Impossibility, suddenly to reinforce it. But this was the inward Part of him; outwardly he descended nothing from the Height of his

Greatness and Resolution. And to secure his former Design, he directed his Letters to all the Lords of his Faction, and advised them to reassemble for the common Safety.

The Solicitation of those good Men, who heretofore had labour'd Peace, continued still; and so effectually endeavour'd, that in fine they brought both Parties to agree upon an Interview in *Westminster-Hall*. There was Interchange of Oaths for Safety on both Sides, and nothing but a perfect Re-union of Friendship generally expected.

But no sooner was the Earl of *Warwick* (who came accompanied by the Duke of *Clarence*) wish'd to express his Desires, but he fell into a bold Expostulation of Injuries. And his Language swell'd to such Intemperance, so far beyond the Limits of that Modesty becomes a Subject's Mouth; that the King full of Indignation departed the Hall, and immediately took his Journey to *Canterbury*: On the other Side, the Earl, wild in his Anger, posted to *Lincoln*; both making Preparation for a Second Interview, when the Sword should both dispute and decide the Controversie. Whoever perswaded these Two great Spirits to this Meeting, err'd grossly in Judgment, how zealous soever they were in their Intention. For who could possibly imagine but the Thunder of War should necessarily follow that Storm, which the Recapitulation of Injuries must beget? Since Expostulations, (unless there be some apparent Mistake, or that the one Party by evil Fortune be bow'd to an over-low Submission) may well give a Growth to Rancour, but never extirpate it. But Experience condemns all Interviews, till by Commissioners (who with more Patience can argue) all Dissentions are reconcil'd. And most of all against any between a Prince and his Subject; since a Subject hardly contains his Language from Insolency, when by the disproportionate Greatness of his Fortune he is admitted upon even Terms to contest with his Sovereign; and a Prince goes down more than one Step from Majesty, when he is forc'd to descend so low, as to hold Parly with a Rebel.

The King understanding that the greatest Part of the Earl's Forces were under the Conduct of *Sir Robert Wells*, and that by his good Discipline they were become expert Soldiers, and had done some Service against *Sir Thomas Burgh*; sent for *Richard*, Lord *Wells*, his Father, that having Possession of him, he might either draw away the Son from *Warwick*, or at least take off the Edge from his violent Proceedings. The Lord *Wells* in Obedience to the King's Command, with his Brother-in-Law *Sir Thomas Dimmock* directed his Journey toward the Court; but having by the Way secret Notice of the King's high Displeasure, and how unsafe his Approach would be, secured himself in Sanctuary. But the King resolv'd upon any Terms to get him, granted a general Pardon, and receiv'd him with Promise of all fair Usage. Upon which he came forth, and only at his Approach to the King's Presence, was advis'd by Letters to recall his Son from Rebellion, and himself to bear a loyal Heart. These Letters dispatch'd with as much Authority as a Father could challenge, he remain'd in a kind of Twilight between Favour and Ruin, till the Messenger's return: Who, bringing back no Answer from the Son in Obedience to his Father's Command, but rather a Justification of his Enterprize, so far incensed the King, that he presently caused the Lord *Wells* and *Dimmock* to be beheaded at *Stamford*. An Act barbarous and

A. D. 1469. Reg. 9.

Peace endeavour'd, and an Interview concluded.

The Breach widened by the Interview, and the War revived.

The ill Effect of Interviews.

A. D. 1470. Reg. 10.

*Warwick's* Party under *Sir Rob. Wells* victorious.

The Lord *Wells* not prevailing by Letter with his Son to lay down his Arms, is beheaded. King *Edward's* Unfaithfulness to his Word.

Earl of *Warwick* upbraids *K. Edward* with Ingratitude and sends him Prisoner to *Middleham-Castle*. The Earl's Impoliticness in keeping *King Edward*.

*King Edward's* Escape from Imprisonment.

The City of *London's* joyful Reception of him.

*Warwick's* Perplexities for his Escape and the recalling his Army.



A. D. 1470. and unfaithful ! For what just Grounds soever the King might have to build Suspicion on, that *Wells* did not effectually perswade his Son, or that inwardly he wish'd better to the Affairs of *Warwick*, yet ought he not to have violated his Word. And it is a most poor Excuse, to say a sudden Rage was guilty of this Mischief.

*Sir Robert Wells* furious to revenge his Father's Death is beaten, and after beheaded. The Report of this Execution clouded generally the Reputation of the King, but in *Sir Robert Wells* it begot nothing but Fury and Revenge. And indeed Rage so far blinded his Judgment, that contrary to all Perswasion and sober Direction, not attending *Warwick's* coming, who every Day was expected; he drew out his Forces, and charged the King's Army, who receiv'd him with equal Courage, and (while hope of Vengeance transported him too far) inclosed him, and with 67 more took him Prisoner. Upon the Place and in the Flight were slain of the Enemy 10000, on the King's Side only 1300, they who escap'd, to make their Flight the swifter cast away their Coats, which gave to this Battel the Name of *Loose-Coat-Field*. The Prisoners immediately were executed, *Sir Robert Wells* having only in his short Delay of Death the longer Liberty to express his Hatred against the King and his perfidious Cruelty.

The Earl of *Warwick's* Flight to *Calis*. This Overthrow forced *Warwick* to new Resolutions; for his main Forces by the Precipitation of the Commander being destroy'd, he foresaw that suddenly he could not recover an Army able to give the King Battel, and how open to be surprized the least interim would render him: Whereupon leisurely (for his great Spirit disdain'd any thing that resembl'd Flight) he retir'd to *Exeter*, whence having dismissed the Remainder of those Troops which attended him, he went to *Dartmouth*, there with many Ladies and a large Retinue he took Ship, and directly sail'd to *Calis*; while the King no way labour'd either by Land or Sea, to impeach their Journey, either content with the former half-Victory (for nothing could have made it perfect, but the Surprisal or Destruction of *Warwick*) or holding so little Intelligence even in a conquer'd Enemy's Camp, that he knew nothing of his present Design: The Earl having tried as strange a Vicissitude of Fortune, as in so short a Space, was ever observ'd in Story, by the Benefit of a prosperous Gale soon was brought before *Calis*, where being Captain of the Town he expected Entrance, but the Cannon was presented him, and no Commiseration of the Dutches of *Clarence's* being in Travail, could obtain so much as Admittance in her present Necessity, only the poor Relief of some few Flaggons of Wine, was sent her. Monsieur de *Vaulere* a (s) Knight of *Gascoiny*, Lieutenant of the Town, thus confidently refused his Captain Admittance; professing, that however he ow'd his present Command to *Warwick's* Bounty, his Loyalty to the King did cancel all inferior Obligations: By which Bravery of Carriage he won so great Reputation with the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* (who ever hated the factious Pride of *Warwick*, and even from the Beginning of these Troubles had labour'd to continue *Vaulere* firm in his Allegiance) that from the King he received by Letters Patents the Captainship of *Calis* in chief, and from the Duke an annual Pension of 1000 Crowns during Life. Into thus much Honour and Profit did Dissimulation work him, (t) yet a Friend

*Warwick* deny'd Entrance into *Calis* by *Vaulere*.

Monsieur *Vaulere* made Governor of *Calis* by King *Edward*.

to *Warwick*, while under-Hand by the Subtilty of Council he steer'd the Earl of *Warwick* to Safety, and by false-appearing Fidelity betray-ed his Prince: For he ascertain'd the Earl of his good Intentions to his Affairs; and that even now, but that he knew it could not but be ruinous to both, he would declare himself for him. For if the Earl entred the Town he would only imprison his Person, to be detain'd till the King were pleas'd to command it forth to Execution. Considering that the Inhabitants were but unsure Friends, and the Lord of *Duras*, the Earl's profest Enemy, Marshal of all the Forces in the Town. Moreover the *Burgundian* Territories encompass'd *Calis* by Land, and their Fleet was in Readiness to block it up by Sea, so that no Way would be open to his Escape: Wherefore he advis'd him for his present Security and future Hopes, presently to address himself to King *Lewis* of *France*, who was ever ready to entertain any Lord of another Nation in Quarrel with his Prince. But above all would welcome the Earl both in regard of the near Intelligence he had long held with him, and the Hatred he bore King *Edward* for affronting the Lady *Bona*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* for so often confederating with the Rebels of *France*.

By this Counsel the Earl of *Warwick* steer'd his Course to *Deep*, by the Way making Prize of whatever appertain'd to the Duke of *Burgundy* or his Subjects. And no sooner was he landed there, but he was most solemnly invited to the Castle of *Amboys* (u), where King *Lewis* then kept his Court. The Ceremony (short ever with Men of Business) past over at the first Meeting, suddenly they entred into Council how to renew the War, and restore King *Henry*; whose Re-establishment in the Kingdom *Lewis* ever most passionately urg'd, not in Respect of the near Alliance, Commiseration of his long Troubles, or Opinion of his better Title; but only because he knew him inferior in Courage to King *Edward*, and therefore the less dangerous Neighbour; and probably while any of the House of *Tork* remain'd, civil War likely to keep the *English* Arms bulied at Home.

Wherefore by his Importunity Queen *Margaret* (who hitherto had liv'd an Exile in *France*, and now upon the King's Invitation came to Court) was perfectly reconcil'd to the Earl of *Warwick*. *Warwick*, who before had chased her out of the Land, dethron'd her Husband, and opprobriously imprison'd him, cut off the many Branches, and almost pluck'd up the very Root of the Tree of *Lancaster*: But Necessity took away the Sting from Nature, and united them in the nearest Friendship. For that there might not be left any Footsteps of former Discontent or Path to future Jealously, a Marriage was concluded and celebrated between Prince *Edward* the Queen's Son, and the Lady *Anne*, younger Daughter to the Earl. And on this Marriage was agreed that King *Edward* should be deposed, King *Henry* re-inthroned, the Crown to be entail'd upon Prince *Edward*, and for Default of his Issue, to come to the Duke of *Clarence* and his Posterity: By which Conveyance human Policy did her Part to perpetuate the Succession of the Kingdom in the Posterity of *Warwick*. But the Almighty made a Mockery of this *Babel*, which fell soon to Ruin by Self-division and Confusion, not of Languages but Affections. For the Duke of *Clarence* began now to

Monsieur *Vaulere* advises *Warwick* to apply himself to *Lewis* King of *France*.

K. *Lewis* of *France* receives the Earl of *Warwick* gladly.

Q. *Margaret* reconcil'd to the Earl of *Warwick*.

P. *Edward* marry'd to the Earl of *Warwick's* younger Daughter.

(s) He was hardly prevail'd upon to let two Flaggons of Wine be sent to her. Com.  
(t) *Philip de Comines* took an Oath of Fidelity of him to King *Edward* by Appointment of his Master the Duke of *Burgundy*.  
(u) Whither came also *Jasper Tudor*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John*, Earl of *Oxford*.



*A. D.* 1470. *Reg. 10.* consider how by following the Earl's desperate Counsels, he had gain'd nothing but the Conscience of an unnatural Revolt, and how ruin'd he were if the Success of this Enterprize should not be Prosperous, and if Prosperous how upon the Destruction of a Brother, he had built himself a less Greatness than he might have enjoy'd, without Sin or Hazzard; there being a vast Distance between the Nearness of two Sons of one Mother, and only Husbands to two Sisters: Neither had he any sure Ground for Confidence, that when King Henry were restored, hereditary Malice might not prevail, and destroy him for the Crime of his Family. And now more than ever he found himself declin'd, being forced to submit not only to *Warwick*, but to a new young Prince; having before acknowledged no Superiour but the King and him a Brother. Neither was the Dutches of *Clarence* her self a weak Engine, on which this Alteration moved. For however, as a Daughter she might wish Prosperity to the Attempts of *Warwick*; yet ever since the last Agreement of Reinvesting the House of *Lancaster* in the Kingdom; she found in her Mind a strange Alienation from the Faction. And indeed either she began to dislike the Variety of her Father's Resolutions, as whom Ambition led violently to build and pluck down, or in Conscience thought the Justice of the Claim was wholly in King *Edward*; having in her Child-hood (and those Impressions are ever deepest) been instructed to affect the House of *York*, and approve the Title: Or (and that is the most probable in a Woman) she envied perhaps the Preferment of a younger Sister, hating that Fortune should throw down the Priority of Nature. However, it was, yet certainly by her Means King *Edward* labour'd to recal his Brother, and though not suddenly, yet in the End prevail'd: For having sent over a Gentlewoman (her Sex took away Suspicion from the Practice) with full Instructions both to advise the Dutches not to work the Ruin, or at best the lessening of her Husband by those Counsels held then between Queen *Margaret* and the Earl of *Warwick*, as likewise to promise (if she perswaded her Husband) to him and her as much Love and Greatness as the Tie of Nature, and so great a Merit might justly challenge: He in fine got a Promise, that as soon as the Duke were disintangled from his present Engagements, he would declare the natural Affection he owed a Brother.

This weak Hope, with the late Victory and seeming Banishment of his Enemies, loosened King *Edward* to his accustomed Wantonness and Riot. For certainly, never lived Prince whom Adversity did more harden to Action, and Prosperity more soften to Voluptuousness: So that by the Judgment on his Life, we may say, like a Stone cast into the Air, he was by Necessity forced up to Glory, while his Center remain'd beneath in the Sense of Pleasure: And so improvident was his Memory, that he forgot the greatest Injuries, and resumed the Arch-bishop of *York* into Favour, not bearing so much as a watchful Eye over a reconcil'd Enemy: By which his Counsels were betray'd and he perswaded to a false and most dangerous Security.

But the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Recreation was Business, and whose Delight, Extent of Dominion; who by having long wrastled with *Lewis XI.* had learnt all the Slights of War and Peace, labour'd to disperse the Storm before it fell upon *England*. Whereupon he daily advertised King *Edward* of all Passages in the Court

of *France*, his Intelligence holding good there, and who knew how near Danger came to him, should our King be overthrown. He advised him by vast Promises (which no way oblig'd Performance) to win some, and sowing the poysonous Seed of Emulation, to recal others: As likewise to send over some great Lord into *France*, who pretending Discontent, shall adhere to the Faction, and under-hand discover all their Counsels. But above all he solicited him to rig up and set forth his Navy whereby to prevent their landing: Affirming it to be a most ridiculous Madness in a King (unless urged by inevitable Necessity) to stake his Crown at a Battel against the Resolution of a Rebel.

The King, contrary to this sober Counsel never endeavour'd to hinder the Return of *Warwick*, but building on the Protestations of the Marquess *Montacute*, and the Arch-bishop of *York*, securely gave himself over to Licentiousness. In which Interim, the Earl with his Retinue, conducted by the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admiral of *France*, sail'd back into *England*, King *Lewis* having furnish'd him with a full supply of Monies; and for Soldiers he needed no Foreign Levies, his Name and Faction was so great at Home: For though the Country by Civil War was much dispeopled, yet the Commonalty, being for the most part born and bred up in Tumults, were naturally addicted to Arms, and prone upon any Innovations to take the Field. Neither could the Duke of *Burgundy*, though most passionately he labour'd it, hinder the Earl's landing by giving him Battel at Sea; for the Winds fought for *Warwick* and dispersed the *Burgundian* Fleet (the best in that Age commanded upon the Sea) casting some Ships upon the Coast of *Scotland*, others upon the remotest Parts of *Holland*.

Neither did the King any way repent his Error when he understood the Earl was landed, but presently dispatched a Messenger to the Duke of *Burgundy* intreating him to continue his Army at Sea, to prevent *Warwick's* Flight back into *France*, as if he were ascertain'd Fortune would never deny him Victory. So secure was he grown by an over-bold Presumption, the Bastard-Daughter of a long Prosperity. But they whom Experience had instructed to more Caution, pittied his Mistake and forefaw his Ruin. And he himself not long after understanding how mightily the Earl increased in Power, began to think his Safety brought into Hazard; which he much more believ'd when he found the Nobility, whom he summon'd to his Aid to excuse themselves, and the common Stream of People to depart wholly from his Service.

And indeed, even in the City the adverse Faction was grown so strong, that *Dr. Gooddiard*, Chaplain to the Earl, at *St. Paul's Cross* in his Sermon dared even to act the Herald, and conclude *Edward* an Usurper. And thereupon to commend the most religious Intentions of the Earl, and to exhort the Audience to joyn with him in restoring their imprison'd Sovereign King *Henry* to his Scepter, and the Commonwealth to Liberty; and the like did most of the Clergy of *England*.

The credulous Multitude took this Heresie for true Doctrine, and with some of the zealously ignorant, it so far prevail'd, that in pure Devotion they committed High-Treason. But would to God the Pulpit might only speak Things Sacred; Matters of State having room enough to be discussed in Council-Chambers, and other

Duke of *Clarence* felents, and condemns his joining with *Warwick*.

The Dutches of *Clarence* discontented

K. *Edward* by the Dutches of *Clarence* draws off his Brother from *Warwick's* Side.

King *Edward's* voluptuous Nature and Unwariness.

Duke of *Burgundy's* Kindness to K. *Edward*.

*A. D.* 1470. *Reg. 10.*

K. *Edward* misguided suffers *Warwick* to land.

Duke of *Burgundy* endeavours to hinder it, but could not.

King *Edward's* Confidence in Subjects, deceiv'd.

*Dr. Gooddiard* justifies the Earl of *Warwick's* Proceedings.

The People drawn to Rebellion by his Sermon.



A. D. 1470. Reg. 10. A general Revolt from King Edward. other Places erected for publick Assemblies. For certainly how erroneous soever the Tenet be, if utter'd there by a Priest with Appearance of Religion, it gets too much Authority in the Ear, and too much Ground upon the Conscience, as this Opinion did, which was no sooner receiv'd, but all began to incline to Revolt; and with the first got away the late reconcil'd Arch-bishop, and the Marquess Mountacute his Brother; both having so often and so ceremoniously vow'd never to forsake the Title of King Edward, and both now perfidiously breaking those Vows, and with the loudest crying out, *Long live King Henry.*

The Treachery of Mountacute, who having raised in K. Edward's Name 6000 Men turn'd now with them to Warwick, and the general Defection of the Land threw the King down into extream Despair. For those few Lords who constantly adher'd to his declining Fortune, commanded over so small a Number, that to resolve upon a Battel were to betray themselves to Slaughter: And when Misfortune drove their Thoughts upon Safety by Flight, they knew not whither to resolve: No Land being willing to receive that Prince, who is forced to flee his own. But while his Imaginations remain'd thus confus'd, he had hardly escap'd a Surprise in the Night, had not his former Misfortune served him now for Instruction: And finding his Stay only begot Disreputation to his Quarrel, and Danger to his Person, he began his Flight towards Lincolnshire. But the Earl sent after him his Light-horse, following with the whole Body of his Army; and so close did the Light-horse pursue him, that with much Difficulty, and with Loss of all his Carriages in his Passage through the *Washes* he reach'd *Linn.* The Queen, who was the Cause of these Alterations, seeing her Husband gone, and with him all hopes of Safety, all Friends vanishing with Prosperity, was forced to betake her self in all haste, though great with Child, to the Divine Protection in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, with a small Attendance; such as were faithful to her running to other Churches for the like Protection.

The Lord Hastings, faithful to the King in all Fortunes, and who had yet 300 Horse under his Command, stay'd some short Time behind; and now when he imagin'd the King past the reach of imminent Danger, he dismissed his Forces and follow'd after. At parting he commended the Faith of the Soldiers to their Prince, which nevertheless for the Present he advis'd them to dissemble, because there was no present Security, nor Hope of doing after-Service, but by Submission to the prevailing Faction. Ere long he promised to Return, when a better Fortune would invite them to show the Loyalty of their Affections; the Violence of the Storm being too mighty to continue, and King Edward in Faction at Home and Abroad too potent, so easily to quit a Kingdom; however for the present he withdrew himself a while.

A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. King Edward's Escape by Sea into Holland, and Danger in it. Having exhorted thus his Soldiers, he obey'd Necessity, and by speedy Flight went after the King: Who having hired Three Ships, one of England and two of Holland, presently embark'd, having in his Company the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl Rivers, the Lords Scales and Say, and in Retinue about One Thousand (\*). As soon as they were put to Sea, the King encountered Dangers as great as he had escap'd at Land. For the *Easterlings* (a People ever fa-

med for Sea Affairs, and then at Enmity both with France and England) had set forth not long before some Men of War; who having descry'd these Ships, and guessing them to be English, made Sail after them. The King by Benefit of the Wind got first to the Coast of Holland, and in regard it was Ebbing-water cast Anchor so near the Shore, the *Easterlings* (being Ships of far greater Burthen) could not reach them: But the next Tide infallibly had expos'd them a Prize to the Enemy, had not the Lord *Grontere*, Lieutenant for the Duke in Holland by mere Accident been at that time at *Alquemare*, a Sea-Town close joyning to them. He as soon as he understood by a Messenger sent from King Edward, that those Three small Vessels carried in them the Fortune of England, commanded the *Easterlings* to forbear Hostility, and license those Passengers a quiet landing. And presently himself came Aboard the King's Ship, expressing in the Obsequiousness of his Respects as much Ceremony and Love, as was due to so great a Majesty, and the Brother-in-law to his Prince. And no sooner had he attended the King Ashore, and found how unprovided of all Things necessary, the Suddenness of his Flight had made him and his Followers; but he furnish'd him and them according to their Quality and Want. For the King's Escape was so hasty, that not only his Apparel and other Furniture were lost or left behind, but even his Treasure: So that to defray the Charge of his Transportation he was necessitated to give the Master of the Ship a Gown furr'd with Martins; and remain beholding to the Lord *Grontere* for his Expences to the *Hague*, whither he was conducted to expect the coming of the Duke. Who as soon as he had perfect Knowledge of the King's so ruinous Success in England, and Arrival in Holland as to a Sanctuary, began to repent his so near Alliance, and cast about how to close with the adverse Faction. And now indeed his Time was to act the most cunning part of Subtily, by endeavouring to retain the good Opinion of his Brother-in-law, and yet secure himself from Hostility with the Earl of Warwick. Whereupon before ever he came to the *Hague* he dispatch'd his Agent to *Callis*, to show the chief Men of the Town, that the Peace heretofore concluded between King Edward and himself, was no way personal: But between whatsoever Princes should rule in either Dominions, and betwixt Nation and Nation, and therefore by no Change of King or length of Time dissolvable. Upon which Consideration he intreated (for loth he was at the same Time to wrestle both with France and England) that the Name of Edward might be chang'd into Henry, and the former League continue sacred as before.

The unsettled State of England, and the universal Desires of the Merchants of the Staple at *Callis*, soon effected the Duke's Purpose. For they who had continual Traffick into the Low-Countries, and vented all their Wool to the Subjects of the Duke, had been disabled to pay their usual Tribute to the King, if free Inter-course had been denied. Whereupon unwilling to discontent and impoverish so great a Body at home, and too hastily to run into a dangerous Quarrel with a most potent Enemy abroad, the Earl for the present dissembled his inveterate Hatred, and recall'd his Soldiers who had spoiled all the Duke's Territoir bordering upon *Callis*. And that the Duke might make himself

(\*) Seven Hundred Persons.



*A. D.* 1471. *Reg. 11.* Strong in a Faction potent with the present Time, he renew'd his Friendship with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, whom he solicited earnestly to endear him to King *Henry*, and revive in him the Memory of their so near Kindred. To acquaint him how zealous himself and his Father had ever been for the Honour and Safety of the Family of *Lancaster*, in which himself did so much participate. As likewise to promise all the perfect Offices of a Confederate and Neighbour, if so be that his Faithful Intentions might receive a true Interpretation.

*Duke of Burgundy accepted into Friendship with Henry.* This did the Dukes voluntarily offer to negotiate; *Somerset* in respect of Propinquity in Blood, *Exeter*, of those many Favours receiv'd in the *Low-Countries* during his so miserable Exile: Both out of an extream Malice to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had subverted their Families, and to whose Aid, they envied the King should owe his Restitution. And easily was the Duke brought upon good Terms with King *Henry*; his Neighbourhood and Friendship being of so notable Consequence, and the very Appearance of disclaiming the adverse Party (what secret Aid soever he afforded) being so disadvantageous to any Pretence King *Edward* might have to renew the War.

*Duke of Burgundy keeps fair with K. Edward, who was then in his Court.* This Aspect, full of a smiling Flattery, did the Duke of *Burgundy* bear to the present Fortune of the State. While upon King *Edward* he cast such a supercilious Look, as the World's wise Men usually do upon Men in Adversity. Often sharply he reprehended his so great Carelessness and Neglect of wholesome Advice, which had ruin'd him, and obliged him to this so wretched Flight. He objected the much Contempt this Misfortune would throw upon his Quarrel, and how loth Friends would be to adhere to his present Necessities, since he knew so ill to manage Prosperity. Yet remembering that hereafter there might happily be a Change in Fortune, he often chang'd his Humour, and amid these Reprehensions mingled some passionate Complements of Love. He protested seriously that he wish'd all Happiness to his Affairs, to advance which he would neglect no Industry; yet he desired his Pardon if for the present he dissembled, considering it might at once draw on a War from his Two most dangerous Neighbours, *England* and *France*; against both which Nations should he be necessitated to a Quarrel, he should be very unable to defend himself, much less to serve another. And when a Proclamation was set forth by the Duke, prohibiting his Subjects any Way to aid the Pretences of King *Edward* or his Faction, and that it was with much Indignation receiv'd by the King, he protested the Intention of it to be only to betray King *Henry* to an unsafe Security, that in the interim he might without Suspicion levy a greater Aid for his Designs. *K. Edward* (whom a short Adversity had already instructed much) appeared to take the false Coin of these Excuses for currant, and by Example of the Duke, practis'd to dissemble. But after this Time it was noted, that he never bore the Duke so sincere Affection as before. Princes best maintain a near Friendship by keeping at large Distance; Jealousie and Emulation take their Growth with Familiarity, and if either be necessitated to demand Supply, Reason of State oftentimes weakens Love, and roots up good Nature.

To increase King *Edward's* Discontent abroad, no News came from *England* but what spoke absolute Ruin to his Hopes. For tho'

here he heard first the Comfort of his being Father to a Son, Prince *Edward*, yet was this Son born poorly in Sanctuary, and christned without the Ceremonies belonging to a Prince, and if Fortune beyond Expectation alter'd not, Heir apparent only to his Father's Misery. Neither did that wild Insurrection of the Men of *Kent*, which ensued presently upon his Flight, effect any Thing, or so much as openly pretend for King *Edward*. But some disorder'd Companies gathered into one, hoped to fish fair in the troubled Stream of the Kingdom, and by the Advantage of the present Distraction of State to purchase Treasure to themselves. Whereupon they directed their March (if such Stragglers can be said to march) towards *London*; where by the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord Mayor they were soon suppress'd, and some for the general Terror, made Examples in their Punishment, which much rais'd the Reputation of the Earl. But after this all Things tended presently to Quiet, and *K. Henry* being set at Liberty, (y) went in solemn Procession to *St. Paul's Church*, the Clergy, Nobility and Commonalty re-acknowledging all Obedience to him. And, as if there were left no Memory of King *Edward*, or Hope to re-establish his Title, every Man address'd himself to King *Henry*, and all his former Servants recover'd their lost Honours and Places. But that this might not appear to be the Act of Faction, but the universal Consent of the Kingdom, a Parliament was summon'd (z); wherein nothing was denied, which the prevailing Party thought fit to be authoriz'd.

King *Edward* therefore and all his Adherents were attainted of High Treason, their Lands and Goods confiscated. He and his Posterity for ever disabled to inherit not only the Crown, but any other hereditary Estate; his Claim to the Kingdom rejected as a most unjust Pretension, and his former Government condemn'd as of a tyrannous Usurper. And that there might be a great Example of their Justice, *John Tiptoft*, Earl of *Worcester*, Lord High Constable of *England*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland* (having been apprehended in the Forrest of *Wai-bridge*, on the Top of a high Tree, which expressed the Precipice of his Fortune) was on the *Tower-Hill* beheaded.

Next they proceeded to entail the Crown upon King *Henry* and his Heirs Males, for Default of which, to *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, and his Heirs for ever. By which Intail, the Earl of *Warwick* shew'd not only the Extent, but the Insolency of Greatness, as if the Title of the Kingdom appertain'd to them, who were nearest in Alliance to him, not next in Blood to the Crown. For if the Justice of *Lancaster's* Claim had the Preheminence for want of Issue of King *Henry*, why should not the Sovereignty fall to the Duke of *Somerset*? Or if that Line were crooked in respect of Bastardy, why not to the House of *Portugal*, without any Blemish descending from *John of Gaunt*? Or if the House of *York* had the better Title, why was *George*, Duke of *Clarence* then set down but Second in the Intail? Or if the Right were in *Warwick* himself (for his Power order'd and disorder'd all) why was the Kingdom to descend first of all to the Younger Daughter? But preposterous Ambition never knew how to give an Account to Reason.

Then were the Earls of *Oxford*, *Pembroke*, and many others restor'd to their Estates and Titles, and the Duke of *Clarence* (that greater

(y) On the Twelfth of October.

(z) The Twenty sixth of November.



A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. The Government put into the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick's Hands.

Hopes might not invite him to return to his Brother) possessed of the Dutchy of York.

And lastly, the Government of the King and Kingdom committed to the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick; so that King Henry (in whose best of Fortune it was never to possess more than the Name of King) seem'd not to be set at Liberty, but only to have changed his Keeper, and get his Prison somewhat more enlarged. But Queen Margaret and Prince Edward, tho' by the Earl recall'd, found their Fate and the Winds so adverse, that they could not land in England, to taste this running Banquet to which Fortune had invited them. And staid so long by Necessity; that Discretion instructed them, in the End there was no Hope of Felicity, scarce of Safety in their Return.

Vauclere revolts from K. Edward to the Earl of Warwick.

The Re-establishment of King Henry in the Kingdom by the universal Acclamation of the Parliament, and the general Silence of the other Faction, no Man so much as mentioning the Title of York, cool'd that Fervor of Respect with which the Duke of Burgundy had at first embraced King Edward; especially when the Treason of Monsieur Vauclere was apparent: For of Callit, both the King and the Duke ever thought themselves secure, he having declared himself so faithfully, and they rewarded him so liberally. But now the Traitor turned his Inside outward, and with the loudest proclaim'd his Joy for the Prosperity of Warwick: And so far did the Vanity of his former Services betray him, that he boasted even his Treason for Merit. And whatever Messages the King sent to him, he rejected with Scorn, to whose more notable Affront, he wore enamel'd in his Hat, the Bear and ragged Staff, the Earl's Cognizance.

K. Edward obtains Leave to depart, and an Assistance of Men and Monny from the Duke of Burgundy.

The Neglect which accompanied his Adversity, made the King weary of any further Dependances, and urge the Duke to have Licence for departing. For although the Dutchess neglected no Duty of a Sister, and woo'd him most passionately to a longer Stay, yet so little had his Fortune instructed him to Patience, that neither Love nor Fright of Danger could detain him longer. For the Duke was distemper'd with such an Ague of Discourteise, that those Fits which before came but every Third or Fourth Day, became now Quotidian; neither knew the King to how high and dangerous a Malice the Disease in Time might rise. His Importunity therefore in the End prevail'd, and under Hand obtain'd a large Supply of Monny, and some Men. Four great Ships of Holland, and Fourteen of the Easterling's Men of War well arm'd, he hired for the Transportation of his Forces; which consisted of the English who accompanied him in his Flight, and had escaped over after him, and 2000 Dutch Men. With the Ships he covenanted, that they should serve him till Fifteen Days after his landing; and to the Dutch Soldiers he gave such large Promises, that they vowed their Lives to the greatest Cruelty of his Fortune.

His Landing in Yorkshire.

At Ravenspur in Yorkshire he landed (a), where the People naturally devoted to the House of Lancaster, (shewed in the Malice of their Looks, what evil Luck they wish'd him) tho' they wanted Courage with their Arms to oppose him.

His March to York.

Which so dismal Aspect made him more wary in his March to York, fearing it might preface the general Rising of the Country. But when he came thither, and found the Citizens so well pleased with the present State, and so in their

Opinion confirm'd for King Henry, he began to despair the Recovery of the Crown. And in that Resolution, perceiving them obstinate beyond any Hope of Remove, fashion'd his Behaviour by a new Art, pretending he came to recover his Dukedom and Estate. Whereupon, tho' he could not move them to Obedience by the Authority of his unquestion'd Right to the Crown, yet by relation of his present Calamity, he perswaded them to Compassion. So that whom they refused to serve as King, which had been an Act of Loyalty, they condescended to aid as Duke of York, which was absolute Rebellion. It being High Treason in a Subject, tho' never so apparently injur'd, to seek his Remedy by Arms. And by the Sence of his own Misfortunes, he made his Oratory so powerful, that all began to exclaim against the Injustice of the last Parliament, in conferring the Dutchy of York, which by Right of Primogeniture belonged to Edward, upon his Second Brother George, Duke of Clarence, Which Act could not be imagin'd, freely granted by the Parliament, but extorted by the overgreat Sway of Warwick: And had Edward by Usurpation of the Crown, defery'd so heavy an Attainder, he might yet quit himself from the Crime, having been excited thereunto, not by his own ambitious Desire of Reign, but by the Instigation of Warwick, who no longer would suffer the Government of his King, than the King knew how to obey his insolent Direction; and who had thus planted and supplanted Princes, not out of Love to Justice, but only thereby to transplant the Sovereignty into his own Family.

A. D. 1471. Reg. 11.

The Citizens of York assist King Edward to recover his Honour and Estate, but not the Crown.

Thus the Commonalty argued for Edward, and made him yet partake in the Fortune of a Prince, by not permitting him to bear the Burthen of his own Faults; and that he might recover the Dutchy belonging to his Family, many Persons of Power and Name resorted to him, he solemnly swearing never to attempt hereafter the Re-obtaining of the Kingdom. The same Oath swore Henry of Bullingbrook, when pretending to the Dutchy of Lancaster, he landed in the North, and arm'd against King Richard, which he broke as Edward after did upon the like Advantage. So that with Humility we ought to wonder at the Judgments of the Almighty, who permitted Perjury now to unbuild the Greatness of Lancaster, which at first was built by Perjury.

K. Edward swears not to attempt to recover the Crown.

Edward swore on the Holy Sacrament he would not attempt the Crown.

Leaving therefore a Garrison in York (a safe Retreat upon the worst Occasion) he march'd towards London; about which Place he had ever found his Fortune most kind and prosperous. And confidently led on his Forces (which could not deserve the Name of an Army) although the Marquess Mountacute with a far superior Power lay then at Pomfret to hinder his Journey. Nigh which when King Edward came expecting Battle; Mountacute who had both Ability and Opportunity to have destroy'd him, let him quietly pass, not permitting any Act of Hostility to be show'd, or Advantage taken.

K. Edward marches to London by Marquess Mountacute's Permission.

This gross Over-sight in so absolute a Commander receiv'd several Interpretations, according to the Complexion of the Men who discourst it. The more Religious who favoured K. Edward's Title thought Almighty God, intending to set the Crown upon the Right Head, had intimated the Counsels of his Enemies: The more Vulgar judg'd it Cowardize in the Marquess which durst not fight against that Majesty for which he had so often fought, and

Mountacute's Act variously interpreted.

(a) On the Twelfth of March.



*A. D.* 1471. *Reg. 11.* against a Prince who had never been in Battel but Victorious: But the more indifferent esteem'd it a piece of over-cunning (which in the Event is ever Folly) to let his Forces pass, whereby after he might inclose him between his and his Brother's Army, and so without Hazard destroy him, or else some Intelligence which secretly he held with K. Edward to whose Love and Benefits he owed so much. Whence this Mistake proceeded, I will not dispute, but certainly it serv'd well to the King's Purpose and Safety; and receiv'd from the Earl of Warwick and his Faction no other Name than that of Falshood and Treason.

*King Edward's Army mightily increased, and he claims the Crown.* King Edward was no sooner past this Danger, but many of the Nobility with mighty Forces repair'd to him at Nottingham, either desirous of another Revolution of State, not having found their Expectation answer'd in the last; or directed by their better Angel to adhere to that Side which ever was more just, and suddenly more likely to be more Fortunate. But before they would solemnly declare themselves, they intreated and soon prevail'd with him to cast off the poor Intention to a Dutchy, and lay his Challenge to, what was his Inheritance, the Kingdom. For it would lessen, even to Contempt, the great Reputation of his Birth and former Victories, to let the People perceive that a short Eclipse of Fortune had made him fall so low, as to depose himself from the Royalty. Neither could they justify their taking Arms to settle a Subject in his Inheritance. Since the Law is open to end such Controversies, and if he would subject himself to the Law, the last Parliament, had for ever disabled him from any such Claim.

*K. Edward hastens to fight the Earl of Warwick.* Weaker Arguments would have been of Power enough to have perswaded his great Spirit; but by these he was confirm'd in his own Thoughts; and so being proclaim'd King, with that Title, and a full Army he march'd directly to Coventry (*b*) fierce in his Desire to give Warwick Battel, who lay there encamp'd. But no Provocation could bring him from his Trenches, knowing his Army divided, and those Forces he had there under his Command, unequal to maintain Fight with the King. For the Marquis Mountacute was not yet return'd from the North, and the Duke of Clarence, tho' often and earnestly solicited excused himself, and kept his Power apart. So reserv'd a way in them, made Warwick begin to hold both in Suspicion; but most of all Clarence, whose Forces were so near and in so good Order, that there could be no Excuse but in the Unpreparedness of his Mind.

*K. Edward and the Duke of Clarence reconcil'd.* The King therefore perceiving nothing could force Warwick upon uneven Terms to fight, march'd against Clarence, and as soon as he drew near, both Armies prepared for the Encounter: But as a Plot in a well-contriv'd Comedy is so cunningly wrought, that it discovers not it self till the last Scene, and then Expectation acknowledges her self deluded by Invention. So this Reconciliation between the Brothers agreed on long before, on the sudden now broke forth when all outward Appearances threaten'd Hostility. For the Duke of Gloucester

and other Lords seeming to abhor the inhuman Nature of the prepared Battel, past often formally between the Brothers, and urg'd them by all Respects both Religious and Politick to prevent a Quarrel so ruinous and so scandalous to both; wherein the Triumph could not be but almost the Destruction of the Conqueror. After much Mediation and much seeming Reluctancy, that was in the end concluded, which had long before been resolv'd on: And the Duke of Clarence submitting himself to King Edward, brought with him all those Forces which upon Warwick's Reputation, much more than upon his own, he had rais'd. But that in this Agreement he might not appear to forget the Office of a Son-in-law and a Friend, he jointly with the King sent to intreat the Earl to enter League with them; for Confirmation of that Title which himself had first defended, and to avoid the Effusion of so much Blood as this Quarrel must necessarily draw. For Conditions he himself should set down his own, knowing he would be so rational in his Demands, as to require nothing above the Decorum of a Subject to ask, or a Prince to grant.

But Warwick had a Spirit too stubborn to bow to any Conditions, which himself had not been the first Proposer of; and as an injury threw back all Offers of Curtesie, and resolv'd to be reveng'd or die. And now too late he began to curse the Error of his Indulgency, which had added Power to these Brothers only for his own Destruction. From Edward he could expect no Safety, for he deserv'd it not; having cancell'd all former Obligations by his last Revolt, by which he forced him to so hazardous a Flight, and from George he could not look for a true Faith, considering that for the only Appearance of better Hopes he had heretofore broke it even with a Brother. And from both what thought of perfect Friendship, unless (and that his Nature could never suffer) he would fall beneath his former Height, in which should he continue, Suspicion would never let him remain secure from Danger. That Subject scarce ever having been reputed Innocent, in whose Power it was to be Nocent.

Whereupon K. Edward seeing himself by all the Charms of former Friendship and Promise of Future, unable to lay the Spirit that rag'd in Warwick, left him obstinate in the Prosecution of his own Designs: And accompany'd with his late reconcil'd Brother, and follow'd by a gallant Army march'd to London; where the Citizens out of Conscience of their late Oath taken so solemnly to K. Henry, and by the Instigation of the Duke of Somerset, Arch-bishop of York, and others of Warwick's Friends made some show of Resistance (*c*): But soon the Care of their own Safety absolv'd them from that Scruple, instructing them that Oaths by Fear extorted lay no Obligation upon the Soul (*d*). And with much Alacrity they yielded up to him their City, together with the Person of King Henry, who was reserv'd still to be made the Sport of Fortune, and again imprison'd in the Tower. For certainly History shows us not an Example of any Prince, who in so many Vicissitudes, never met with one

*A. D.* 1471. *Reg. 11.*

*Peace offer'd the Earl of Warwick.*

*Warwick refuses to submit to an Agreement.*

*K. Edward goes to London, and is receiv'd by them after a feign'd Resistance.*

(*b*) He came before Warwick the 29th of March.

(*c*) The Arch bishop of York on the 9th of April brought King Henry out of the Tower, and carried him thro' the City to shew him to the Citizens, hoping that his Presence would confirm their Loyalty; but the Terror of King Edward's Approach with a mighty Army, drew them from their Obedience, and the Prelate was forced to come to a Treaty, and deliver up the Tower and the King, which he did the next Day.

(*d*) Philip de Comines writes with much more Reason than this Author has; for that he says, That the Citizens were engag'd in his Interest, by the Debts Edward ow'd them, and the Impunity of their Wives; for as to their Consciences certainly their First Oaths to King Henry justified their Second.

fully



A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. fully to his Advantage: So that justly we might have condemn'd him for Unhappy, had he not been endued with such a Piety as raised him above his Fortune, and united him to God.

At (e) his Entrance into the City, as a general Applause entertain'd King Edward, all those Inhabitants who had secretly wished happy Success to his Affairs, now openly expressing their Triumph; so the Queen and those many of the King's nearest Followers, who for the Space of Six Months had secured themselves in Sanctuary, ran forth to congratulate their own, as well as his Happiness in his Restitution. And even in this general Alacrity concurred the Votes of many Merchants, Natives and Foreigners, who before had hated him and supplied King Henry with Money to his Destruction. For the King out of the Mildness of his natural Disposition, and a Desire that at this universal Triumph there should not be a sad look so much as among his Enemies, gave their Offences a general Pardon. Only letting them understand that he knew both the Value of his own Mercy, and of the Greatness of their Forfeitures, their aiding the contrary Faction having lost them their Estates and Liberties, and in Rigor their Lives. Neither was this an unhappy Policy in him, to oblige many by the forgiving that, the Extremity of which had he taken (his Business being then so unsettled) might have endanger'd a Mutiny in the City, upon the first Approach of the Enemy.

Having therefore by his happy Fortune comforted his Friends, and by his Clemency won upon the Affection of the Rest; and so settled the Town to his Obedience, that he suspected no Danger at his Back: He led forth his Army to oppose the Earl of Warwick, who having reunited his scatter'd Forces by easie Marches was come to St. Albans (f). The Reason of bringing his Power so near London was a Confidence he had, that his Reputation among the Inhabitants would draw many to his Part, or at least so divide them, that they should be no Advantage to the King: But the King jealous of their Levity, as one who had known them (how affectionate soever they pretended themselves to be to his Fortune) siding still with the Prevailer, interposed his Army between the (g) City and the Enemy, whereby he cut off even the Possibility of Intelligence: And that the Presence of King Henry might not be the Occasion of any Tumult in London, nor his Escape add Authority to Warwick's Quarrel, or hereafter endanger a further War; he took him to the Battel: Whereby the Poor distressed King, what Side soever prevail'd, was morally certain of Destruction.

Upon a Plain near Barnet mid-way between London and St. Albans the King pitch'd his Field. The Van-guard was commanded by the Duke of Gloucester, the Rear by the Lord Hastings, the main Battel by himself (h). The Common Soldiers needed no Incouragement of Words, (i) the great Examples of their Leaders was the best Oratory. And none of them but understood their Lives, Estates, and Liberties

were at Stake: Their Prince, if over-thrown, every Day not unlike to produce new Troubles, and new Dangers; if Victorious, a full Conclusion of the War, with Wealth and Triumph.

On the other Side the Earl of Warwick with as bold a Resolution prepared his Forces. The Right Wing which consisted of Horse, he committed to the Earl of Oxford, in whose Company fought the Marquess Mountacute; the Left to the Duke of Exeter; and the main Battel which was composed of Bills and Bows (the best Sinews of our English Strength) to the Duke of Somerset: He himself giving Direction in every Quarter. And when he had survey'd his whole Host, and liked both their Order and their Courage, he sent away his Horse, resolving to fight on Foot, and that Day to try the utmost of his Fortune; prefixing to his Imaginations no Mean between Victory and Death. Then he lovingly imbraced all those great Commanders, in every of whom appear'd a Resolution equal to the Cause; and having by many Protestations declared their sincere Faith and Forwardness to the present Service, every Man betook himself to his several Charge. Nothing extraordinary to be observ'd in ordering the Field on either Side, but that neither George, Duke of Clarence, on K. Edward's Side, nor the Marquess Mountacute on the Earl's commanded any Way in chief that Day: So impossible it was to extirpate that Suspicion, which by their former Actions had taken Root in their Brother's Minds.

It was Easter-Day (k) in the Morning (a Day too sacred to be profaned with so much Blood) when both Armies prepared themselves to fight. That for the King took Courage from the Justice of their Quarrel, and the Fortune of their Prince. That of the Earl from the long Experience and noble Valour of their Leader, and from the Piety of him for whose Redemption that Day they had brought their Lives to the Hazard. Both fought for their Kings, both Kings having been crown'd, and by several Parliaments acknowledged. And indeed the Question was so subtil, that even among Divines it had held long, and at that Day remained not absolutely decided. No marvel then if the common Soldier had on both Sides the same Assurance of Truth, since if they have any, their Faith for the most is led by the Direction of their General. Both Armies therefore had equal Justice, which made them with equal Fierceness begin and continue the Fight.

Six Hours the Victory was doubtful, Advantages and Disadvantages indifferent on both Sides, till at length Error brought Disorder to Warwick's Army, and that a final Overthrow. For the Earl of Oxford (l) giving his Men a Star with Streams for his Badge, begot in the Army a Mistake that they were part of the Enemy whose Badge was the Sun: (which Mistake might easily happen by the thick Mist that Morning), wherefore being in the Right Wing, and pressing forward they were thought King Edward's Men flying, which made their own main Battel fall fiercely on them in the Back: Whereupon Oxford suspecting Treason in War-

(e) On the 11th of April.

(f) He encamp'd on Gladsmore-Heath, towards St. Albans.

(g) He encamp'd on the same Heath in the Night nearer Barnet.

(h) And the Duke of Clarence. In the main Body the Unfortunate King Henry was carry'd in Triumph.

(i) King Edward spoke to his Soldiers, and gave the usual Names of Traytors and Rebels to their Adversaries, and the Earl of Warwick was not behind him in hard Words in his Speech; calling him Tyrant and Usurper Holinshed, pag. 684.

(k) The 14th of April.

(l) This brave Lord routed King Edward's Left Wing, and drove them out of the Field before that fatal Mistake happen'd.



A. D. 1471. *W*arwick (whose haughty and reserved Ways were ever liable to Suspicion) fled away with eight hundred Men, and King Edward with certain fresh Troops of Rutters for some such Purpose reserv'd, perceiving Disorder in the Enemy violently assaulted them, and soon forced them to shrink back. *Warwick* opposed against their Fear both with Language and Example; but when nothing could prevail, he rush'd into the thickest of the Enemies, hoping either his whole Army would bravely follow, or otherwise by Death to prevent the Misery of seeing himself overthrown. *Mountacute* perceiving how far into Danger his Brother was engaged, ran violently after to his Rescue, and both presently oppress'd with Number fell, and with them the Spirit of the Army, which thereupon immediately fled. In their Deaths they both clear'd those Calumnies with which they were blemish'd. *Warwick* of having still a swift Horse in readiness by Flight to escape from any apparent Danger in Battel; *Mountacute* of holding Intelligence with King Edward, or betraying at *Pomfret* the Quarrel of his great Brother. For that Story is to be rejected as a Fable forged by Malice, which Reports that the *Marques* having put on King Edward's Livery was slain by one of *Warwick's* Men, and that the Earl labouring to escape, at a Wood's Side where was no Passage, was killed and stripped to the naked Skin by two of King Edward's Soldiers. Yet both of them in their Deaths partaking with the common Condition of Men; the poor being ever esteem'd as vicious, the overthrown as Cowards. By which Judgment we impiously subject the Almighty Disposer of Human Affairs to our depraved Affections, as if Felicity or Infelicity were the Touchstone by which we might discern the true Value of the inward Man.

King Edward as soon as he saw the Discomfiture of the Enemy and certainly understood the Death of the two Brothers; that himself might be the first Reporter of his own good Fortune, with King Henry in his Company posted up to London. He came into St. Paul's Church at Evening Prayer, and there offer'd up his own Banner, and the Standard of the Earl of *Warwick*, the Trophies of his Morning Service, where waited on him an universal Acclamation, the flattering Shadow which never forsakes Victory. The dead Bodies of *Warwick* and *Mountacute* he caused to be expos'd three Days barefaced in St. Paul's Church, that no Pretences of their being alive might stir up any Rebellion afterward.

To the Duke of *Clarence* and the Duke of *Gloucester* was left the Care to Quarter the Soldiers, whose Enquiry soon found that on both Sides that Day were slain four thousand six hundred and odd. On the King's Side of Eminency only (m) the Lords *Bourchier* and *Barnes*, the former Son and Heir to the Earl of *Essex*, this last to the Lord *Say*: On the other Side were kill'd the Earl of *Warwick* and the *Marques Mountacute* attended with three and twenty Knights. The Duke of *Exeter*, who by his many Wounds was reported dead, recover'd Life, and got into Sanctuary at *Westminster*, but was never more seen in Action; his Body after some length of Time being cast upon the Shore of *Kent*, as if he had perish'd by Shipwrack: The

Manner of his after-Life and Death left uncertain in Story. The Duke of *Somerset* and Earl of *Oxford* fled towards *Scotland*, but fearing that through the length of the Way they might fall into their Enemies Hands, they turn'd into *Wales* to *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*.

To this violent End came the Earl of *Warwick*, the greatest and busiest Subject our latter Age hath brought forth. And indeed how was it possible such a stormy Life could expect a calmer Death? In his Spirit, Birth, Marriage, and Revenue he was Mighty, which raised his Thoughts above Proportion. For all these Benefits of Nature and Fortune serv'd him only as Instruments to execute his Rage; into which every small Displeasure taken or mistaken from his Prince, threw him head-long. His Bounty extended it self most in Hospitality, which was dangerous to the Guest, for his Meat was infected with the Poison of Faction. The open Aim of all his Actions was at the Publick Good, which made his Power still recover Strength, though so often weaken'd by evil Fortune; but his secret Intention was to advance his own Greatness, which he resolv'd to purchase tho' with Sale of the publick Safety. He was unquestionless Valiant, for a Coward durst not have thought on those Dangers, into which he entred upon the slightest Quarrels. His Soul was never quiet, distast'd always with the present Affairs; and his Pride like a foolish Builder, so delighted to pull down and set up, that at length part of the Frame himself had rais'd, fell upon him and crush'd him to Death. He was a passionate Extoller of Chastity in a Prince, which proceeded rather from Spleen than Zeal, because in that he tacitly made the King Contemptible for his voluptuous Life. Being bred up from a Child in Arms (the worst School to learn Religion in) he had certainly no tender Sense of Justice, and his varying so in approving contrary Titles, shew'd either a strange Levity in Judgment, or else that Ambition not Conscience ruled his Actions. The Pretences of his Revolt from King Edward, were neither to the World Politick nor to himself Honest. For what greater Hopes could he conceive by restoring a Family himself had ruin'd? Since Injuries make so deep an Impression, that no after-courtesie can take it away? Or how could any Violence offer'd to his Daughter's Honour by the King (for that was then by him pretended) License him to War? Since no Injustice in a Sovereign can Authorize the Subject to Rebellion. But who will give a true Account of his latter Attempts, must look back upon his first Familiarity with *Lewis XI*. For never had *France* such a Merchant to vent Disorder in Foreign Kingdoms, and buy up the Faith of all the greatest Officers to neighbouring Princes. But when by the most powerful Engines of Policy and War, he had screwed up his Intentions to the Highest, by making himself King in Authority though not in Title, the Crown being entailed upon the Two Princes, who had married his Daughters: Almighty God in one Overthrow ruin'd him, and permitted his Sons-in-Law, with their Wives not long after to end by strange Deaths, none of them answering his Hope, but the Younger Daughter and that preposterously to his Design. For she indeed by marrying *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*,

Earl of Warwick and his Brother the Marques Mountacute slain.

False Reports about their Deaths.

King Edward carries the News of his Victory to London himself.

The slain in Barnet Field.

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The Earl of Warwick's Character.

His Hospitality.

His Covetousness.

The Cause of his Revolt from King Edward.

His Younger Daughter was a Queen.

(m) On the King's Side were kill'd the Lords *Cromwell* and *Say*, the Lord *Mountjoy's* Eldest Son; the Lord *Bernard's* Son, Sir *Humphry Bourchier*, and 1500 Soldiers. On the Earl's Side, himself, the Marques his Brother, Sir *William Turrell* and 7000 Soldiers. *Hol.*  
Hall says, there fell in all 10000 on both Sides.

cester,



A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. cester, the Butcher of her Husband Prince Edward, became Queen to an Usurper, and soon after by Poison (as it was justly suspected) made Resignation of her Crown. His Grand-Children by Clarence, who arriv'd to any Age, died by the Ax upon a Scaffold; and all that Greatness he so violently labour'd to confirm in his Posterity, by violent Deaths was reduced to nothing: The large River of his Blood, divided now into many Streams, run so small, they are hardly observ'd as they flow by..

The Mar-  
quis  
Mounta-  
cure's  
Chara-  
cter.

His Va-  
lour and  
Dissemi-  
nation.

His Love  
of Wars.

King Ed-  
ward's  
Love to  
the Mar-  
quis  
Mounta-  
cure.

Q. Marga-  
ret lands,  
and takes  
Sanctuary.

Of his Brother the Marquis Mountacute little can be clearly spoken: So reserv'd were his Imaginations and so obscure his Ways; especially to us who look on him so far off, and with so imperfect a Light. Neither of himself can he afford much History, having never been but Second in any Business of Moment; and like some poor Gamester seldom or never play'd his own Cards. He had certainly as much Valour and Dissimulation, as render'd him both a perfect Soldier and Courtier. He never miscarried in any Battel, till the last, in which he perish'd; so that indifferently we may ascribe to his good Conduct and Fortune, the Prosperity of his Success: His Affections being divided between a King and a Brother, made him suffer that Misfortune that ever attends Neutrality: Though indeed he may be rather said to have been for both, than either. His Nature was nothing so stubborn as his Brother's, which perhaps was bended to Plausibility, by the Dependances of his Fortune. The Deportment of Men seldom swelling to a distastful Pride, unless from the very Cradle flatter'd with Respect, without the Competition of an Equal. He abhorred Peace, whose strict Rules circumscrib'd him within the narrow Limits of his own Revenue, and lov'd War which called not his Expences to account, and equal'd, if not elevated him above those great Men, whom he must have envied in a quiet State. In a Word, the Dispositions of these two Brothers are best discovered to us by the King himself, of whom Warwick was still either esteem'd or hated, Mountacute lov'd or pittied.

The Affection which K. Edward bore Mountacute during Life, appear'd by the good Language he always us'd of him, even when in Arms against him, which perhaps occasion'd some Jealousie of his Faith in Warwick; and after Death in permitting his and, for his sake, his Brother's Body the Honour of a convenient Burial. For after they had both lain two or three Days barefaced in St. Paul's Church, exposed a Spectacle obnoxious to such Passions, as the Beholders were inclined to either by Nature or Faction; they were carried down to the Priory of Bisham in Berkshire, where among their Ancestors by the Mother's Side the Earls of Salisbury, the two unquiet Brothers rest in one Tomb.

Queen Margaret now when it was too late landed at Waimouth in Dorsetshire having in (n) her Retinue some few French Forces, the wary King Lewis loth to venture much upon an after-game of Fortune. And here when she expected the Acclamations of Triumph, she first received the News of Warwick slain and his Army defeated. Which to her Mind, prepared then to have received some Taste of Happiness, was so sad a Distraction, that she knew not which Way to direct her Resolutions, but her Cou-

rage failing her she swooned. At length Despair forced her to the common poor Refuge of Sanctuary. And in Bewly in Hampshire, a Monastery of Cistercian Monks she registred herself, her Son, and Followers for Persons privileged. To her in this Agony of Soul came Edmond, Duke of Somerset (who had escaped from the Overthrow at Barnet) with his Brother the Lord John Beaufort, John Courtney, Earl of Devonshire (Brother to Thomas, who being taken at Towton-Field was beheaded at York) Jasper, Earl of Pembroke (o) Younger Son of Owen Tudor by Queen Katherine Dowager, John Longstrother, Lord Prior of St. John's, (p) and John, Lord Wenlock, who had received his first Advancement to Honour by his great Services to King Edward, and now by the Folly of his Ingratitude, had linked himself to a ruinous Faction.

These noble Personages greater far in the Reputation of what they had, or might have been, than in their present lower, labour'd what they could by their Advice and Presence to raise up the Queen, sunk with the Weight of her Misfortunes. They related to her the Hopes she yet might retain in the Amity with France, and Authority she had in England: Multitudes yet surviving, whom if not Affection to the Title, the Smalness of their own Fortunes, and Safety of their Persons, would necessitate to take Arms. All Overthrows rather sowing, than taking away the Seeds of War. Neither if she look'd indifferently upon the last Battel, had she reason to be Disconsolate. For if she reflected on the Number of the Slain, it was not Considerable; or upon the Death of the General the Earl of Warwick, she might receive that Loss as a Benefit; he having been indeed a cruel Enemy, but never but an insolent Friend; whose Fortune had it continued Prosperous as it began, it might have been a Question whether the Duke of York's or his Usurpation would have been the more insupportable. They urged farther the Authority Somerset, Devonshire, the Lord Prior, and Wenlock had in England, and the Multitudes Pembroke might arm in Wales. But above all, what a Confluence of the boldest Youth there would be to the Prince, would he but take the Field, and appear in his own Quarrel. Nothing having advanced the Title of York, but March's Presence in all Battels, or foil'd the Reputation of Lancaster, but King Henry's unactive Piety, and fighting still by Deputies. The Soldiers thinking it in vain for them to hazard their Lives, where the Prince whom it concerns, timorously refuseth to venture his own.

But all these Arguments set off by the most persuasive Oratory, could not recover the sad Queen to a perfect Life in her Spirit. For either so many Disasters, and falling so thick together, made her despair of Success; or else the Soul before a great Mischief hath a certain divining Knowledge of future Accidents. And now she began to think that small Time her Husband had been re-invested in the Kingdom, was but a Lightning before the Death of all Sovereignty in his Family. Yet when she looked upon the Prince, hope flatter'd her Desires, that he might hereafter revive the Greatness of his Blood; but then the Memory of forepast Misfortunes, made her a melancholy Prophe-

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Several great persons, join her, and Troop their Assistance

They comfort and encourage the Queen to attempt a Recovery of the Crown.

The Prince encouraged to appear in Arms.

Q. Margaret disappears, but endeavours to get her Son's Right.

(n) She landed on the very Day that the last Battel was fought upon.

(o) The Earl of Pembroke was then raising Forces in Wales, and did not join her at all.

(p) The Prior of St. John's and the Lord Wenlock came from France with her. Hol.



A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. The Queen refuses to let her Son be in the Battel.

tests of future Ruin. Howsoever the Objects of her Thoughts were dismal, she dissembled them, and was as busie in all Politick Contrivances, and as forward in setting forth the Army as the most resolute Commander. (q) But when she perceived the Lords earnest to have the Prince present in the Battel, she violently opposed it, in respect of his Youth, want of Experience, and the so mighty Venture: For if he perish'd in this Storm, even Hope it self would in him be shipwrack'd. She therefore urged earnestly to have him convey'd back into France, where in Safety he might attend the Success of the present Enterprize, which if unprosperous, he might there remain, till by the Increase of Years and Power, he might be enabled to fight his own Quarrel. But the contrary Opinion overrul'd in her all the Passions, both of a Woman and a Mother; and having already lost so much at this Play of Fortune, she was perswaded like a desperate Gamester, to hazard at one Cast the Remainder of all her Stock.

Q. Margaret and her Son the Prince gather Forces.

Having therefore yielded to this Resolution, she leaves the Sanctuary and puts her self in Arms: The very Name of Prince Edward, like a Diamond, attracted Multitudes to the War. Her Companies immediately she advanced to Bath, where the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Devonshire were high in Reputation, and by whose Authority daily new Forces came in to the Prince's Service. Yet were they not grown to so full a Number, as might encourage the Queen to think upon a Battel. Whereupon she keeps her self in the Town, until the coming of Jasper (r) Earl of Pembroke, upon the Addition of which Welsh Forces, she resolved to take the Field, and encounter King Edward.

K Edward speedily re-assembles his Army, and encamps at Marlborough.

Who as soon as he had perfect Intelligence of her Resolutions, gathered his Army together, which he (ever too confident of Peace, so amorously courted by him) had after the Victory at *Barnet*, licensed to disperse it self. And with so unexpected Suddenness he made his Preparations, that before the Return of Pembroke, he incamp'd at *Marlborough*, within fifteen Miles of Bath (s), and by the Interposition of his Army, hindered all Succours which could come to the Enemy from Wales. Which so near Approach distracted the Resolutions of the Queen, and made her suspect her Safety, if she remain'd longer there. Wherefore she retired to *Bristol* (t), from whence she sent to the Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, who had the keeping both of the City and Castle of Gloucester, to desire Passage over the Severn there, but he refused her, and forced her to march up to *Temksbury*, there to endeavour to cross the River.

Q. Margaret flies to Tewksbury, and is forced to engage King Edward.

In her Way thither, as she past by Gloucester, which in Discretion she durst not Assault, tho' by the former Discourteise provoked; he taking Advantage of the Place and some Disorder in the Queen's Rearward, fell suddenly upon it and carry'd away, after some Slaughter of the uncircumspect Soldier, much of her Artillery. This Loss troubled her a little, but when she found her self pursu'd by King Edward so close, that before she could reach *Temksbury* (u), he with his Horse were in Sight; Despair seiz'd

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her, so that she began only to look which way to flee. And indeed to that Extremity was her Business reduced, that there was left no other hope of Safety: The King having so much odds in Courage and Number. But the Duke of Somerset prevail'd against her Fears, and the sober Opinion of most of the best Commanders; upon which, neglecting to escape at first into Wales, where Pembroke had raised mighty Forces for her Service, she was soon by the King necessitated, either to yield or endure the Battel. Whereupon she resolv'd to fight it out that Day, which was the last, and that which decided the great Quarrel between the two Houses.

The Duke of Somerset pitch'd his Field in a Park adjoining to the Town, and entrench'd his Camp round so high and so strong, that the Enemy could on no Side force it; and when he perceiv'd an inevitable Necessity of present Fight, he Marshal'd his Host for the Service. The Foreward he and his Brother commanded, the Earl of Devonshire the Rear. In the main Battel was the Prince, under the Direction of the Lord Prior, and the Lord Wenlock. The Queen seeing the Hour draw near, and that there was need the Soldiers should have Advantage of Valour to equal the Enemy, who had it in Multitude, took the Prince with her and rode about the Army. In her Looks appear'd nothing but Life and Resolution, in her Language almost an Assurance of Victory; so cunningly she conceal'd the Wound her Despair had given her, that then only it bled inward. She told them, That it rested in their Courage that Day to restore their imprison'd King to Liberty and his Crown; and themselves not to Safety only, but to Honour and Treasure; for the Wealth of the rebellious Cities should be their Spoil, the Kingdom their Inheritance to be divided only among them, and all those Titles the Enemies so proudly wore, to be conferred upon their Deserts. If the Inequality of Number frighted them, she shew'd it was not such, but that they might be confident their great Hearts animated by the Justice of the Cause, would easily take away the Disparity. Then she wish'd them to look upon the Prince (whose Personage the fond Mother thought would make them like desperate Lovers entomn Danger) and fight for him their fellow Soldier, with whom they were to share in Fortune, and who once in Possession of the Throne, would never forget them, by whose Courage he was seated there.

The Soldier generally appear'd resolv'd against the sharpest Danger, receiving her Words with much Alacrity: And as soon as the Signal was given bravely repulsed the Duke of Gloucester, who having the leading of King Edward's Vanguard, had assaulted the Queen's Camp. Upon which Repulse, the Duke of Somerset seeing Gloucester retire with some Appearance of Flight (an Appearance indeed it was only to betray the Enemy) ran after so far in the Pursuit, that there was no Safety in the Retreat. Then did Gloucester on the sudden turn back upon him, and having by this Deceit

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Q. Margaret's Army, and its Leaders.

Q. Margaret animates her Soldiers to Fight.

The Duke of Somerset's Wing destroy'd by the Duke of Gloucester's cunning.

(q) This long Account of the Queen's Despair is not very certain, but very natural she being a Woman of a Masculine Spirit.

(r) The Earl of Pembroke did not join her.

(s) Marlborough is Twenty Four Miles from Bath, and not at all situated to cut off the Communication between Bristol and Wales, the King lay at Cirencester in Gloucestershire.

(t) She was very well receiv'd and supply'd by the Citizens of Bristol, and was so far from shutting the King's Army, that she came to Sudbury in Gloucestershire and insulted King Edward's Quarters. Some of her Scouts entering the Town and bringing off Five or Six of his Men.

(u) She march'd the Night before, and that Day Thirty Six long Miles, and encamp'd at Tewksbury the Third of May. Hol.



A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. intified him from his Trenches, he cut all the Vanguard in pieces. The Lord *Wenlock* who had the Conduct of the main Battel, and whom it concern'd to have reliev'd the Duke, only looking on as if he were a Spectator, and no Actor in the present Tragedy. *Somerſet* enraged with his Diſcomfiture, and having *Wenlock's* Faith in ſome Jealouſie; upon his eſcape back upbraided him with the moſt ignominious Terms of Cowardize and Treason, and transported by the Heat of Paſſion, with an Ax he had in his Hand ſtruck out his Brains. This Outrage begat nothing but Diſorder in the Queen's Camp; and ſo great grew the Confuſion, that no Man knew whom to obey, or how or where to make Reſiſtance againſt the aſſaulting Enemy. So unhappy is Government both in War and Peace, when all Authority is not conferred on one: A multitude of Commanders dividing the Obedience of the Inferior, and ever diſtracting Reſolutions among themſelves. Whereas Nature inſtructs us to a Subordination, and as in our own, ſo in a publick Body, it is monſtrous either to have no Head, or elſe to have more than one.

A Diſorder in the Queen's Camp.

K. Edward conquers the Queen's Army.

He violates the Privileges of Sanctuary, and breaks his Promise.

Q. Margaret and Prince Edward taken.

K. Edward again breaks a ſolemn Promise.

The King took Advantage of this Uprore, and by it gain'd a moſt entire Victory; for entering without any Oppoſition the Queen's Trenches, he committed a moſt cruel Slaughter on all who reſiſted. Three Thouſand of the Common Soldiers (for they always pay for the Raſhneſs or Folly of their Commanders) were ſlain that Day, and among them the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *John Beaufort*, and ſome other Gentlemen of Name (\*). The thick Woods of the Park preſerv'd ſome, and the Sanctuary others, but them only for a while; for King *Edward* who was never an overſcrupulous obſerver of religious Rites, with his Sword drawn would have entred the Church and forced them thence. But a good Prieſt careful to maintain the Immunity of the Place, with the Eucharift in his Hand, oppoſed the Violence and would not let him enter a Place ſacred to our moſt merciful God, until he had granted to all there his Mercy by a free Pardon. But this Pardon betray'd them, for on the *Munday* after they were taken out of the Church, and all beheaded in the Market-Place at *Tewksbury* (y). Among whom thoſe of principal Note were the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Prior* of *St. John's*, and many other Knights of great Reputation and Fortune. By which Violation of the Sanctuary he made good the Opinion which the World before had conceived of him; that Religion never could prevail ſo far upon his Conſcience as to be any bar either to his Pleaſures or Revenge.

The Queen half dead in her Chariot was taken in the Battel (z), and not long after, the Prince was brought Priſoner to the King by Sir *Richard Crofts*, who taking Notice of the Proclamation, whereby the Reward of a Hundred Pound by the Year during Life was promiſed to whoſoever ſhould yield up the Prince's Body, dead or alive, to the King, (with Proteſtation not to offer any Violence to his Perſon if alive) brought him unhappily to his Death: Which when the good Knight afterward found, he repented what he had done, and openly profeſſed his Service abuſed, and his Faith deluded.

For King *Edward* preſently upon the Delivery of the Prince, cauſed him to be brought into his Preſence, and entertain'd him with ſome Demonſtration of Courteſie: Moved perhaps thereunto by the Innocency of his Youth, Compaſſion of his Miſfortune, or the Comlineſs of his Perſon, the Compoſition of his Body, being guilty of no Fault but a too feminine Beauty. At firſt it was ſuppoſed the King might have ſome charitable Intention, and reſolve happily to have ſettled him in the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, his Father's Inheritance, a Patrimony too narrow for a King, and ſomething too large for a Subject; and for that End is ſaid to have enter'd Diſcourſe with him, to make Tryal whether his Spirit would ſtoop to acknowledge a Superiour. He therefore queſtion'd him what mad Perſwaſion had made him enter into ſo raſh an Enterprize, as to take up Arms againſt him, where the very Attempt was Rebellion, being againſt his Sovereign, and Folly being in Oppoſition to a Prince ſo far in Power above him? He expected an humble Answer, as if he were to beg his Life, or ſoft and gentle, according to the Complexion either of his Fortune or his Face. But he with a Reſolution (as bold as his Grandfather *Henry* the Fifth, would have replied with) answer'd, 'That to recover his Father miſerably oppreſſed, and the Crown violently uſurped, he had taken Arms. Neither could he be reputed to make any unjuſt Claim, who deſir'd no more than what had been poſſeſſed by *Henry* the Sixth, the Fifth and Fourth, his Father, Grandfather, and great Grandfather, Kings of *England*; and acknowledged by the Approbation not of the Kingdom only but the World, and even by the Progenitors of K. *Edward*.

A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. K. Edward courteouſly entertains Pr. Edward, and talks with him.

The Prince's Answer to King Edward.

By the Spirit of which Language, when the King perceived how much his Life might threaten Danger, with a Look full of Indignation he turned from him, thruſting him diſdainfully away with his Gauntlet (a). Which ſo mighty Rage obſerv'd, and his ſo diſtemper'd parting out of the Room: The Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Hastings*, ſeiz'd ſuddenly upon the Prince, and with their Poniards molt barbarouſly murder'd him. Of whom we can make little Mention, his Youth having perform'd nothing worth Story, though it promiſed much. For under the Government of a Mother (the worſt Education for a Son) he had been bred up, until this laſt Scene of Life; which he acted alone, and bravely, ſo that Poſterity laments his Miſfortune yet, and applauds the Juſtice of the Almighty in Punishment of his Murders. For all of them came to violent Ends: *Glouceſter* being Executioner of the Reſt, and of him the Earl of *Richmond*, the next ſurviving Kinſman of the butcher'd Prince. The Severity of which Example, holds a Glaſs before the Eyes of the Wicked, and ſhows them how rotten is all that Greatneſs, which is not raiſed upon, and maintain'd by Vertue; and as the Conſcience is ever after ſuch a crying Sin, inwardly tortured upon the Rack of Fear; ſo ſeldom doth the Body eſcape outwardly an exemplary Death by Violence.

Prince Edward murdered by K. Edward his Brethren and Friends.

The Prince's Death revenged.

After this general Deſeat of the Enemy, the Death of the Prince, and all the great Parta-

(\*) This Battel was fought the Fourth of May, and 3000 private Soldiers were ſlain.

(y) The Duke of *Somerſet*, the *Prior* of *St. John's*, Sir *Thomas Treſham*, Sir *Gervaiſe Clifton* and others were formally tried before the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and preſently condemn'd.

(z) She was not taken in the Battel, but in a Monastery near *Worceſter*. Hol. 688.

(a) He ſtruck him with his Gauntlet. Hol.



*A. D.* 1471. *Reg. 11.* King Edward returns to London, and carries Queen Margaret in Triumph. kers with the House of *Lancaster*, and the Surprise of the Queen her self: the King returned toward *London* (*b*): This being the only compleat Victory he ever gain'd, from which no Man of Eminency escaped; and no Man, who might pretend to a Competition, was now preserved except King *Henry*, and he issueless, and in Prison.

And to make this Triumph resemble something of the *Roman*, the King carried with him his great Captive the most afflicted Queen *Margaret*. A Woman most unfortunate to her self, and most ruinous to this Kingdom. For after her Marriage into *England*, soon finding her Husband's Weakness, safe however in being directed and strengthened by sober Counsel, she never left off inventing new Machinations till she wrought him into her sole Command, with the Destruction of his nearest Friends. So that to make the Prospect of her Greatness larger, she broke down and levell'd his strong Bulwarks. The Duke of *Gloucester*, which might perhaps a little check her ambitious Eye, being taken quite away, left her open to every Tempest. Having therefore by fomenting Dissension at home, lost (except only *Calis*) all our wide Territories abroad: By the Murther of the good Duke, her Husband's Uncle, she gave Liberty to the House of *York*, to make their just Claim to the Crown; and in the end to put her out of that Government, she preposterously managed. In her Prosperity, she was rather ambitious than wanton; though from the last Opinion did not absolutely acquit her. Which Asperision certainly was cast upon her, by Reason of her too intimate Familiarity with some of the younger and finer Lords: For the more discreet and aged, either dislik'd her Projects, or were dislik'd by her, as Persons too cautious to consult with a giddy Woman. Her mighty Confidence in the Duke of *Suffolk*, who wrought her Marriage with *England*, hath left the largest Part of that false Suspicion upon her Name.

For they who are just to her Memory, cannot but say, beside that she was religious, she was even too busie to think of Love Matters. But perhaps the Misfortune of her Carriage gave some small Occasion of the Report. Her prosperous Fortune presents her to us in the worst Colours a factious, busie, and imperious Queen. Her Adverse in the best, a most industrious Woman to recover what her Folly had lost, an excellent Wife, and a most indulgent Mother. And had she never appear'd in Action but when Misfortune had compell'd her to it, she had certainly been numbred among the best Examples of her Sex: But now the Merits of her latter Part of her Life, by redeeming the Errors of the former, serve only to level her with the Indifferent.

The Time she continued a Prisoner in *England*, she shewed us no Face but that of Desolation; the Strength of her Spirit, either broken in the Murther of her Son, or else she accounted it a needless Employment now to raise her self above her Sorrows. After some time, her Father, with the Sale (*c*) of much of that poor Estate, of which he remained yet in Possession, ransomed her for 50000 Crowns; whereby she was redeemed to another Air, tho' not to a freer Fortune. In Addition to her other Mileries, she was punish'd with a long Life, which she spun out sadly and ingloriously, living humbly upon the narrow Exhibition her Father did steal from himself to afford her. Her Life was much the Talk of the present and succeeding Times, because it concurr'd to the Destruction of the House of *Lancaster*, a Family beyond any then in the Christian World, both in Extent and Dominion, Greatness of Alliance, and Glory of Action. Her Death was so obscure (for who counts the Steps of the Unfortunate?) that it is not left certainly in Story when she died.

But King *Edward*, by her Misfortunes, reckoned his own Felicities; and now justly conceived himself secure in that Throne, he so passionately had endeavoured to sit at ease in. But because the Scene of his Fortune had had more Changes than any King in *England* yet, except his Competitor, he continued still with a most watchful Eye to look about him. And not knowing to how dangerous a Growth Enemies might arrive, which for the present appeared weak, he thought fit to take Order with *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who remained in *Wales*, with a Power unable to offend the King, but able enough considering the Nature of the Place, to defend himself. Wherefore, that without a publick Trouble he might destroy so private a Person, he sent *Roger Vaughan* strong both in Kindred and Followers, with Commission by some Stratagem to entrap him. But the Earl had a Discovery of his Plot, and to deceive the Deceiver, seemed to give Opportunity for Execution of the Design; by which means he got *Vaughan* into his Possession, and presently caused him to be beheaded. But knowing this Act concurring with the whole Progress of his Life in Oppolition to the King, would bring him to Ruin, either by open Power or secret Practice, he resolv'd to sail over into *Brittain*, and under the Protection of that State to secure himself from the present Storm. With him he carried his Nephew *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*, Heir of the *Tudors* Family by the Paternal, by the Mother's Side of the House of *Somerset*, for the Civil War had now destroyed all those great Dukes, who had with Loss of their Lives shewed their Devotion to King *Henry*, and left the Inheritance of their Honour, with a far more favourable Aspect to this young Earl.

By the Duke of *Brittain*, they were received not only with Promise of Safety, but with an Allowance of a Pension. Him perhaps the Consideration of the Instability of humane Affairs, moved to this noble Pity. But *Peter Landois* (the sole Director of the Duke, and a wicked Man) perswaded his Master to give them Entertainment out of a covetous Design one Day, to make a good Merchandize for himself by Sale of them into *England*.

Yet could not the King bring his Happiness to that Quiet he desired; some few small Drops fell upon him after the great Tempest: For (*d*) a base Son of *William Nevill*, Earl of *Kent*, (*e*) commonly known by the Name of the Bastard *Falconbridge*, having been employed

*A. D.* 1471. *Reg. 11.*

*K. Edward* endeavours to settle his Kingdom in quiet, and vanquish the Earl of *Pembroke*.

Earl of *Pembroke* flies into *Brittain* with *Henry*, Earl of *Richmond*.

Duke of *Brittain* receives them, and allows them a Pension.

The Bastard *Falconbridge* raises some Scots by Sea and Land.

(*b*) There was a Rising in the North in Favour of King *Henry*, and King *Edward* before he went to *London* march'd Northward to suppress it; but the Northern Men hearing of the ill Fortune of their Friends in the South, desired the Earl of *Northumberland* to mediate with the King for a Pardon, which he did actually at *Covenry*. The King did not come to *London* till the 21<sup>st</sup> of *May*.

(*c*) He borrowed the Money of the *French* King, and pawn'd only *Naples* and *Sicily* for it, Two Kingdoms that never were in his Possession.

(*d*) *Thomas Nevill*.

(*e*) Bastard Son to the brave Lord *Falconbridge*. *Hol.*



A. D. 1471. Vice-Admiral by the Earl of Warwick, during the late Combuſtions of the Kingdom, to hinder all Succours which might come from the Low-Countries to King Edward's Aid, ſoon as he underſtood the Earl's Death, ſet up for himſelf, and fell to Trade in open PyracY. His Conditions were ignoble as his Birth, and only can be ſaid a fit Inſtrument to move the baſer Multitude to Sedition. Between Dover and Calis he robb'd moſt, and had now got under his Command a Navy great enough to work Miſchief. Eſpecially having the chief Men of Calis (who had ſided lately with the Earl) of his Confederacy, and by that Means Safety upon all Occaſions in their Harbour. Gathering therefore into his Retinue many of thoſe who had eſcaped from the two former Overthrows, and preſuming upon the Affection of the Kentiſh and Eſſex Men, he ſailed up the River of Thames.

The Intention of his Arms he gave out to be for the common Liberty, and the Redemption of the King and Queen imprifon'd by an Uſurper. By which Pretence, ever powerful to incline the Vulgar to Sedition, he invited to the Quarrel ſo great a Multitude, that the Number was reckoned 17000 fighting Men; moſt of them the Dregs and Lees of former Rebellions: Such who having been heretofore on King Henry's Side, and wanting Courage to make good the Undertaking, had by Flight eſcap'd; or elſe Men whom Guilt of ſome enormous Diſorder had prepared for any Attempt; becauſe neither of them could hope to remain long ſecure from Punishment, when once the ſevere Eye of a peaceable Government, ſhould look narrowly into their Offences.

With this Army he march'd to Kingſtone hoping there to have croſſed the River, but being debarr'd, he led his Army into St. George's Fields, (f) and from thence with his Ordinance made ſome ſmall Battery on the City. And to ſtrike the more Terror, in the mean time he cauſed 3000 of his Men to be transported by Boat at St. Katherine's, to make an Aſſault on the other Side at Aldgate and Biſhopsgate. Who being ſet a Shore with a Courage as deſperate as their Quarrel, offered to force an Entrance, but by the Citizens were bravely repulſed. The Lord (g) Mayor and Aldermen, directed by the great Experience of the Earls of Eſſex and Rivers, and the Marqueſs Dorſet, neglecting no Part of the beſt Commanders. And ſo valiantly they purſued the Rebels (who ſoon began to ſhrink) that Falconbridge with much Difficulty recovered his Ships. For he over-confident of Succeſs, had commanded them to fall as low as the Downs, little fearing he ſhould ſo ſoon be forced to ſeek Safety at Sea, and having vainly deluded himſelf and his Soldiers with Expectation of great Forces from Wales under the Conduct of Jaſper, Earl of Pembroke. With much Danger of being deſtroyed at Black-beath, where, for a while he entrench'd, he got at length to Sandwich, and fortified the Place. Few of the Rebels, who had any weak Hope of Pardon, following their General upon a forc'd Retreat.

The Commons entring thus upon every ſlight Invitation into Rebellion, when the Preſervation or Reſtitution of King Henry was but mention'd, made the King begin to conſider how dangerous his Life was to the State; and

that his Death would diſarm even the Hope of his Faction, for ever reflecting more upon the Wars. It was therefore reſolv'd in King Edward's Cabinet Council, that to take away all Title from future Inſurrections, King Henry ſhould be ſacrificed. For howſoever, ſome either to clear the Memory of the King, or by after Cruelties gueſſing at precedent, will have this Murther to be the ſole Act of the Duke of Glouceſter: I cannot believe a Man ſo cunning in declining Envy, and winning Honour to his Name, would have undertaken ſuch a Buſineſs of his own Council, (h) and executed it with his own Hands. Neither did this concern Glouceſter ſo particularly, as to engage him alone in the Cruelty; nor was the King ſo ſcrupulous, having commanded more unneceſſary Slaughters, and from his Youth been never any Stranger to ſuch Executions. In killing the Prince he had Clarence, Dorſet and Haſtings for his Conductors; and in the very Murther of his Nephews (which was the ſecuring his Uſurpation) he truſted Tyrrel: So confident had his innate Inhumanity made him, that he doubted not but others might be faithful in Villany. But the Death of King Henry was acted in the dark; ſo that it cannot be affirmed who was the Executioner; only it is probable it was a Reſolution of State. The Care of the King's Safety and the publick Quiet, in ſome ſort making it, however cruel, yet (i) neceſſary.

But that the World might not ſuſpect King Henry lived ſtill, and thereupon be ſtirred up to new Deſigns; he was no ſooner dead, but with ſome Show of Funeral Rites, his Body was brought into St. Paul's Church, where upon Aſcenſion-Day, with his Face uncovered, he was expoſed to the Curioſity of every Eye. For the King was reſolved rather to endure the Scandal of his Murther than to hazard the Queſtion of his Life, which continually gave Life to new Seditions. From St. Paul's next Day, the Corps obſcurely without any Ceremony (in thoſe Days with much Piety obſerv'd toward the Dead) was conveyed to the Black-Friers, and from thence by Boat to Cherſy, in Surry. Whence, after it had reſted ſome while, it was removed to Windſor, and there at length found Quiet. The King having even after Death partaken with the Troubles and Diſgraces of his Life.

The Reaſon of burying him thus in the Dark, I cannot gueſs to be any Diſreſpect to ſo great a Prince; but only to ſtop the Diſcourſes of the Commons, who always pity them dead, to whoſe Deaths their Votes concurr'd. Unleſs it be true what is commonly written, that the People began to cenſure hardly the King for his Death, becauſe at what time his Body lay in St. Paul's, and after in Black-Friers, a large Quantity of Blood iſſued from his Noſe. A moſt miraculous Way of ſpeaking the Barbariſme of his Murther, and giving Tyrants to underſtand that the Dead dare in their Language tell the Truth, and call even their Actions to Account. For this manner of bleeding was never obſerved to happen, but when againſt Law, Nature had been oppreſſed with Violence, and ſeemed to challenge Juſtice.

With what Aſpect he entertain'd his Fate, I cannot write: But well we may believe, he could not but ſmile upon Death, who by a continual Exerciſe in Vertue, from his very Infan-

(f) On the 12th of May.

(g) Thomas Srockton, Mercer.

(h) Sir Thomas More in his Life of Edward V. ſays the Duke of Glouceſter ſlew him with his own Hand without the King's Privy; and it was conſtantly reported in his Time, who was Contemporary with him, tho' it was in his Youth.

(i) The Author vindicates K. Henry's Murther as neceſſary.



A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. cy had triumph'd over Sin, which only makes Death Formidable to a Christian. Of his outward Actions, all good Men of that Time took a reverend Notice; especially of his due Observation of all the Laws of the Church, his exemplary Piety, Humility beneath the State commonly used by Princes, and a Modesty even to Admiration. But they were the Vertues, which crowned the first part of his Life, which was past over in a full Prosperity, and appertain not to my Story. His Misfortune and Death only fall to my Task. And in his Misfortune he expressed so singular a Fortitude, that he was never observ'd to be dejected upon the Report of any sad Accident. But entertain'd all Afflictions as sent from the Almighty, and absolutely resign'd his Will to that of Heaven. How innocently he spent the last Ten Years of his Life, which was in as much Adversity as ever Prince suffer'd, his ghostly Father gave a happy Testimony: Affirming that in all that long Trial of the inward Man, he never in Confession could accuse himself of any actual Sin. His Employment was Prayer, and his Recreation only pious Discourses which perswaded Man to set a true Value upon heavenly Things, and throw a just Contempt upon the World. And to such Reputation the Sanctity of his Life arriv'd among the common People, that after his Death they honour'd him with the Devotion due to a Saint. And King Henry the Seventh (who owed the highest Opinion to his Holiness, because he had fore-possessed he should enjoy that Crown for which the two Houses then so much contested) labour'd his Canonization with the Pope, but that succeed- ed not; for however the World was assur'd of his Piety, there was much Question of his Government: So that he might be term'd a just Man, but an unjust King. Since his Title to the Crown was unjust; for though it came by Descent to him, yet was it but a continued Usurpation: His Reign was guilty, I will not say through his Demerit, but thro' his evil Fortune, of much Mischief, and the Effusion of a Sea of Christian Blood: And however in the Contemplative Part he was Religious toward God, in the Active he was Defective to the World: So that to have made him worthy that Honour Henry the Seventh would have provided for him, he must either (being resolv'd in Conscience his Title was just) have fully perform'd the Office of a King; or knowing it questionable have submitted it to be disputed freely, and upon the Resolution made Resignation of what he unlawfully possess'd. But Justice which commands any Diminution of Greatness, is seldom obey'd by Princes, and Death only makes them surrender up what was violently by their Progenitors usurped, and unjustly by themselves continued, for till Death, Ambition betrays the Conscience, and Fear of being less makes it not dare to see the Truth, which perswades to Restitution.

Falcon-bridge in Sandwich submits to the King.

King Henry thus taken away, the Forces under Falconbridge's Command, which before had the specious Title of a just War, could now pretend to nothing but an unjust Sedition. And so low they fell both in Courage and Reputation, that all they intended was but to make show of War, whereby the easier to work their Peace: No Man of Name or Power, who before secretly had favoured them, but openly protested against the Enterprize. In Sandwich Nine Hundred of them remained, till they certainly understood the King's Approach with a mighty Power; then they sent forth Sir

George Brooke, to acquaint his Majesty with their Desire to return to his Obedience, if they might by his Pardon be secured of their Lives and Liberties. They protested it was no Fear or present Necessity induced them to this Submission, having Confederates enough Abroad to relieve them upon Extremity, and for the present Victuals for Six Months, and Ammunition to oppose any Assault. If this Offer might be accepted, they would give up with themselves, the Town and Castle, together with all the Shipping in the Harbour; if not, Necessity would force them to their own Defence. And if they must die, they would sell their Lives at so dear a rate, that the King might repent his Purchase; considering he had kill'd so many, who would have been as bold to have fought his Quarrel, and lost so good Shipping, and so commodious a Haven-Town; for they were resolv'd to see both consum'd with themselves, that the Victory might be no Triumph to the Conqueror, and the Conquer'd might have that Comfort in their Ruin.

The Proposition was accepted by the King, and the Duke of Gloucester (whose Wisdom and Valour had wrought him high in the Opinion of the King) was sent with a general Pardon to the Rebels, and Authority in the King's Name to receive the Town, the Castle, and all the Shipping in the Harbour.

But the King who never let any Pardon be an Impediment to his Purpose, having them in his Power, caused the Laws severely to proceed against them. And for the Example of the rest, Spicing and Quintin (two of the chief in this Rebellion) were executed at Canterbury, and their Heads set upon those Gates, which at their last being at London, they so furiously assaulted. And that the King might not only draw Blood, but Treasure from this Business, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer was directed to the Lord Denham, and Sir John Fog, to inquire against all Offenders in the last Rebellion, and to inflict on them either corporal or pecuniary Punishment. But the Commissioners who understood both the Necessity and Intention of the State, made rather choice of the latter, knowing Death would but incur the Censure of Cruelty, and no way advance the King's Benefit. Whereas great Fines weaken as much the Discontented, and make the Prince as secure from Danger, even with the Reputation of Clemency.

And that Falconbridge the first mover of this Sedition might have no more Privilege than his Complices; coming into Southampton he was apprehended and put to Death. The inserting of his Name in the former Pardon, though often pleaded by him, serving only to make him suffer the same Execution with the rest.

The Punishment of these succeeding so well, the King proceeded against others. And first against the Arch-bishop of York, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, who with his spiritual Authority had set a Gloss of Religion upon all the latter Attempts. And by his working inclin'd the Commons of the North to so constant a Resolution for King Henry. With him the King took Order, because he found his Ambition irregular, and sent him to be kept Prisoner in the Castle of Guisnes. Where deservedly he endured a long Restraint, and never attain'd Liberty till Death enlarg'd him. No Man afforded the poor Comfort or Pity to his Affliction, because in his Prosperity he had been Insolent and Factions.

The

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The King pardons them, and receives the Town and Shipping.

But after he executes the Leaders, and fines many of the Followers. K. Edward again breaks his Promise.

Falcon-bridge put to Death at Southampton.

The Arch-bishop of York made a Prisoner for Life.



A. D. 1471. Reg. 11. The Manner of the Attachment was, according to the Custom of the King, unfaithful. For having admitted the Archbishop, after *Barnet-Field*, not only into Favour, but a special Familiarity; as he was hunting with him near *Windsor*, he promised to come to *More-Park*, (a Place in *Hartfordshire*, which was not long before purchased, and built up most commodiously by the Archbishop) and there to hunt with him; with this Caution, that there might be nothing but a liberal Mirth, and friendly Entertainment. With much Complacency, the Archbishop retired to his House, joyful to see the King so free in his Affection, without Memory of former Discontents. And that the Entertainment might not be altogether beneath the Majesty of his Person, against the King's coming, beside all costly Provision, which the Shortness of the Time could make; he had gathered together of his own and his Friends, Plate and other rich household Stuff, to the Value of 20000 *l*. Next Day expecting the Presence of the King, on the sudden, Sir *William Par*, Knight, and Master *Thomas Vaughan* entered the House, and by Vertue of a Commission to that Purpose, confiscated all those Goods to the King's Use; and having arrested his Person and sent that to Prison, seized upon all his Estate both Temporal and Ecclesiastical: The former forfeited for ever, the latter during the Archbishop's Life.

The Earl of Oxford fortifies St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and held it out against the King. The Crime objected against him was Treason, for secretly aiding the Earl of *Oxford*, who at that Time had fortified and held *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*, ever since *Barnet-Field*. For the poor Earl seeing the whole Island lost from the House of *Lancaster* (in whose Defence he had been so constant) and all the great Favourers of the Quarrel destroyed; having no Place of Safety to shelter himself abroad, took this Corner of the Kingdom, and endeavour'd to make it good. But this was but the Enterprize of a desperate Man; for all his Hope this way could be only to prolong a wretched Life without Servitude. As for Liberty he was his own Goaler, and his Fortrefs his Prison. The whole Number of his Soldiers were but 70, scarce enough for his Retinue. Yet with these he managed his Business so happily, that though besieged, he revictualled the Place, and made his Defence good some Months. But when *Richard Fortescue*, Esq; of the Body to the King, (k) and then Sheriff of the County, came down, and by open Offer of the King's free Pardon to all the Earl's Men, and secret Practising, had wrought them to his Purpose; the Earl was forced to yield, and with him the Lord *Beumont*, Two of the Earl's Brothers, and *Thomas Clifford*; all Persons of great Name and Quality. The King receiv'd them to Mercy, as far as their Lives were concern'd: But for their Estates (for now he began to husband his Victories to the Benefit of his Treasury) he confiscated them wholly; not allowing the disconsolate Countess any Part of her Joynture. In-fomuch, that during the Life-time of King *Edward* (for all that while was the Earl kept Prisoner near *Calis*, in the Castle of *Hames*) she was forced to live upon the Courtesie of her Friends, a kind of better Sort of Alms.

A. D. 1472. Reg. 12. All now were reduced to Order, except the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*; and them the King laboured to fetch in: For now either his Nature was altered to a strange Mistrust, which

in his Youth had been so taxed of an uncircumspect Confidence; or else he began to be governed by a Council of a more wary Judgment, and whose Sight could discern Danger afar off. And certainly, who compares the first and last Times of the King's Government, shall perceive a strange Difference in the Policy; unless in those Affairs wherein he obeyed his own Direction, and in them remain'd a Tincture of his natural Error. The Change of Government may be ascribed to the Duke of *Gloucester*, a Man whom the Conscience of his own Infidelity, made jealous of the Faith of others; who thought no Enemy alive and with Liberty, but full of Danger, how weak soever his Power or Pretence might be; and who at this Time held the Stern of the Council, while the King at Pleasure wanton'd in his Cabin. By his Advice Commissioners were sent over to the Duke of *Brittain*, in whose Dominions the Earls remained, to expostulate the Injury of giving Entertainment to any Evil-affected to the State of *England*. *Pembroke* having been upon all Occasions an open Rebel, and *Richmond* only wanting Age to take Arms, and who shortly appeared to threaten no less Dangers. They desired him 'as he respected any Confederacy with *England*, and the Common Policy of Princes, not to disoblige the King by harbouring his Enemies, and succouring such who could bring nothing but Ruin to their Abettors: Neither to prefer Faith with Two miserable Exiles, before Love to a Prince, who had both the Power and Intention to join with him in any War, that might tend to the Safety or Honour of his Dutchy. They concluded with an earnest Request, 'That he would deliver up into their Hands the Two Fugitives, that such Order might be taken as was safest for the present State. Or if the too scrupulous Observance of an Oath perplex'd him, that at least such Care might be had, that they might neither attempt Confederacy abroad, or a Power to enable them to return home.

The Duke made Answer, 'That in Point of Honour he could not condescend to the King's first Demand; having upon their Arrival there given them his Word. But for the second Part, he would beyond the King's own Desire consult for the Safeguard of his Majesty, and restrain them from any Power to attempt new Enterprizes. And perhaps, as it would preserve his Reputation clearer to the World, so would it more advance the King's Purpose to let them remain in *Brittain*, rather than to have them returned into *England*; considering, at Home they had a great Kindred, and by the Slaughter of the rest, were grown chief of the Faction of *Lancaster*: Whereas, if they continued with him, they should be in a free but a safe Custody, in a Country where they were so far from Power, that they wanted Acquaintance: And that himself would narrowly look that no discontented Persons should resort to them, or that they should make their Addresses to any other Prince. Whereupon he entreated his Majesty to consider him as a Confederate most religious in Maintenance of that Amity, heretofore so happily begun, and hitherto so faithfully maintained.

With this Answer the Ambassadors return'd, and the Duke made good his Promise to the

Richard Fortescue, Sheriff of Cornwall, caused Michael's Mount to be yielded.

And his Goods, Estate, and Archbishoprick seized. King Edward very unfaithful

A. D. 1472. Reg. 12. K. Edward endeavours to get the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke into his Power from the Duke of Brittain. Duke of Gloucester manages all Affairs of State.

Pembroke and Richmond demanded of the Duke of Brittain

Duke of Brittain refuses to surrender the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond to K. Edward; but promises to keep them from disturbing his Nation.

(k) Fortescue was not Sheriff of the County at that Time, but one *Bodrington*, who favoured the Besieged, and gave the Earl an Opportunity of Victualling his Garrison. Hol.



A. D. 1472. King. For presently he removed all their English Servants, and set Brittain's to attend them, who did rather observe than serve them: Men who cunningly mark'd, not only who made their Dependencies upon them of the English, or with what People they held Intelligence, but even their Looks, and sent the Copy of them into England, oftentimes with a false Interpretation. Then (that Two together might not animate each other, and enter into dangerous Counsels) they were kept divided, and all Communication either by Language or Letter, absolutely forbidden. And (that both being in the same Restraint, might not conspire to the same Escape) there was a Guard set upon them, who narrowly, tho' respectfully watch'd them. So that we may guess this great Care the King took for their Restraint, to have wrought a strange Effect. Richmond esteeming himself more considerable as he was more suspected; and by the Fears of the King making Valuation of his own Pretences. Great Thoughts crept into his Mind by the Circumspection of such great Princes; and the Vulgar both abroad and at home began to believe (for they always think there are strange Depths even in the Shallows of Princes Actions) there was much Mystery in Richmond's Title, and Danger in his Liberty. Whereas had he lived unsuspected by the King, he had perhaps died unobserv'd by the World.

By this Negotiation with Brittain, having secured himself of these Two Earls, who might endanger the Quiet of the Kingdom at Home, he began to look abroad, whither yet he had never Liberty to cast his Eye: His Pleasures, or Dangers hitherto so taking up his Time, that he had only served his Appetite, or Safety; but now he had quieted all Civil Troubles, and even rooted up the very Fear of War hereafter; he therefore thought it necessary to look first upon France, a Nation which had made Benefit of our Ruin; and while we busied our Thoughts and Courage in Destruction of each other, recovered so much Life, that they were grown dangerous. Of their farther Growth the King was fearful, and resolv'd, if he could not make them less, at least to keep them at a Stay. Whereupon, having Intelligence of a Marriage in Agitation between Duke Charles (Brother to Lewis XI and then Heir apparent to the Crown) and the Daughter and sole Heir of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, he endeavoured by all Arts to break off the Treaty. For he considered how formidable the French would grow to our Kingdom, should the so large Territories of the Seventeen Provinces with the other Dominions of the Duke be added to them. How they would then be enabled to revenge those many Injuries the Fortune of our Victories had done them, when we should be left to our own Arms, the Burgundian (by whose Aid we had enter'd and conquer'd France) now prepared to war upon us. How France superior always to the English in Multitude, and Extent of Territories, and defective only in commodious Havens, would by this be enlarged with a mighty Sea Coast, and with as good Men for Navigation as the World then had; by which they would have absolute Command at Sea, and keep us within the narrow Limits of our Island: If they would permit us that. These Considerations made the King solicit both the Duke of Brittain and the Count St. Paul (the Two earnest Mediators for Duke Charles) to desist from farther Negotiation in the Marriage. Brittain he moved to reflect upon his own Danger, if Charles

should survive King Lewis, as by Course of Years it was probable, and have so great an Empire under his Command, telling him, That greater Princes, like greater Rivers swallow up the less, and after a while retain no Memory of them. And if he presumed upon the Friendship between him and Duke Charles, and the many Courtesies done him, it was a treacherous Hope that never yet kept Faith. That Brittain never enjoyed all the Privileges appertaining to the Dutchy, but when France was disabled to break them.

With the Count St. Paul he dealt another Way, by representing to him, The near Friendship that ought to be between them Two, in Respect of the so near Alliance, being Uncle to his Queen; by which he entreated him not to urge a Business so prejudicial to the Crown of England, which in a near Degree concern'd his own Blood. Withal he advised him, to take Care of himself, and not to exasperate too far King Lewis, to whom the Treaty of this Marriage was most displeasing; in Regard to the Safety of his own Estate. To foment Discord between Brothers, being injurious to Religion, and unsafe to Policy: For Nature reunites them, and throws both their Malices on him, who occasioned the first Breach; and so he for the most part is yielded up a Sacrifice to the Reconciliation. He concluded, with the Madness of his Actions, who would provoke the just Anger of so subtil, and so revengeful a Prince, for the frail Amity of so weak and inconstant a Man as his Brother Duke Charles, who so often had been entrap'd.

From both these Princes he received such Answer as shewed they resolv'd to prosecute their Design, but not to have him suspect it; giving fair Protestations of their Desire to be overruled by the King's Direction. But neither of them understood the Business to be of that dangerous Nature, as it was conceived in England. For tho' King Lewis had no Son at that Time, yet was there every Day Expectation he might have; the Queen likely to conceive, and Lewis in much Health and Strength of Body. And indeed, soon after a young Dauphin was born, who succeeded in the Kingdom. Moreover they considered the Malice between the Brothers grown to that Height, that all Attempts of Reconciliation was needless; and that there was no such certain Way to maintain a general Dissension in France, as by enabling Duke Charles with a Power to make good the former Contestation. Nothing likely to incline him to seek Friendship with his Brother, but being disabled to continue an Enemy.

The King suspecting the Reality of their Intentions, and being resolv'd upon any Terms to prevent the Marriage, had in his Determination to have forgot all former Discontents justly conceived against King Lewis in abetting the contrary Faction of Lancaster, and to have enter'd into a particular League with him against the Duke of Burgundy: But before he would make the Overture, he tried by his Ambassadors to know the certain Resolution of the Duke himself, who had in the Marriage of his Daughter always held his Thoughts apart from the World. And in Truth the End of his Intentions was to keep all neighbouring Princes in Expectation, but to conclude with none. For at the same time when Duke Charles had so many underhand Promises, with the self-same Hope did he entertain Maximilian, Son to the Emperor Frederick the Third, Nicholas, Duke of Calabria, and Philibert, Duke of Savoy. His Ambition being to create many Dependancies upon himself, and never to marry her to no Man, unless he should be forced to it by some evil Fate in War,

Duke of Brittain sets Spies upon the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke's Actions.

K. Edward endeavours to hinder the Growth of the French by a Marriage with the Heiress of the Duke of Burgundy.

The Danger of the French King's being Master of the Netherlands to England and all Europe.

A. D. 1472. Reg. 12. He dissuades the Duke of Brittain from furthering it.

He discourages the Count de St. Paul from meddling in it.

The Duke of Brittain and Count St. Paul dissuade their Designs to K. Edward.

Duke of Burgundy's Policy in marrying his Daughter.



A. D. 1472. War, and then he doubted not but by her to work himself safe and honourable Conditions.

Reg. 12. Much importun'd by the English Ambassador to give his Resolution, and not knowing to what Danger the King's Suspicion might grow, or to what new Leagues it might incline him; he answer'd him faithfully that he intended no such near Alliance with Duke Charles. And that all those Appearances of Treaty were only to retain him in Discord with his Brother, who otherwise might chance to be reconciled, and hazard to destroy that Faction, which the Necessity of his Affairs did inforce him to advance. He desir'd therefore the King not to listen to every false Suggestion, but to believe he would do nothing in so material a Point, without much Advice, and Care had for Satisfaction of so great a Confederate, and so near an Allie.

This so absolute Resolution of the Duke took away the former Jealousie, which soon after would howsoever of it self have vanish'd. For Duke Charles not without a strong Suspicion of Practice in King Lewis, died of Poison, and so fixed a Period to those many civil Wars which had distracted the State of France, and to all those busie Ambitions, which had so much disquieted his own Content.

A. D. 1473. At Home the King was continually stung by a Swarm of Creditors, who during his late Troubles had supplied him with Treasure, and for whom Gratitude did oblige him to provide Repayment. He found his Exchequer empty, and a Necessity to desire the Commonalty to contribute with their Purfes that many of his best Friends might not be ruin'd. He therefore summon'd a Parliament to be held at Westminster, wherein though the Reformation of Abuses, and enacting Laws wholesome for the present Time was pretended, a liberal Subsidy was the Aim. But in the Beginning all those Acts which had been heretofore made during the first part of King Edward's Government, and abrogated by King Henry the last Parliament when for a Time he was restored, were reviv'd and enacted to continue in full Force for ever: And whatever other Statutes were made by King Henry, repealed. By Vertue of which Acts all the Nobility who had adhered to the House of York, and had been for that Attainted, were restored in Blood and to their Patrimonies; and all of the contrary Faction found Guilty of high Treason, and their Estates confiscated to the King. Then for Relief of the King's great Necessities (for all those so mighty Fortunes serv'd only to reward the Multitude of his Adherents) a full Subsidy was granted; In Recompence of which he gave them a general Pardon. And indeed by that, liberally repaid them; for by the late Civil Wars, the Lapse into Treason was so universal, that scarce any Estate could be safe if License were given to Informers, the Cormorants of a Commonwealth, who swallow much, but seldom or never grow Fat; and least of all Advance that they most pretend, the King's Benefit.

Some few Days before the Parliament began, Lewis de Bruges a Netherlander, Lord of Gruuthuse and Prince of Steinhuse came over into England, who was receiv'd by the King with all the Demonstrations of Amity: And on the Thirteenth of October in the Parliament-Chamber created Earl of Winchester, receiving with the Title the Ancient Arms of Roger Quincy, heretofore Earl of the Place, with Addition of the Coat of England in a Canton. The Reason of this so extraordinary Favour conferred upon a Stranger, was the much Application of Re-

Acts of Parliament repealed by K. Henry, re-enacted by K. Edward again.

Lewis de Bruges much honour'd by the King.

spect he made to King Edward, when by the prevailing Fortunes of the Earl of Warwick, he was forced to flee for Refuge under the Protection of the Duke of Burgundy. For he being a Nobleman of that Country, compos'd himself totally to comfort, the King distracted with his present Affliction.

Soon after him, the Parliament being newly ended, came Ambassadors from the Low-Countries; who, after the first open Audience, (wherein for the most part pass'd only the Complement of Princes) being admitted to the King and some few Lords most intimate to the King's Resolutions, spoke to this Purpose.

May it please your Majesty,

WE are sent by our great Master the Duke of Burgundy upon an Embassy, that may prove strange at the first Apprehension, and even in it self Contradictory. To Congratulate your Majesty the Glory of that Peace you enjoy, and to invite you from it, to a new War. But Glory is like Time, everlastingly in Motion, and when it stops it ends.

Your Majesty hath by the happy Conduct of your Power and Fortune, restored the Kingdom to it self: That was an Act of Necessity. For you could not be your self, if your great Enemies had not been reduced to nothing. Now as great a Justice doth invite you to the Recovery of a larger Kingdom. Which we know your high Spirit cannot refuse to undertake, least the World have just Reason to suspect you took Arms to live, not to reign. For if your Title to the Crown of England be just, as Man did always allow in Judgment, and Almighty God hath approv'd in the Success; the same Title is good to the Crown of France: Both having been united into One ever since the Usurpation of Philip de Valois.

The People's Affection to Princes of their own Nation enacted an injurious Law; that authoriz'd Injustice, and confirm'd the Sovereignty in the Heirs-Male. The Female were excluded, as if the Distinction of Kind could make a Difference in Right, and the being born a Woman were to be born illegitimate; for the Law Salique in a Manner bastardizeth the whole Sex.

Your great Ancestor Edward the Third, whose Name and Magnanimity you inherit, with his Sword abrogated this Law: And called the Law-makers to a severe Account at Crecie and Poitiers, where more Veins of France were open'd, and more Blood issued, than any Time records, considering the small Numbers of the English. In the latter of the two Battels John, Son to Philip of Valois, labouring to make good the Pretensions of his Father, was taken Prisoner, and so continued less then a free Subject, by endeavouring unjustly to be a Sovereign.

The little Handful of Men with which the English then oppos'd the vast Armies of the French, not only showing the high Advantage the Nation hath in Courage; but the miraculous Justice of the Almighty, who delights to make the Destruction of usurpers, his own Work, and not to permit Man by his Power to rival Heaven in the Punishment.

Your Majesty needs not History to perswade you to the Quarrel, or Example to assure you of the Success. The Justice of the Claim will easily prevail with you to draw again your Sword, which hath been hitherto almost ever unsheathed in Vindication of your Right; Vol. I. N n n 2 and

An Embassy from the Duke of Burgundy to King Edward to invite him to a War with France.

K. Edward invited to a War with France.

King Edward's Title to France.

The Injustice of the Salique Law in France.

Edward the Third's Victories in France.

English conquer'd France with small Forces.

King Edward's just Claim to France.



A. D. 1473. Reg. 13. and that with so much Prosperity, that they who admire your Valour and Direction, applaud your Fortune.

But if the Nature of Man, delighted in the Felicities of Peace, should advise your Majesty to satisfy your Mind with the Triumph of those Victories you have already purchased; Yet neither a just Revenge, nor discreet Policy will admit it. For how can *England* remain safe from future Injuries, and acquit her self in Honour against those who have heretofore affronted her; if *France*, where all the late Combinations were first conceived, remain unpunish'd?

The huge Body of the Civil War lies now a dead Trunk, wounded to Death by your Arm, but yet *Lewis* of *France*, the Head of that Monster, tho' contrary to the ordinary Course of Nature, retains still a Life, and quickens Mischief hourly against this Kingdom; least otherwise his own be not secure. And should your Majesty out of Desire to avoid the further Effusion of Christian Blood, permit him to continue in the unjust Possession of a Kingdom, he would interpret his Safety and your Mercy to be either a blind Ignorance, or a degenerate Fear: And from your Lenity draw the Boldness to prepare new Troubles against your Quiet.

And if it be not an over-much Care in a Confederate and an Allie, to make so narrow a Scrutiny into your Majesty's Affairs, our Master believes that this War will not be unnecessary for the present State of *England*. In regard this Way those many evil Humours, gather'd in the Body of the Kingdom by the late Disorders, will be easily purged away, or at least diverted. Seeing Experience teacheth us how impossible it is, for a Nation nursed in Civil War, suddenly to embrace a Peace, and endure a severe Government. And should the Discontented not vent themselves thus Abroad, how dangerous it might make the Dispute at Home, is easie to be conjectured.

But all this shows only the Justice and Necessity of your War: Preparations great enough to oppose a King of *France*, yet we have not touch'd upon. And that indeed is it, our Master gave us in our Instructions most to acquaint your Majesty withal: As by which it will be most apparent, how without any Reflection upon his own Occasions, he invites you to this Undertaking. For his Highness understands how far this Overture lies open to a false Interpretation, considering his Enmity with King *Lewis*; did not the Circumstance of the Business show how your Majesty is rather desir'd to a Triumph than a Battel.

Never had *France* so many Enemies so powerfully united, and never so few Friends, if she may be said to have any. For except only the poor Duke of *Lorraine*, who happily may be a Burthen, never an Aid to any Prince; we can hardly reckon a Confederate. For so treacherous have been all King *Lewis*'s Arts, so dissembling his Nature, that the World hath concluded it much safer to be at Enmity with him, than upon the fairest Terms. His Friendship having ruin'd some, his Arms never any Man.

In Confederacy with our Master, and in absolute Resolution to invade *France*, are the Duke of *Brittain* and the Count Saint *Paul*. *Brittain* able of his own Subjects to bring a powerful Army into the Field, Saint *Paul* by his Kindred and Intelligence to cause a general Revolt of all the Nobility from the King.

And indeed, such hath been the Character of that politick Prince (for that Epithete his poor Shifts have got him) that a continual Contempt hath been thrown by him upon the great Lords, and a most near Familiarity enter'd into with the basest People. His Barber being more acquainted with the Affairs of State, than the whole Body of his Council. This preposterous Course of Favour, hath made the greatest States of the Kingdom scorn their present King, and reflect upon your Majesty, whose Comportment in War and Peace hath been such as justly makes your Triumph in the general Affections of your many Friends, and utter Destruction of your Enemies.

If it may therefore please your Majesty to admit of that Greatness your high Descent hath Title to, and your Predecessors have had Possession of: The Arms of these great Princes are prepared to serve you. Our Master first honoured your Majesty as a potent Neighbour, great in your self as in Dominion. Then by Marriage he grew into the nearest Degree of Correspondence; the Title of Brothers, (a Ceremony used between Princes) being of due in Alliance between you Two: Lastly, He had the Happiness which Potentates seldom have (tho' with some Trouble to your Majesty) to enjoy entire Familiarity: By which those other Respects, common among Persons of like Quality, and which are often but weak Ties of Amity, are converted into a perfect Friendship. So that the Desire his Highness hath to advance your Majesty's Glory and Command, proceeds only from Love to the Posterity of your Person, and just Claim. With how powerful Forces he will concur to this great Action, hath been of Purpose omitted: Because the World hath had sufficient Testimony, how able his Highness hath been to oppose, if not oppress, King *Lewis* without borrowing Aid from a Confederate. He therefore intreats to know your Majesty's Resolution, whether you will pass over and personally make your own Claim to the Crown. Your Majesty's only Presence being of Power to raise a fuller Army in the very Heart of *France*, than yet ever King of *England* led to conquer *France*.

This Overture took generally with the great Lords, who in their Infancies by their Nurses having been told no Stories but of our Triumphs in *France* (and those Tales imprint deeply in the Memory) and now for many Years ever acquainted with the Wars at Home, embraced Danger as the only Means to Honour. Moreover an Appetite of Glory, mingled with a Noble Emulation of the Powers of their Fathers, made every Man of Name thrust forward to this Action. Neither were the more Covetous backward, considering they were to War with a richer, and a more effeminate Nation; and not unlikely to return laden with Spoil, if not to remain there in a fertile and a pleasanter Country. The Soldier, who was in a manner all the Gentry of the Land (for the Civil Wars had engaged them all to the study of Arms) relish'd this Business more than the great Lords. For they, having been bred up in the free License of War, abhorred to be circumscribed within the narrow Bounds of the Laws, which never have absolute Power but in Peace. So that the whole Body of the Kingdom passionately affected the Quarrel, and by their universal Acclamations in Praise of it, per-

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13.

The French Nobles slighted by their King.

K. Edward promised great Assistance to conquer *France*.

Duke of Burgundy's Friendship with King Edward.

Duke of Burgundy's Power asserted.

King Edward's Resolution on desir'd.

A War with *France* encouraged by the English Nobility and People.



A. D. 1473. perfwaded the King soon to declare his Assent.

Reg. 13. Whereupon sending for the Ambassadors, he showed his Resolution to the War, which he would undertake in Person, and that very Spring (for it was now presently after Christmas) transport his Forces into France. He desired therefore to understand, in what readiness the Duke of Burgundy had his Army, and where he would appoint the Place for the English to join, and which way should first be taken. To which the Ambassadors made answer, That the Duke had his Forces so well prepared, that if the King would nominate a certain Time when he would be at Calis; the Duke would be sure three Months before to waste the whole Country belonging to the French, and to have his Men so expert, that they should be able to instruct the English, unacquainted with the Place. And as for Transportation of his Soldiers they desired his Majesty not to trouble himself, in regard his Highness would provide Boats for that Purpose. Then that the King might perceive how faithfully the Duke dealt with him, they showed the Articles agreed upon between the Dukes of Burgundy, Brittain, and the Count St. Paul, to join in a War offensive against King Lewis; as likewise a Catalogue of the Names of all the great Lords of France, who held secret Intelligence with them, and who would revolt from the French King, as soon as the Duke's Army took the Field.

The Confederacy against France shew'd K. Edward.

Duke of Brittain rejoiced in the Confederacy of K. Edward keeps up his Resolution to invade France.

King Edward's Ambition to conquer France, and the English antipathy against the French.

The Reason why the English are always ready to War with the French.

With this so satisfactory Answer, the Ambassadors returned to the Duke, who in this attained the Ambition of many Years working. For all the Fear which troubled his busy Mind was, lest King Edward won by the Practices of King Lewis, might be induced to side with France, or else to remain a Neuter. And indeed the last he suspected most, knowing the Nature of our King so prone to Voluptuousness, to which the Noise and Trouble of the Wars never gives free License. He therefore by continual Embassies, kept him constant to his Resolution, and with larger Promises of Supply, and clearer Appearances of Success, prick'd forward his Ambition to the Enterprize.

But all these Arts were Needleless, for the King was forward to the Quarrel; either out of a brave Emulation of Henry the Fifth his Predecessor of the other Line; or out of a Confidence as easily to throw King Lewis out of the Throne of France, as he had King Henry out of the Sovereignty of England; or perhaps not to appear backward in an Attempt of Glory, when the Expectation of the Kingdom called upon him to arm. For unless some Malice rancor'd in the Genius of our Nation against the French, the Saxon Government having received a final Overthrow by them, in the Conquest of Duke William (though to that great Business conspired all the adjacent Countries) it would be our wonder why the English were never sparing of their Lives or Treasure, when any War might be advanced against the French; and of this so extraordinary Forwardness in his People, the King took a great Advantage.

To compact the Body of this Enterprize, Money the Nerves and Sinues of War were wanting. The ordinary Course for Supply was by Parliament, and that at this Time was held Difficult if not impossible: In regard the King

but a little before had dissolved the Assembly, having received for Discharge of his Debts a large Contribution; and to urge them to a Second Aid, would probably end in Disfast, if not in Denial. Neither could it appear less than extream Exaction, to force the Farmers, who make up the greatest Number in any Payment, to yield to a Subsidy, considering the Precedent Troubles of the Kingdom had utterly impoverish'd them by hindering Tillage and all good Husbandry. And for the Nobility, who pay a large Share in all general Collections; they for the most part prepared themselves for the Expedition. And it could not but rebate the Edge of their Courages to be at a vast Charge not only in the particular setting forth of their own Persons and their Retinue; but in the general Preparations. There was therefore a New Way found out, by former Ages never known without oppressing the Commons, to supply the King, the Name it bore was a Benevolence, (though many disproved the Signification of the Word, by their Unwillingness to the Gift) and it was cunningly and discreetly required only of the better sort of People, who were known to have a plentiful Revenue, of whom he got a particular Catalogue. And especially of such whom Ease and Wealth were likely to detain at Home. Knowing that the heaviest Burthen might be laid on them without a publick Murmur, as Men hated by the Soldier, and upon whose Prosperity ever attends a common Envy.

In advancing this Contribution no Policy was omitted, either by private Menaces, or publick Entreaties. Some came in led by fear (not knowing to what Indignation a Denial might provoke the State) Others were cunningly perfwaded to a vain hope of enjoying the King's particular Favour by their Forwardness: Few granted it for Love to the Enterprize; most only because their Neighbours did it, and they wanted Courage to disobey Example. In History a Widow is much spoke of, who having freely, and somewhat above the Proportion of her Estate, contributed Twenty Pound, receiv'd from the King a Kiss. Which his so extraordinary Favour (extraordinary to a Widow declin'd in Years) so overjoy'd her, that she doubled the Sum, and presented it to the Collectors. By which slight Passage, a Judgment is easie to be made of the King's Nature; either of it self full of Humanity, or without Difficulty bending to the lowest Courtelie, when it any Way concern'd the Advancement of his Profit.

By this Art Monies were raised, and now nothing was wanting to the Expedition. The universal Language of the Kingdom being of the Wars, and all Exercises Military. No Person of Blood or Quality, but prepared for the Journey, except only those whom Infancy or extream Age exempted, or the necessary Administration of the Commonwealth. And all they who went, emulated each other in the Glory of their Armour, the Richness of their Pavilions, the Bravery of their Horses Furniture and Servants Apparel. Every Man being held so far to recede from Honour, as in his Preparations he expressed an Unwillingness to the Business.

The Army consisted of 1500 Men at Arms, 15000 Archers, 8000 common Soldiers, beside 3000 Pioneers (1) appointed to guard the Ord-

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13.

K. Edward turneth himself with Money for this Expedition by a Benevolence and not by Parliament.

K. Edward supplies himself with Money for the War by a Benevolence

The Way of raising the Benevolence.

A Widow's Generosity by a Kiss from the King.

The general Preparation for an Expedition with France.

King Edward's Army that invaded France.

(1) And a Thousand Men belonging to the Train. In all 31500 Men.



A. D. 1473. nance and the Carriage. Three Thousand good Soldiers were sent into *Brittain*, to join with his Forces, and assault *France* on the other Side.

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. All Things disposed in so full a Readiness, the King sent over to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with the State of the Army, and to know in what Forwardness Businesses were on that Side. Who returned Answers full of confident Promises, and Exhortation to the King to make all possible Haste over, the Summer coming on apace; which if past further without Action, would indanger the Loss of the whole Expedition for that Year. He assured him moreover of certain (m) Towns under the Government of the Count *St. Paul*, which should be surrendred into the King's Hands, for Retreat to the *English* upon any Occasion of the Badness of Weather or Fortune. And indeed how weak soever the Duke knew the Condition of his Army, yet fearful he was to express it, least the King should take Advantage to give over the Undertaking. The King's Nature being known diseased so much with the Love of Peace, that the Duke was justly Suspicious how sound soever it appeared for the Present, it might upon the least Distemper fall into a Relapse.

Some Towns to be surrendred to K. Edward.

A Letter of Defiance sent by an Herald to K. Lewis.

Phil. Comines's Censures of the Letter confuted, and a Judgment of his History.

Upon these Assurances from the Duke, the King gave Order that all his Forces should repair to *London*: Whence after some few Months spent in Preparations, he march'd towards *Dover*. But before he took Shipping, that the Progress of the War might be the more Successful, the Beginning was made according to the Old Heroick Strain of Bravery. For the King sent *Garret* an Herald over with a Letter of Defiance to *Lewis* of *France*; in which he was requir'd to surrender up to the King of *England*, the Realm of *France*, as due to him by the Laws of Inheritance, and violently wrested away from *Henry* the Sixth, by *Charles* the Seventh, and as unjustly possessed by *Lewis*: By which voluntary Resignation of the Crown, it was shew'd how without Effusion of Blood, the King of *England* should be enabled to restore the Clergy and Nobility to their ancient Greatness and Priviledges, and the Commons to their Liberty: Of which they had all been so cruelly depriv'd by the injurious Usurpation and tyrannical Government of *Charles* and *Lewis*. It showed likewise how far the Kingdom of *France* in general, would by this receive Benefit, considering it would be cas'd of all those many and unsupportable Exactions, which by those covetous Princes, had been laid upon it. It concluded with a threatening of all the Mischiefs which accompany War, and an absolute Despair of all future Mercy, or Care to be had of *Lewis's* Provision; If upon so fair an Admonishment, and Summons given he refused to yield the Kingdom.

This Letter saith *Comines* (an Author of that Time, happy in writing many cunning Particulars of the Princes he serv'd, but rude in the Art of History, and ever blemishing the Glory of our Nation) was penn'd so elegantly both for Language and Matter, that he believ'd it was beyond the Abilities of an *English* Wit; a bold and ridiculous Censure. For how could he who was born no Native of *France*, and never had been instructed in any Learning, judge of Language? Or how of the witty Contrivance of the Letter, since in his own History, which is receiv'd by the World with so univer-

sal an Applause, there is an apparent Defect in Order and Method? And without Vanity our Nation may assume to it self the Praise, (considering the narrow Limits of the Island,) to have produced as many Scholars admirable in all Degrees of Knowledge, as any Country on this side the *Alpes*. Neither was that Age (though according to the Necessity of the Time, more expert in Arms than Arts) without Excellent Wits famed for Literature. But this Digression the Reader must pardon; a Sense of our Nation's Honour thrust my Pen out of the Way, if this be from the Purpose.

Whatsoever the Letter was in the Composition, it was such in the Substance, that it discomposed King *Lewis*, and troubled all his Imaginations. He read it softly and fearfully; which was beneath that part of Understanding he was most Master of, even Policy it self. For it could not but beget strange Interpretations in the Court, when the Message of an Enemy deliver'd publickly by Letter should be kept concealed. The Demand must probably be easily conjectured, and this silent Way of answering could not but procure Suspicion, that his Resolution might descend to yield more than became a Prince. But in the Manage of this, as in all other Businesses, King *Lewis* delighted to give Order alone, and show his Authority Independent of any Counsel, without perplexing himself at all to satisfy Opinion.

Having read the Letter he withdrew himself into a Wardrobe, and commanded the Herald to be brought to his Presence. To whom he in answer to the Letter said, That he knew the King his Master had not resolv'd upon this Enterprize, out of his own Disposition; but overcome by the Solicitation of his People, and the Perswasion of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count *St. Paul*. His People infatuated with a vain Presumption of Victory, because heretofore the Success of their Wars in *France* had been fortunate, never considering the Disparity of the State of Things, or the Uncertainty of Events, especially where Fury and Fortune, two blind Powers, bear the whole Sway. The Duke of *Burgundy*, (loving War for it self, and having rashly engag'd himself into many Quarrels) out of Desire to draw the King of *England* into his Dangers, or at least at another's Cost, to beat the Bargain of Peace to a lower Rate. The Reason why he had so labour'd King *Edward* to take Arms, and revive an absolute Title to the Kingdom of *France*, being only for his own Preservation which was threatened by all his injured Neighbours, or else as it is reported of People diseased of the Plague, in Envy to the Health of other Nations desirous to infect even his nearest Allies with the Contagion of his Quarrel. As for the Count *St. Paul*, who had ever subsisted by Dissimulation, and causing Division between Princes, whereby his Assistance either for the Prosecution of the War, or Conclusion of Peace might be required as Necessary: All his Hopes in this Quarrel were only to fish in troubled Waters, and by an universal Combustion to raise himself into Authority, in regard Peace levelled him with inferior Lords, and made his Service of no Use.

King *Lewis* proceeded to tell him in how miserable a Condition the *Burgundian* Army was, having been broken at the Siege of *Nuz* (a desperate and mad Undertaking) and being now return'd Home, the Soldier destroy'd either by the Sword or Famine; and that small

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. Habington condemns Comines unjustly.

K. Lewis's Disturbance at the Letter.

K. Lewis discourses with the Herald, and desires of Peace with the English.

The Weakness of the Duke of Burgundy discover'd to the Herald.



A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. Number which escaped, so wretched that the Duke might well expect Protection from the King, but could no way be of Power to advance his Purpose. He added how the Season of the Year, Summer being almost past, must of Necessity deter the King from crossing the Sea, and many other Arguments against the present Undertaking; as if the Herald being perswaded to Quiet by Oratory, *France* might have been reprimed from War for that Year. And to make him the more his Friend, he gave him with his own Hand three hundred Crowns, with Promise of a Thousand more, if the Peace, so much desired by him, took effect.

The Herald promises to promote a Peace with K. Edward.

The Herald, overcome much by his Perswasions, but much more by his Money, reply'd, 'That no Pains on his Part should be omitted, 'that might tend to the Service of his Majesty's Intentions; and that he, as far as his Observation upon the King's Nature could reach, 'imagined no great Difficulty to bring his Master to a fair Agreement; but that, as yet, 'the Motion would be most unseasonable, considering, that after so vast a Charge in levying 'of an Army, and so universal an Applause to 'the Design, his Majesty could not retire, until, at least, he had led his Forces into *France*, 'and made some Appearance of intending what 'so constantly he had pretended. He desired him therefore to let his Army pass over to *Calis*, and thither to send his Herald to desire a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors, with Order to make Addresses to the Lords *Stanley* and *Howard*, and himself; and that the Way should be prepared so plain for King *Lewis* his Purpose, that there should be no Impediment at the worst to a fair Respect, if not to a full Satisfaction of his Desires.

The English Herald sent away.

All this Discourse past in Private: In Publick there was Caution, by the King's strict Command given, That no *French* Man should have any Communication with him; and as soon as possible he was dismissed with many fair Words, and thirty Ells of Crimson Velvet for Reward. The King after his Departure, expressing in his Look and Carriage, much Cheerfulness and Courage, either comforted by the faint Hopes our Herald gave him, or else cunningly dissembling his Fears.

K. Lewis's impolitic Management in Treating so with the Herald.

The Order of this Discourse between them, is deliver'd to us as a high Reach of Policy in King *Lewis*. But to an indifferent Understanding it appears nothing but the ordinary Wit of Cowardize; and certainly how covetous soever the Necessity of his Occasions made him to buy Peace, yet his manner of Traffick at this Time was beneath the Spirit of a Prince. For although his Largess to the Herald wrought the wish'd Effect, yet he might have been deceiv'd by him, and by his so earnest Desire to avert the present War, have endanger'd to bring it much more fierce upon him. Neither could it be imagined common Discretion to impart his Fears to an Enemy, who might perhaps betray them to the Scorn of the *English* Army, or to negotiate Peace with a Herald (though a Person of much Worth and Understanding) yet commonly a Stranger to the Knowledge of the more inward Resolutions of State, but the Management of this Business thus, took a good Effect, and that concurring in a Prince, whose other Actions were politickly order'd, made it have so happy a Censure.

Upon return of the Herald, the King embark'd for *Calis*, and after him follow'd his Army, which was transported in certain flat-bottom'd Boats of *Holland* and *Zeland*, by them usually called *Scuts* (n), lent as before covenanted by the Duke of *Burgundy*. And notwithstanding the Commodiousness of the Vessels and Multitude, being Five Hundred in all, three Weeks were they in their Passage, among all the Forces there not being one Page. Which as it instructs us in the vast Numbers of the Soldiers, so doth it in the Strength and Power, in regard they were all able Men, who undertook this Enterprize, and who came not to learn but to make Proof of their Knowledge in Arms.

As soon as he heard they were certainly ashore, the Duke in all Haste came to congratulate the King's safe landing, and happy Arrival of the Army; for there was just Ground for fear that the *French* Navy might have endeavour'd to trouble their Passage: But the Duke coming with a very small Train, much afflicted the Expectation of the *English*, who thought to have seen him march to meet them with 2500 Men at Arms well appointed (o), beside a large Power of Horse and Foot; as by his Ambassadors and his own Articles had so amply and frequently been promised: But to take away this Suspicion from them for fear it might any way drive back their Thoughts toward *England*; he told them, That his so private coming to the King was only to express his Joy for the King's Safety and theirs, and that his Army was further in the Country so well prepared for the present Design, that they should have no Reason to think him any way to have boasted. He therefore invited them to march up into the Land, where they might be better accommodated, and conducted the King to *Bullen*; a Town which having been heretofore morgaged by the *French*, to *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, with a large Part of *Picardy*; was notwithstanding the often tender of the Money by *Lewis*, still detained violently by Duke *Charles*. There he gave the *English* a free Entertainment, and still kept their Expectation high. From thence he went with them to *Peron*, another Town of *Picardy* kept upon the same Terms. Into which he admitted but few of the better Sort of the *English*, and over those too he carried a watchful Eye: The Army forced to lodge in the Field, which was the less Inconvenient in regard of the Season of the Year, and the Commodiousness of Pavilions and Tents, with which they were so plentifully furnish'd. The Duke perhaps loath to trust the Army in Possession of so important a Place lest their Expectation being disappointed they might attempt to give him some Trouble. To *Peron* the Count *St. Paul* sent to congratulate the King's Arrival in *France*, to promise all Service to his Enterprize, and his Towns to his Use and Command. Whereupon the King remov'd to *St. Quintin*, over which *St. Paul* commanded, there to accommodate his Army, till the Duke's Forces were in Readiness to take the Field. But as some over-hasty Troops having got the Start of the Army came confidently toward the Gates, expecting to be receiv'd, if not with Triumph, at least with all the Demonstrations of Joy; the Artillery from the Town shot against them, and some of the Garrison issued forth to skirmish, in which Two or Three of the *English* perish'd. This

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. K. Edward passes over to Calis with his Army.

Duke of Burgundy comes with a small Retinue to congratulate K. Edward's Arrival, which did not content him.

The English Army disgusted at the Duke of Burgundy's and Count St. Paul's Behaviour to them.

(n) Five Hundred Flat-bottom'd Boats. The King landed at *Calis* the 4th of June.

(o) The Duke of *Burgundy* was to have join'd K. *Edward* with 4000 Horse and 9000 Foot. His Forces were then besieging *Nuis* in the Electorate of *Cologne*.



A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. Appearance of Hostility from a Confederate, confirmed the former Jealousie of the Army, and raised a strange Murmur both against St. Paul, and the Duke, which was increased by the Difficulties of a tempestuous Night, with which the *English* after were troubled: For an extraordinary Rain fell, and made the so open Lodging very unpleasing, with Danger of Diseases to the Army.

Duke of Burgundy not able to satisfy the Suspicion of the *English*. The Duke of *Burgundy* opposed against this Discontent with his Authority, but in vain: For not able to give Satisfaction for his own Weakness and Breach of Promise, he was more disabled to clear Suspicion from another. Whereupon he took his leave of the King, intreating his and the Armies Patience for a while, till he brought his Forces to join with them, and a full Account from the Count St. Paul, of his Garri-son's Demeanure at St. Quintin.

The *English* Complaints of the Duke of Britain's Treachery. But this his Departure compared with the former Carriage of Things, begot yet a stronger Doubt of their Intentions in the *English*, who being Strangers in that Place, and not having any particular Aim in Conduct of the Business, but only a general Resolution to regain *France*, interpreted these Delays and false Play to direct Treason. And began openly to inveigh against their own Folly in confiding on the Promises of such, who endeavour'd not the Glory of the *English* Name, or the King's Title, but only their own Safety: For Preservation of which, under a specious Pretext of recovering a Kingdom, they had seduced them into a strange Country, in hope hereafter to sell them to the *French*. And altho' this Discourse were only in the Mouth of the common Soldier; yet did the Thoughts of the Commanders participate with the Vulgar, tho' not so freely opened. For hitherto there had been no Assurance given of any real Intention either in *Burgundy* or St. Paul.

Their Discontents defended. The much Indignation expressed by the *English* upon this Occasion was thought a strange kind of rude Ignorance, and a Note even of Barbarism. Which Censure favours too much of Malice, considering it could not be judged blind Presumption that induced our Nation to this Undertaking; the State, for it, having the fairest Appearance of Human Reason, and the Religion of the strongest Oaths. And if the unexpected Treachery of St. Paul ingendred Choler; why should this Passion be so Contemptible, since an Injury from a Friend is ever quicker and sharper to the Sense; and all Nations remov'd from their own Seats upon dangerous Adventures, are prone to Suspicion. And for Ignorance in Art of War, I see not how by Malice it self it can be obtruded upon the *English*, since their only Misery was too much Experience in Arms, which ever begets Knowledge. Neither could they be but Skilful even in the Military Exercise of the *French*, few of the Soldier-ry who were now of any Age, but their Youth had been bred up and instructed under the Command of that great Captain Talbot, Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others: Not full twenty Years expired, since we turn'd our Swords upon our selves, and gave *France* Liberty to recover Breath.

K Lewis sends an Herald to propound a Peace with the *English*. But this Dilatory Way in the Duke, and Treachery in the Count, prepared the Army to a good Thought of Peace; and brought the two Confederates, into more Hatred than an open Enemy: So that when an Herald came from K. Lewis, he was receiv'd into the *English* Camp with much Humanity; and friendly invited by the Soldier, to refresh himself with Wine and Meat, till the King, who was then at Dinner,

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. was at Leisure to give him Audience. For Lewis, following the Instructions of our Herald, as soon as he understood King Edward was landed, and had heard likewise of some Disgusts, appearing between him and the Duke; resolv'd to send to him, and attempt to persuade him to a Peace: But so poor was he in the outward Ceremonies of Majesty, that no Herald attended on his Camp; whereupon he was enforced to suborn a Fellow, a Servant of one Monsieur de Hale, of whose Wit and Confidence he had taken some Notice, to act the Part. Who having received full Instructions from his Master addressed himself to the Lord's Stanley and Howard, and the *English* Herald, by whose Aid being brought to the King, he handsomly delivered his Message. The Effect of which was, To show the great Desire the King his Master had to live in perfect Amity with all neighbouring Princes, but above all with his Majesty of *England*, as the King, who in the Extent of Empire, and his own Prowess was most Considerable; That he had much Reason to believe the present War had not received the first Life in *England*, especially not in the Disposition of the King; which (as he was inform'd) abhor'd the unnecessary drawing of Christian Blood; That they who had first hatch'd this Quarrel, did it only with their Neighbour's Danger to procure their own Safety, and when they had made an advantageous Peace, to conspire with him, who before had been the common Enemy, for beating back their best Friend the *English*; That he doubted not but that his Majesty would suddenly find good Ground for Suspicion, when he should perceive the Duke of *Burgundy*, not able to bring into the Field one entire Regiment; all his Forces having been utterly broken upon desperate Services, to which an innate Love to War had madly engag'd him. Then he proceeded to excuse his Master's succouring the Faction of *Lancaster*: To which he protested he never gave Assistance for it self, but only for the Earl of *Warwick's* Sake, whom he supported only to affront *Burgundy*, whose irreconcilable Enemy *Warwick* had ever professed himself. And if he had inclined more to favour King Henry, he might well excuse it, in respect of his near Kindred to him and his Wife Q. Margaret, and something too in Reason of State, to oppose *Burgundy* who pretended to be a Friend (how false soever he prov'd) to the House of *York*. That if his Majesty would be pleased to search up to the very Head of this Business, he shall find more Streams of Assistance to have flowed from *Burgundy* than from *France* to K. Henry; Duke Philip and this Duke (till his Marriage with the Princess Margaret) having most passionately laboured the Supportation of that Family, to which they were so near in Kindred. The Conclusion was to desire his Majesty to grant a safe Conduct for 100 Horse, in whose Company should come Embassadors enabled with larger Instructions, and who should make Proposal of such Conditions, as could not be rejected by the King or Kingdom of *England*, since they should be for the Honour and Profit of both; unless it would better stand with his Majesty's Liking to assign a Place of Treaty in some Village between both Armies, to which they might jointly send Commissioners.

This Message deliver'd in a soft Tone, expressing much Humility, and ever ascribing to the King's Greatness of Spirit and the Nation's Glory; together with a Promise to make Overture of Conditions both Honourable and Profitable, begot a favourable Audience. And many

The French Herald's Speech to desire a Treaty.

French King's Reasons for assisting the *Lancastrians*.

Duke of Burgundy assisted the *Lancastrians*.



A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. K. Edward and his Nobles agree to a Treaty of Peace. many of the great Lords, who had plentiful Revenues at Home, were as forward as the King to listen to Peace, and forsake unnecessary Dangers Abroad. Neither did the greatest Statists dislike a Treaty, considering that all our Wars in France had rather purchased Fame than Treasure to our Kingdom, and when our Soldiers returned Home, their Scars were greater than their Spoils. And howsoever we had by Starts and Fits got Possession of the largest Territories in France, yet still we retired back again; as if the Divine Providence had decreed to have our Empire bounded within our Seas. Moreover they who affected the Happiness of a Kingdom and loved their own Country, desir'd rather France under a Foreign Governour, least if in Possession of our King, England being the less, both in Extent and Fertility, might be reduced to the Condition of a Province, and live in Obedience to a Deputy, enriching the greater Kingdom with her Tribute. Other Considerations likewise of the present State of the Wars, prevail'd to give leave for a Treaty; Whereupon with Reward of 100 Angels in a Gilt Cup, the Herald was dismissed, a Safe-Conduct granted, and the Place for the Commissioners appointed in a Village near Amiens, the Armies to abide at Four Miles Distance on each Side: For the King were nominated, the Lord Howard, Sir Anthony St. Leger, and Dr. Morton; for the French, the Bastard of Bourbon, Admiral of France, the Lord St. Peire, and the Bishop of Eureux.

These Men at the first Meeting brought almost the Treaty to a Conclusion, for on both Sides they brought Minds disposed to Peace. And altho' the English Commissioners at first demanded the Crown of France as due to the King by Right, from which in Honour he could not recede; and afterward with much Appearance of Difficulty condescended to be content with Normandy and Guien, yet they themselves knew well Princes never used to part with Countries upon Treaty, before the Battel hath imposed a Necessity to yield. And indeed the English expected not that Lewis would be frighted out of so important Limbs of the Body of France, only upon the braving of an Enemy. Soon this first Flourish of Business came to more easie Terms. Edward desir'd to be gone without Loss of Honour, Lewis to have him gone with as much Reputation as he desir'd. Edward had occasion for Money, and Lewis was willing to make him a Bridge of Gold from Calis to Dover, whereon to carry back his Army. And shortly to both their Contents an absolute Agreement was made, whereby 75000 Crowns were to be paid to K. Edward before his Departure out of France, and 50000 annually.

Concerning the Annuity of 50000 Crowns, there is much Controversie among French and English Writers about the Name. They call it a Pension, we a Tribute. And certainly the latter (to speak without Partiality to our selves) hath in it much more Propriety of Language. For a Prince who over-awed by a powerful Army mediates by submissive Messages to divert the Battel, and afterward buys his Safety not only with a present Sum, but an annual Payment cannot have a freer Name than Tributary. And as for Pensions they are granted upon Petition to the Poor and Weaker, not upon Fear to the Mightier. But to compare the greater Actions of Princes to the Customs of Subjects: The 75000 Crowns (p) was the Fine K. Lewis paid for

France, and the 50000 annually the Rent: Only the Farm was too mighty to be set, and the Tenant too strong and stubborn ever to quit Possession to his Land-lord.

Then for Establishment of Future Peace (that Posterity might Partake in the Benefit of this Agreement) it was concluded that the Princess Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to K. Edward, should marry with Charles the Dauphin, Son to Lewis; and for her present Maintenance (q) 5000 Crowns from France should be paid in the Tower of London; and after the Expiration of Nine Years, she and the Dauphin to be invested in the Dutchy of Guyen. And that on the English Side there might be no Fraud; upon Payment of the first Sum the Lord Howard and Sir John Cheynie, Master of the Horse, were to remain Hostages until the Army were returned into England. But that the King might not seem to forget his Confederates, the Duke of Burgundy and Britaine were comprehended if they would accept the Peace. The Count St. Paul was abandon'd in this Treaty, as a menial servant and Subject to the Crown, being Constable of France; and who by his Dissimulation and Treason, had most offended the Nature of our King. And usually thus to reconcile great Princes, lesser are offer'd up for Sacrifice.

This Peace was generally received by the Army with Applause, as by People who began to consider no Victory before the Battel certain, and in the Battel much Hazard. Only the Duke of Gloucester, who stood aloof off on the other Side, for Honour frown'd at this Accord, and expressed much Sorrow, as compassionating the Glory of his Nation blemish'd in it. He repeated his Jealousie of the World's Opinion, which necessarily must laugh at so chargeable a Preparation to attempt nothing; and scorn either the Wisdom or Courage of the English, when they shall perceive them in so full Numbers, and so well arm'd to pass the Sea, after a Defiance sent, and challenge to a Crown, to return back without drawing a Sword: Moreover to forsake the Amity of so constant Friends, and in extrem Necessity to betray them who were beguiled by a common Dissembler; whose Shifts and Tricks of State, like the Sights of Hand in Jugglers, are discovered, and wondred at by those Fools only, whom he Cozens. And what carried with it an Appearance of most Danger, to necessitate the Duke of Burgundy to a Peace with K. Lewis, whereby both may hereafter join in a common League against us: Who by this one Act have forfeited all Leagues with our ancient Confederates, and frighted any other Princes from joyning with us.

With Gloucester agreed many of the Army, who were either Dependant upon him, or who had as unquiet Thoughts as he; some likewise, who having set up the Rest of all their Fortunes upon this Gain, found themselves undone in their Hopes, because the Princes had drawn Stakes. But most of a discontented Humour, that maliciously always interprets the Actions of Princes to the worst Sense. But the Duke of Gloucester had a further and more dangerous Aim; as who by the Dishonour of his Brother, thought his Credit receiv'd increase, and by how much the King sunk in Opinion, he should rise. And in regard good and quiet Men were delighted in the Accord he would be numbred with the Wicked, and unquiet, to add a luster to his Faction by drawing the Nation's Honour to his Part.

(p) He receiv'd but 72000. Phil. de Com.

(q) It shou'd be 50000 Crowns. Phil. de Com.



A. D. 1474. But why this Peace should endure so hard a Censure, both at Home and Abroad is strange, and above all why K. Lewis should ascribe any Honour to himself, or think the Advantage on his Side. For what Eclipse soever the English Glory suffered, certainly the French by a most servile Way purchased Safety. They descending beneath the Honour of Men by Money to wage a Battel; we being only Faulty in not having perform'd more than Men. For if we consider our selves subject to the Chance of War, why was not an honourable Peace to be preferred? Especially since if we had fail'd in the Success, how wretchedly had our Forces been broken in their Hopes, and how impossible on the sudden to re-inforce the Army? And if the French had declin'd the Battel into what Necessities had we falln, the Summer almost past, and both Burgundy and St. Paul refusing to let us have Towns to Winter our Men? And if we look upon the Peace it self, nothing is in it disadvantageous to our Honour or Profit. Considering it brought not only a great present Sum and annual Revenue, but brought it from the then greatest Prince in Christendom enforced by Fear. And for Convenience, the Marriage of the King's Daughter to the Dauphin, could not be but esteem'd of main Consequence, Why then won that Apothegm so much Reputation, that reported our King to have gain'd Nine Battels in which he personally fought, and never to have lost any but this? Since in this he overcame a Prince of far greater Power than he ever fought with before, with no Disadvantage, but that the Victory was purchased without Blood, which should be esteem'd an Addition to the Glory of it. And if you cast your Eye back upon the Course held in the most famed Empire, and especially in the Roman, which was the noblest, you shall find they never refused their Friendship to any Prince who humbly (as Lewis of France did to King Edward) requested it; and accounted it more Glory to have Kings their Tributaries, than their Kingdoms Farm'd out for a more profitable Revenue. But of this enough, and but enough, since it tends so much to the Vindication of the English Honour; which the French vaunted so much to have suffered in this Treaty. In which they think us by their Wits miserably over-reach'd, and perhaps indeed we were, if the Articles be only judged by their Fears, and not by the Difficulties of our Army at that Time, and the just Jealousie of the King that his Confederates intended not his but their own Advantage.

The News of this Peace no sooner came to the Court of the Duke of Burgundy, but in all haste he posted to the English Camp, attended only by 16 Horse. The Distraction of his Look and Gesture expressed the Wildness of his Thoughts; so that the whole Army discover'd his Discontent before he utter'd it. His first Address to the King was, in Question of the Truth of the common Report that spoke a Peace concluded between him and K. Lewis? Which when he was resolv'd was true, he presently broke into a most passionate fierce Language, upbraiding the King with inglorious Sloath; and the indefatigable Courage of former Kings of England; upon whose Attempts waited ever the noblest Victory. He made a scornful Repetition of the Mirth his Enemies would make at his Return; as if he had come over with so huge an Army, Merchant like to traffick for a little Money; and the Contempt he must needs

become to his own People, when they should perceive the great Conquests their Contributions have brought Home. And when it was intimated to him, that he and the Duke of Britaine were included in the Peace; he disdainfully rejected it, protesting that for the Love he bore the English Name, not Care of his own Safety, he had perswaded K. Edward to this Enterprize. And to show how little Dependency his Fortune held on any other, and how without Mediation of an Allie, he was able to make his own Peace; he vowed to conclude none with France, until the English Army had been Three Months at Home. After he had thrown forth these disorder'd Speeches, in much Discontent he left the King: Who wonder'd to hear himself so disdainfully intreated; having seldom been accusom'd to any Language, but what was polish'd to delight by Flattery. But they who misliked the Peace, commended the Spirit of the Duke, being overjoy'd to hear their unquiet Thoughts, which Fear restrain'd from Utterance, so freely spoken; yet they had little Cause to Triumph when Edward had reply'd with equal Boldness, That 'twas his own Falsehood, and not his Cowardize that had disposed his Mind to a Peace; for had he met Actions suitable to his Brags, he had never comply'd; but he could not fight in their Cause, who had not Heart enough to defend themselves, and therefore chose to side with a fair Enemy, rather than a treacherous and false Friend (r).

But the Count St. Paul, ascertain'd of this Peace, was seiz'd upon by a far other Passion. For by dissembling with these three Princes, in hopes to win Love and Reputation with the more Fortunate; he had offended them all, so far, that he knew not to which confidently to fly for Refuge. France was irreconcilable, because he had been ever practising against the Quiet and Safety of that State; and who both by the Ties of Alliance (as having marry'd the Sister of K. Lewis's Wife) and Loyalty, as who held much Land in France, and executed the Place of Constable; being oblig'd to seek the Preservation of his Country; had for many Years nourish'd Treason, and sometimes brought the Crown it self to the Hazard. Then from England or Burgundy, there was no Probability of Friendship, both having been deluded by his Promises, and in the last Business at St. Quintin provok'd to the highest Indignation. For altho' the English only sustain'd the Loss in point of Safety, in the present Expedition; yet in point of Honour, the Duke had his Share in Suffering: He having before the King's Passage out of England, covenanted for the Faith of the Count St. Paul. But certainly the Misery of a petty Prince is lamentable, and his Estate most unsafe, when there is any Jealousie growing between his more potent Neighbours. For Neutrality is incompatible with his Fortune, in regard his Country shall then lie open to the Spoil of every Army, if he deny to declare himself, and if he declare himself; he must run the Hazard of anothers Fortune. And oftentimes the very Situation of his Principality enforceth him to take part, not with the Stronger or Juster; but with the nearer neighbouring, as in Danger of whose Rage his Estate is most subject. But in Addition to the Misery of his Fortune, St. Paul had the Unquietness of Mind, raised up into a high Ambition, by the cunning of Wit. For he had so many, and so far Fetches in his Imaginations, and of them some had prosper'd so

This Peace no dishonour to the English, as was reported.

The pretended Advantages of the Peace.

Duke of Burgundy in Discontent at the Peace, comes post to K. Edward, and upbraides him for his Sloath and Cowardize.

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14.

Count St. Paul's bad Condition.

The bad Estate of Petty Princes.

St. Paul's deep Politics.

(r) His Words were, better have Peace with an old Enemy, than the Promises and Familiarity of a new Dissembling Friend. much



A. D. 1474. much to his Advantage; that it made him Presumptuous of his Abilities to dissemble, and therefore continue in it, till at last the Discovery took away all Belief from his after-Pretensions, and happily too from his real Intentions. But among the greatest of his Misfortunes, is to be reckon'd, the Time he lived in: For had he not met with so Politick a Prince as Lewis of France, who had likewise the Start of him in good Luck, he questionless might have attained some one of those many Designs, he so wittily and probably contriv'd. But in the Conduct of their Affairs, Princes shall find a discreet Honesty not only toward God, but even to the depraved World, the safest Rule of human Actions. For the absolute Dissolution of a State was never known to happen by Observance of Faith or Religion; and seldom in the Time of a good Prince, I mean if his Goodness were active, not over-ruled by evil Counsel to Misgovernment.

St. Paul in this Distraction of Thoughts endeavour'd to recover a Game quite lost, and made his Addreses to the King of England, whom he believed to be of the easiest Nature, and from whom he expected less Severity, because the King had suffer'd less than the others by his Dissimulation. He therefore first excused the Distalt given the English at St. Quintin, casting the whole Fault upon the unhappy Rashness of his Soldiers billeted in the Town, and the Jealousie of the Townsmen: Then he advis'd him to be wary of giving too much Faith to K. Lewis, who was resolv'd after the Departure of the English Army to observe no Covenant; wherefore his safest Course would be to demand *Eu* and *St. Valerie* to billet his Soldiers in this Winter, which he was secure Lewis's Fears durst not deny, and by which Grant he would not be necessitated to so sudden a Return. Lastly, (observing the Avarice of the King's Disposition in the last Treaty) he tender'd him the Loan of 50000 Crowns, and promise of all faithful Service in the Future.

But the Memory of former unfaithful Passages, and desire to enjoy the Pleasures of Peace, made the King so far Deaf to these new Propositions; that it ended even in scornful Language of the Offerer, which drove St. Paul into utter Despair. For the King was not to be remov'd from his new-begun Amity with Lewis, which every Day by the Interchange of Favours, and by labouring to excel each other in Confidence, gather'd increase. For presently upon Conclusion of the Articles between the Commissioners, a Truce being made, until the Peace were ratified by the Oaths of both the Princes; the English Soldiers had free Admission into all the French Towns. And one Day so great Number of the Army went to make merry in *Amiens*, as might have endanger'd the Surprisal if there had not been faithful Intentions in K. Edward. But he to shew the Integrity of his Mind, and to take away all Occasion of Jealousie of any underhand Design, sent to K. Lewis to intreat him to give Order for Restraint, if by entering in so large Multitudes the Soldiers endanger'd Suspicion; which Lewis (never overcome in Complement) refused with many Protestations of his Confidence; only desiring our King, if he disliked the Absence of so considerable a Part of his Army from the Camp, to send some Yeomen of his Crown to guard the Gates, in regard he was resolv'd no French Man should stop the Passage of the English. But our King strain'd his

Courtesie much too high, when to out-vy King Lewis's Favours, he offer'd to give him a Catalogue of all the French Noblemen, who had conspired with St. Paul in this War, and had given Faith to Revolt to the English. For as in the Rule of common Justice, this Discovery could give no better an Attribute to the King than that of State-Informer; so could it not but infinitely prejudice the Affairs of England; considering it would shut up for ever the Passage to all Intelligence, if this Peace should chance to break hereafter. And indeed by so voluntary undertaking that Office, which an honest Mind thinks it self unhappy to be forced to, presents his Nature to us most ignoble; since this Treason was only Intentional, and as the State of Buinesses now stood in France, reconciled to the English, it no way concern'd the Safety of his new Confederate.

On the other Side K. Lewis show'd himself most affectionate to the English, when, contrary to the Circumspection of his Nature, he rejected all the Suspensions of his Council, who wish'd him to be watchful that K. Edward by pretending this Peace, did not betray him to a ruinous Security: When likewise he sent such exceeding Plenty of all Provision to the English Camp, and liberally feasted those so innumerable Multitudes, who daily resorted to *Amiens*. But perhaps some State-Criticks will interpret the Former in him, not a good Opinion of our Faith; but a Conceit of a dull ignorant Honesty in our Nation not quick to take Advantages; and the later only an obsequious Way to continue us in our former Resolution for Peace. What ever Passion prevail'd with him in other Courtesies, I am confident he express'd more Nobleness than in any other Action of his life; When he refused to destroy the English Army, having oftentimes so fair Opportunity, by reason of the many Disorders the Truce begot.

While these Passages of Endearment lasted between the Two Kings, a Place convenient for an Interview was found out at *Picquigny*, a Town three Leagues from *Amiens*, standing upon the River *Somme*, and Commissioners were sent to provide there should be no Danger of Treason in the Place, for the King were the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *Anthony St. Leger*; for the French, the Lord of *Bouchage* and *Comines*. In the Choice of which Place *Comines* lays a gross oversight to our Commissioners. For he affirms by reason of a Marsh on both Sides the Causey, on which the King was to come to the Bridge where the Meeting was; his Person might have been in Danger, if the French had not meant good Faith. And if this were true, it certainly deserv'd a Signal Reprehension; in regard the sad Experience of those Times taught, there could not be too much Circumspection at such an Interview: But the Success guilty of no Infelicity; clear'd the Commissioners either from the Fault, or from much of the Blame.

At the Meeting there was as much interchange of Courtesie, as could be between two Princes. The French King was first at the Grate (for these two Lions could not without Danger of Combat meet but at so safe a Distance) and our King was a Gallant in the Management of his Body, (s), by bending himself lower at Salutation: In which he express'd Youthfulness and Courtship. In their Language was much of Sweetness and endearing, and in their Behaviour an Appearance of Congratulatory Joy.

(s) Philip de Comines says this Interview was on the 29th of August, 1475. but that could not be, for K. Edward landed at *Calis* in June 1474. and return'd in September following. The Peace according to the same Author being made three Months after his Arrival in *Picardy*.



A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. Each labouring to obtain the Victory in the Expressions of a cordial Affection; and indeed the main Business took up least part of the Time. Twelve Persons of principal Name (t), attended on each Prince according to the Nature of the Ceremony, out-vying each other in the Curiosity and Riches of their Apparel. On the English Side the Duke of Gloucester was absent (u), in regard his Presence should not approve; what his Opinion and Sense of Honour had heretofore disallow'd. And that there might be no Fraud nor Treason; on the English Side were four of the French, and on the French four of the English; who watchfully observ'd every Word and Gesture: So much Jealousie waits upon even the most friendly Meetings, and so suspected is the Faith of Princes. 800 Men at Arms attended on the French King, on the King of England his whole Army. Which set in Battel-array to the best Advantage for the Eye, afforded a Prospect of much Delight and Bravery to them, who at a more unfriendly Encounter would have trembled at the Sight.

The Chancellor of England's Oration at the Interview.

The (x) Chancellor of England made an Oration congratulatory for the happy Agreement, whereby so much Blood was preserv'd in the Veins of both People, and so many Blessings of Peace like to enrich both Kingdoms (y). His Congratulation was intermingled with Prophecy of future Happiness, which would grow stronger by length of Time; touching in that upon the Marriage of the Dauphin with the Lady Elizabeth of England. But the good Bishop of Lincoln (z) (for in him was then the Office of Chancellor) in this shew'd himself a better Orator, than Prophet. Himself living afterward to disprove his own Divination.

K. Lewis invites K. Edward to Paris.

After the Oration ended, and the two Kings sworn to the fore-mention'd Peace, K. Lewis something wantonly (as who knew how to tune his Language best to K. Edward's Ear) invited him to take a Journey as far as Paris; where if any of the Beauties should make him trespass upon his Chastity; the Cardinal of Bourbon (a gentle Ghostly Father) should easily afford him Absolution. The King in the Pleasure of his Look approv'd the Facetiousness of the Discourse, and found no great Difficulty in himself to admit the Offer (a).

K. Lewis excepts against the Duke of Brittain's being included in the Peace.

But K. Lewis (who never used Mirth but as a Preparative for something serious) having wrought himself into the King's good Liking; and as he thought facilitated him to grant any Request, urged that the Duke of Brittain might not remain in the Protection of the English; but that he might be left to his own Defence, against the Just Anger of the French, whom he had so often provoked by open Confederacies and secret Practices. To which the King answer'd resolutely, *That he never would forsake the Care of a Confederate, who had maintain'd his Faith so constantly.* And afterwards being importun'd by some great Lords employ'd in that Negotiation by Lewis; he not only shew'd an apparent Dislike to the Motion; but openly profess'd, that rather than the Duke should be endanger'd in his Safety, he would forget all

other Amities, and pass the Seas himself to his Relief. Which shew'd a noble Disposition in the King, and an advised Judgment; for the Duke had been ever friendly to him in the worst of Fortune, and in his better a most faithful Neighbour, and in this Enterprize on France had used no Dissimulation, nor in the least Carriage of Businesses betray'd that Faith at first he promised. In the Protection therefore of him against the French, the King shew'd the Gratitude of his Memory; as likewise a politick Caution that the Crown of France might not grow too potent by warring with a weaker Prince, whose Ruin could not but give to it a dangerous Addition.

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14.

But this Discourse touching the Duke was in private between the Kings; for Lewis to show the Authority he had over his greatest Lords, had commanded them to retire when he entred into this Speech. And in treating this Business, which so nearly concern'd the Policy of his Intentions, he shew'd a great Art; not urging the King so far, as that the Denial might come off with a Dislike. But smoothly he gave it over, when he perceiv'd him not easily to be remov'd; although with some inward Difficulty to find his Affection so constant to the Duke, of whom he had resolv'd to make a Spoil, and to lay the first Stone of his mighty Building in his Destruction.

K. Lewis's smooth Acceptance of a Denial.

He presently therefore diverted his Discourse again to Ceremony, and after some short intercourse of Courtship they both at the same Minute parted from the Grate, and took Horse; publicly giving very liberal Commendations of each other. And how ever Interviews are generally esteem'd unsafe for Princes, in regard the Advantage falling of Necessity on the one Part, throws a Contempt upon the other; yet this was both in Probability before and after in the Success most Fortunate. For both Princes tho' of different Complexions had equal Preeminences, and by several Ways came to stand upon even Ground.

The happy conclusion of this Meeting of the two Kings.

K. Edward had the Advantage in Youth, Personage and Behaviour, which win suddenly upon Estimation: Lewis in the cunning of Wit, and Authority of his Carriage, which although slower, sink deeper in Opinion. Edward had a daring Courage ever seconded by a propitious Fortune: Lewis a circumspect Judgment which order'd Businesses so sure, that he left scarce any Thing to Fortune. Edward by his Sword had brought himself to the present Greatness of his State: Lewis by his Policy had settled himself in his Father's Conquests. And indeed so apparent was the Equality of these Princes, that they both despair'd to gain any Thing by Opposition, which made Lewis at any Rate desirous to buy K. Edward's Return; and Edward willing no more to traffick with Lewis, from whom nothing was to be got in the Way of Bargain: Whatsoever the one did by Valour, the other likely to undo by Cunning.

Lewis and Edward compar'd.

This Peace by all Conjecture was likely to suffer in Opinion at Home, where by comparing the Fortune of the present with that of former

King Edward's Policy to dispose his Army for a Peace.

(t) As the Duke and Cardinal of Bourbon, &c. on the French King, and the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Hallings, the Bishop of Lincoln, &c. on the King of England.

(u) But the Duke of Gloucester afterwards waited on the French King at Amiens, and had Presents from him as well as others. Com.

(x) Bishop of Ely.

(y) Comines says the Bishop began his Discourse by a Prophecy (*dont les Anglois ne sont jamais despourvus*) of which the English are never unprovided, that a great Peace was foretold, would be made at Picquigni between England and France.

(z) Thomas of Rotberam.

(a) At which the French King says Comines was not very well pleased, not liking to let the King of England be tempted to come thither.



A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. Expeditions, Expectation promised it self nothing less than the entire Recovery of France. To prevent which, the King had happily, perhaps judiciously (as who foresaw that the Success might end in Agreement) brought over with him many (b) from London, for their Wealth of most Reputation in the City. These Men whom Plenty endeared to the Love of Life, as soon as he had resolv'd to decline the present War, he caus'd to be assaulted every Hour with new Fears, representing to their affrighted Minds the Horror of a Battel, the many Difficulties of a Siege, and the Certainty of an untimely Death, if not by the Cannon or the Sword, yet by the Inconveniences of Lodging and the Weather, which the Winter coming on was likely to be most tempestuous: And if beyond Hope Death were escaped, how cruel might be an Imprisonment, and how deep the Ransom! Then he gave Order that the Enemy should be reported of far more Danger than indeed he was, and every Night false Alarms to be given. And for Distrust already held of Burgundy and St. Paul, he let it be augmented in the Army, causing Rumors to be spread abroad, That there was Treason in them from the Beginning of this Enterprize, and that now they were prepared to unite their Forces with the French to the utter Destruction of the English.

By which Frights he so moulded them to his Desires, that they writ back to their Friends, the Impossibility of any Success in the present Business, and the great Judgment and Fortune of the King, if he could conclude a Peace, with Advantage of Honour. The Example of this Policy King Edward bequeath'd to Henry VII. who left none of his Predecessor's Arts unpractis'd that might advance either his Profit or Reputation. And so far this Desire of Peace and Delight in it spread it self, that when upon the Day of the Interview by Accident a white Pigeon lighted upon the King's Pavilion, and there pruned it self after a Shower of Rain, the Sun shining comfortably, the Soldiers cried out it was the Holy Ghost, who descended in that Form, to shew how grateful the present Accord was to Heaven. Which Interpretation pleased exceedingly the present Humour of the King; any Superstition being nourished in the Subject, which tended to advance the Reputation of their Prince, especially when his Actions are doubtful to be understood.

The Night that ensued the Interview, many of the English Nobility resorted to Amiens; the French Affability, and something too of Curiosity inviting them. The Lord Howard, who was always foremost in his Application to King Lewis, at Supper whisper'd him in the Ear, that he conceiv'd his Master might be perswaded without much Scruple to make a Journey to Paris; where by a friendly Entertainment, the new begun Amity might be perfected.

But the wary King had no Desire to bid so dangerous a Guest to Paris, for fear the Delicacies of the Place might invite him, either to a chargeable continuance there, or to such a Love of the French Air, that it might perswade him to return hereafter thither, though unbidden. He therefore chid his own overforward straining a Complement, and was forced to the Invention of an Excuse, to take away Discourtesie, from Denial of what before ceremoniously he had offered: He answer'd the Lord

Howard thereupon suddenly, and to the outward Judgment seriously, That he was extream sorry the Necessity of his unsettled State, would not afford him Licence of so much Happiness, being presently to make an Expedition against the Duke of Burgundy, who was busie in his Preparations against him, so that with Safety yet, he could not attend the Pleasures of Peace. Which Answer gave but a half Satisfaction; but the Lord Howard was devoted to his Affairs, and that made the Relish of it better with the King.

But that the King might neither reap all the Benefit, nor yet bear all the Blame of this Peace, there were not a few Lords great in Opinion of the State, who shared proportionably in the Booty. Even the scrupulous Duke of Gloucester returned not Home without a large Present both of Plate and Horses. For when he saw the whole Stream of the Army flow into King Lewis, either out of Curiosity, or in Policy loth to particularize an Enmity upon himself from so potent a Prince, he went to him at Amiens, where he found a Respect answerable not only to the Greatness of his Blood, but to the Extent of his Judgment and Authority.

But with him King Lewis dealt with more Circumspection, knowing it impossible to win Ground upon him by any Slight or Strength of Wit. The good Affection of all the other Lords he bought up, according to the ordinary Course in Markets; as they were worth more in the King's Estimation, so were they at a higher Price with him. The principal Men of Name who were in Pension as we find them in History, were the (b) Lord Hastings, Lord Chamberlain to the King, the Lord Howard, Sir John Cheiney, Master of the Horse, Sir Anthony S. Leger, and Sir Thomas Montgomery. Among these, beside the present Gifts, he annually distributed 16000 Crowns, and exacted from every Man an Acquittance for the Receipt. Which no Man refused, but only the Lord Hastings, denying absolutely that ever his Hand should be seen among the King's Accounts at Paris; but welcom'd still the Pension, which without that Formality was continued.

At how high a Rate King Lewis prized his Amity with England by this profuse Liberality, (a Quality so contrary to his parcimonious Disposition) is easily to be judged. But how lawful it was in the Receivers, I will not too severely censure: For, although in this King's Reign, as likewise in the Time of Henry VII. many of the great Counsellors were in Pension to Lewis, and afterward to his Son Charles VIII. yet it is hard to judge how it could agree with the Decorum of their Dignity; it being much beneath the Honour of a noble Mind to owe any Part of their Revenue to a Prince, whose Safety and Advantage must never be in the first Place of their Care. In Peace it may happily not carry any Appearance of Disloyalty, because by their good Offices they may deserve that Way of Gratitude; but in Times of Jealousie, and especially of Enmity, it can no Way be allowed. For though the Pensioner give no underhand Intelligence prejudicial to his Country, yet by a certain necessity of Gratitude, it stops the Freedom of Advice, and so renders him at least undeserving to the one. Rewards are given for forepast Merits, Pensions to retain in future: He therefore who receives a Pension, obligeth himself tacitely to the Service of Two Masters; and oftentimes the Se-

(b) Taken from Comines.

(c) Rosberam, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the Marquis Dorset.



A. D. 1474. Reg. 14. cond in his Thoughts is that Prince to whom he owes a natural Duty: An extraordinary Way of Benefit begetting an extraordinary Diligence. And hence proceeds that Maladie in the Body of a State, which inclines it so totally to one Side, that all Injuries how gross soever are connived at from one Neighbour, while from another the least Shadow of Offence begets mortal War. But if these Pensions be received with Approbation of the King, certainly as they are lawful, so likewise are they less dangerous; for then the State is armed against the Advice of such, whom they know to lean on one Side. The Crookedness of Counsel being easily discern'd, when not bolster'd up with Simulation of Integrity.

K Lewis's Gold, what it feeds it had upon the Courtiers. And questionless, the Distribution of these Crowns, like a dangerous Poison dispersed into some principal Veins of the Body, infected the whole Court. And tho' perhaps the secret Resolutions of the King and State were not betrayed to him, yet was his Intelligence larger than convenient for so cunning a Neighbour, who out of slight and trivial Occurrences, such as were but Chamber-talk, could guess at the most reserv'd Counsels. Neither would those so apparent Affronts offered by him afterward, have been so patiently dissembled; (especially the King knowing him a timorous Prince, and who trembled at the very Thought of a Return of the *English* into *France*) had not they whose Advice was most listened to, passionately excused him in every Charge the more zealous Statists laid to him.

King Edward's Return home and Reception. But these Mischiefs the Years succeeding were guilty of; for the present, the King full of Joy and Treasure returned toward *Calis*; and indeed with more than ordinary Haste and Caution, for fear the Duke of *Burgundy* should attempt any Thing upon his Retreat. But with Safety he both came thither, and sailed to *Dover* (d), whence in much Pomp he directed his Journey to *London*. Upon *Black-Heath* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Scarlet, and Five hundred Commoners in Murrey received him; and thence with all Shew of Triumph conducted him through the City to *Westminster* (e). And perhaps he gave Order the Solemnity of his Return should be more glorious, to set off the Shortness of his Stay in *France*, and the small or no Honour purchased there. The Vulgar for the most Part valuing the Glory of Victories according to the Information of the Ballad, and the Glittering of the Pageants.

K Lewis made a Peace with the Duke of Burgundy. The *French* King, who ever affected the Substance, smiled at these huge Shadows, and never quarrell'd with King *Edward*, what pompous Titles soever he assumed in receiving the forementioned Sums of Money; willing that he should husband his Actions of least Worth to the greatest Advantage of Credit with his People: While he on the contrary, in all Businesses never heeded what Judgment Opinion gave; and so his Ends were effected, cared not by what sordid or humble Means: Whereupon, presently after the Departure of the *English*, notwithstanding the many Injuries received from the Duke of *Burgundy*, he came to Treaty, and suddenly to Agreement with him: In many Points unexpectedly yielding, only that he might revenge himself upon the Count *S. Paul*; for him he accounted the Conjurer, who by his dissembling Charms, had raised those so many

and so tumultuous Spirits against the Crown of *France*; and till he were destroyed, King *Lewis* conceived it impossible to remain safe from civil or foreign War. A. D. 1474. Reg. 14.

The Agreement between K. Lewis and the Duke of Burgundy, to put St. Paul to Death. It was therefore agreed between these Two Princes, that what Places had been wrested away in the former Troubles, should be immediately restor'd; and which of the Two could first surprize the Count *St. Paul*, should within Eight Days put him to Death, or deliver him up to the Discretion of the other. By which Agreement the wretched Lord found how inevitable was his Ruin; and considering the Vanity of any Hope that might persuade him to defend himself against so potent Enemies, he entred into Discourse with his own Fears, to which he might make his Addresses with more Probability of Safety. And knowing the immoveable Resolutions of King *Lewis*, and how impossible it was to deceive a Prince so cunning in the Art; he resolv'd to make Tryal of the Duke; who disdainfully received the first Offers of his Service; but in the End, overcome by Importunity, he granted him safe Conduct: Relying on which, he posted to him, but soon found his Ruin by the want of that Faith, which himself had never observ'd.

Count St. Paul betrayed and put to Death. For the Duke notwithstanding the safe Conduct, gave Command that he should be imprison'd, and not long after deliver'd him up to the *French* King, who caus'd Process to be made against him; certain Letters written to King *Edward*, and by him delivered to King *Lewis*, being the chief Articles of Accusation, by which he was condemn'd, and for which not long after he lost his Head. He embraced Death with much Resolution, only somewhat astonish'd to meet it upon a Scaffold; the manner, not the Thing it self, amazing him. But the Officiousness of the King in the Delivery of those Papers to the Condemnation of his Wife's Uncle, and a Confederate, was certainly treacherous and ignoble; and makes his Memory found harsh in the Ear of any worthy Mind.

A. D. 1475. Reg. 15. King Edward's Passion to the French King, but Zeal against a separate Peace with the Duke of Burgundy. And indeed, he was on the sudden become so passionate a Doater on a reconciled Enemy (f), and so passionate an Enemy of his late Friends, that when he understood the Treaty of Peace at *Vervins* between the *French* King and the Duke, he sent over Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, with Instructions if possible to break it off; who urged, 'That the Duke should not be admitted to treat of himself, but only as mention'd in the King his Master's Peace: That if the Duke refused to treat in that manner, and the King any way suspected his own Strength, his Master would the next Summer cross the Seas, and join his Forces with him; conditionally, that half the Wages of his Army might be defrayed by the *French*, for whose Service the War must be undertaken; and that he might be allowed Fifty Thousand Crowns annually in respect his Loss would amount to the Value, by reason the *English* Wools at *Calis* could during that Time have no Vent into the *Netherlands*. To such an over officious Friendship did his new Malice to *Burgundy*, and the Council of King *Lewis*'s great Pensioners incline him, that he voluntarily offered without Respect of Glory or Hope of Profit, to fight like a Journeyman for a Prince, whose Growth in Power could not be but most unsafe even to him, and dangerous to his Kingdom.

(d) Where he arrived in September.

(e) On the 28th of September.

(f) He ordered his Daughter, the Princess *Elizabeth* to be filed *Dauphiness*.



**A. D.** 1475. **Reg. 15.** This Embassy King Lewis received with Appearance of much Content, congratulating the King to so obsequious a Respect; but he no way desired to see him any more in France, especially not to pay for his Presence, whose Absence he had lately bought so dearly. He therefore return'd many Thanks for the offered Favour, but withal shewed, how much too late it came, in regard the Truce was already concluded between him and the Duke, from which being now sworn to it, he could recede neither in Honour nor Religion. But that the World might understand how scrupulous he had been in Preservation of the King of England's Reputation; the present Truce varied not in one Point from that sworn at Picquignie, except only that the Duke was admitted to article for himself apart, which indeed was the main Thing the King endeavoured to have prevented; since by articling apart, the Duke shewed his Independance, and that the English by their Arms had no way advanc'd his Business.

**K Lewis's** But that this Answer might incur no Misinterpretation, he liberally presented the Ambassador, and sent over with him the Two Hostages, the Lord Howard, and Sir John Cheiney. For King Lewis continued still in much Caution to offend the King, least perhaps he and the Duke of Burgundy, though now asunder, might like a Limb broken and set again, knit the faster. He was therefore diligent to increase every Day new Discontents between them, and to preserve the English in their Amity firm upon any Terms, knowing the Duke by no Policy ever to be reduc'd to a perfect Friendship. And so far had his Cunning and Pensions prevail'd, that nothing was more in the Vote of the English, than to preserve King Lewis safe in his Estate at home, and noble in Reputation with us. But among all the Ties which kept the King surest to him, the Hope of marrying the Dauphin with his Daughter, and this way at least to settle the Crown of France in his Posterity, most prevail'd. Of the Reality of which Article, the French permitted not the smallest Occasion to be given for Suspicion.

**King Edward's** This Intention of King Edward of entering into War with the Duke of Burgundy, being cross'd, (the unquiet Nature of some Princes, ever affecting to beget Trouble to themselves) that the King might feel no perfect Rest, he receives the former Jealousie concerning the Earl of Richmond. But why the reducing him into his Power, should so much perplex the State, is beyond reach, unless it were a Divination of future Accidents, which instructed the King's Fears to expect Danger from him, who neither in point of Justice nor Strength was for the present considerable. For if we look upon his Faction at home, the Civil Wars had brought them so low, that no Person of Authority had any Relation to him, except the Lord Stanley (g), who being Father-in-Law to him, might perhaps with his Fortunes well, but bore a most faithful Mind to the King, in whose special Favour he continued to the last; and if we consider him, as if his nearness in Blood to King Lewis might render him formidable from abroad, certainly there was no just Ground for Suspicion, the French being so lately entred into a particular Amity with England, and never

having afforded either Comfort or Countenance to the young Earl's Exile. Then for any Claim to the Crown, the King could not fear him, his Title being of so impure and base a Metal, it could no way endure the Touch. His Mother, by whom only he could pretend, Heir indeed of the House of Somerset, but not of Lancaster, in regard the Stream of this Descent was poison'd in the very Spring: For John of Gaunt having entertain'd an Affection to Katherine, Daughter of Sir Paine de Ruct, during her Attendance on the Lady Blanch his first Wife: In the Life-time of his Second the Lady Constance, his Affection grew into a nearer Familiarity, and so happy was he, that his Familiarity proved not barren; his Mistress (for to what a Servitude doth Lust betray a Sinner?) making him Father of Three Sons and a Daughter, to whom he gave the Name of Beaufort, from a Castle he had in France, where they were born. The Duke zealous to reward any that had so well deserv'd, married his Bedfellow to Sir Hugh Swinford, a Lincolnshire Knight, and either thro' Impotency or Conscience, afterward refrain'd her Company. Some Years past (she having buried her Knight, and he his Dutches) in Gratitude to her former Merits being now grown very old, he took her again to his Bed, with the lawful Ceremonies of the Church: And thus his ancient Concubine became his new Bride, having righted her Honour, to leave no Monument of their Sin to Posterity, he laboured the Legitimation of the Children; and so far in the Time of Richard II. prevailed; that both the Sentence of the Church and Parliament pronounc'd them lawful, and enabled them to inherit the Lands of their Father, in Case his Issue by his former Wives should fail. The Eldest Son of the Three, thus legitimated, was John created Earl of Somerset, Father of John, Duke of Somerset, whose sole Daughter and Heir Margaret, married Edmond of Haddam, Earl of Richmond, whose Son Henry was now the Mark at which all the Arrows of the King's Suspicion aim'd.

By this Pedigree, to the Eye at first appears some Dawning of a Title; but certainly it is a false Light, such as oftentimes deceives the credulous Traveller. For the Legitimation by the Church was to take away as much of Scandal as possible from the Children, and a Dispensation only for the Benefit of the Bastards, without Prejudice to the Right of any other. For these Bastards were not of the Common Nature, such as an after-Marriage may make legitimate, being not Natural but Spurious, begot in Adultery on the one Side, and consequently incapable of any Benefit by Dispensation. Add to this that not being of the whole Blood (according to the Common Law of England) the House of Somerset was farther off from inheriting any Title from King Henry VI. than the most remote of the Line of York. Lastly, in the very Legitimation it self, the Children were only made capable to inherit the Estate of their Father, the Crown being never mention'd: And for the Dutchy of Lancaster they could not pretend, that being the Inheritance of the Lady Blanch his first Wife, from whom they no way descend'd (h); neither were the Princes of the House of Somerset ever numbred among the Plantagenets, or ever obtain'd so much as to be declared Heirs apparent to the Crown, if Henry VI. and his

(g) He married the Countess of Richmond, Widow to Edmond Tudor, Father to Earl Henry.  
(h) The Words of the Act are so succeed to enjoy all Dignities, Lands and Inheritances that might descend from the Duke their Father. If the Crown is not mention'd, which would have been difficult to have been obtain'd, and might have put a Stop to the passing the Act of Legitimation, it seems to be implied.



A. D. 1475. Reg. 15. Son Prince *Edward* should extinguish without Illue; as *Mortimer* had got to be before in the Reign of *Richard* the Second, and *Delapole* after, during the Usurpation of *Richard* the Third. And if there were any Cause of Suspicion from the Branches of that Family; then was the Duke of *Buckingham*, much more to be feared (i): Who was by his Mother Heir of *Edmond*, Duke of *Somerset*, and himself a Prince, mighty in Descent otherways from the Crown, as being Heir likewise of *Thomas*, Duke of *Gloucester*, younger Son to *Edward* the Third. Moreover in the Faction of a great Kindred, and Dependancy of a Multitude of Tenants, far more to be suspected, than an exil'd Lord, who claiming by his Mother, could during her Life have no Colour of a Title.

Duke of  
Brittain  
solicited  
to deliver  
the Earl  
of *Rich-  
mond* to  
King *Ed-  
ward*.

But the King found the Wound of this Jealousie ranckle in him, and nothing but *Richmond's* Apprehension could heal it. He therefore most earnestly solicited the Duke of *Brittain*, by his Embassadors, of which *Dr. Stillington* was one, to return him into *England*: Their Motives were, the much good Will the Duke owed their Master, who never would forsake his Protection, tho' several Ways and at several Times most importunately provok'd. That he had in answer to the *French* Requests to that purpose protested; That if the Duke were any ways endanger'd by them, he would personally cross the Seas, and make the Quarrel the same, as if his own Kingdom were invaded. Then for the Innocency of the King's Intentions towards the Earl; they affirm'd that so far from Malice the Desire to have him returned into *England* was, that it merely tended to his present Safety and after Honour. In regard his Majesty would not only restore him to the Possessions of his Ancestors, but endear him in a nearer Tie, even by the Marriage of one of his own Daughters to him, and by this blessed Way absolutely root up all the ancient Rancour between the Houses of *York* and *Somerset*. This was the Pretension, which tho' the King no way intended, yet the Almighty afterwards made good; to instruct after Times, that the Deep Mysteries of cunning Princes are meer Illusions compared with true Wisdom; and the Disposition of Kingdoms is the Work of Heaven.

Earl of  
*Richmond*  
delivered  
to *K. Ed-  
ward's*  
Embassa-  
dors.

By this Dissimulation and tender of a large Sum of Money (for the King had learnt how to traffick by Example of *K. Lewis*) the poor Earl of *Richmond* was deliver'd up to the Embassadors, and immediately by them convey'd to *St. Mado's*, the next Haven Town, where instant Preparations were made for his Transportation into *England*. Here Fortune, or what is less uncertain, the Wind took Compassion on his Affliction (for the very Imagination of the Ruin he was betray'd to, had thrown him into a violent Fever) and hindred the Embassadors from taking Ship. Where while they remain'd joyful in the Success of their Undertaking, *Peter Landois* Treasurer to the Duke, in Appearance of a ceremonious Visit, but indeed to contrive the Earl's Escape, most officiously came to them. For no sooner had the Duke given up this innocent Victim to be sacrificed, but *John Chenettes* and some of the Court, sensible of the Law of Na-

tions and their Master's Reputation, to himself related the Injury and Dishonour of this Action. And so far aggravated the perpetual Infamy that would cloud his Fame by selling his Guest to whom he had promised Safety and Protection; that the Duke repented the Delivery of him, and advised *Landois* by some Art to regain him.

And indeed *Landois* undertook the Employment readily, willing perhaps to gain the Honour of doing one good Deed among the Multitude of his Mischiefs; and likewise to revenge himself upon the evil Memory of the Embassadors, who had forgot by their Money to make him an Instrument in effecting this Treason. This Villain (for he was fittest for the Business) so order'd the Matter, that while he entertain'd the Embassadors in a most serious Discourse, the Earl was carried into Sanctuary; and no Notice given them till he was beyond their Reach. Which when they understood, finding themselves defrauded of so great a Bargain, and even of the Money laid out in the Purchase: Indignation transported them into bitter Language against *Landois*. But he excused himself of the Practice, and laid the whole Fault of the Misfortune upon their Negligence; desiring that their Carelessness in losing a Prey, might not be cast as a Crime upon that Respect he had shewed them in his Visit. And when the Embassadors importun'd him by his Authority to force the Earl from the Place; he pretended Religion to the Sanctuary, which if he should out of Honour to the *English* but offer to violate; so great was the Veneration the People hold it in, that they would tumultuously rise to prevent so bold a Sacrilege. He advised them therefore to give over this Game lost, and past play; and prepare their Excuse as cunning as possible to satisfy their King. And for his Part, to show the Zeal he bore to the Affairs of *England*, he would take such Order (and he knew it would stand with the Approbation of his Master) that the Sanctuary should be severely guarded; whence if the Earl endeavour'd an Escape it should be into some Place of Safety, where he should be strictly imprison'd, till the King of *England* were pleased otherwise to dispose of him. With this plausible Discourse *Landois* left the Embassadors to sail over, whom the Wind, now too late, serv'd to carry back. But the King, notwithstanding the fairest Colours they could lay upon the Business, and Promise on the Duke's Part to keep the Earl safe from Escape, cast upon them a sower Look. Misfortune to a Minister of State procuring for the most part as much Disgrace, as if he had been Perfidious in the Practice.

A. D. 1475. Reg. 15.

*P. Landois*,  
Treasurer  
of the  
Duke of  
*Brittain*,  
sent by  
his Ma-  
ster to re-  
cover the  
Earl of  
*Richmond*,  
which he  
effected.

Earl of  
*Richmond*  
kept in  
Sanctuary

Frustrated of his Hope to gain *Richmond* into his Power, but yet in part freed from all Danger threatned by him, the King to give a Lustre to that Peace he had settled, began to addict himself to a profuse Hospitality: A magnificent way of Greatness, in which the Monarchs of this Kingdom have in all Ages exceeded all the Princes of *Europe*. And upon all solemn Times, when Cessation from Labour licenseth the Vulgar to admire the glorious Out-side of a State, he show'd a particular Bravery to the Eye; by presenting as well martial Exercises in Jufts,

*K. Edward*  
addicts  
himself to  
a magni-  
ficent way  
of living.

(i) To shew the Weakness of this Argument against the Earl of *Richmond's* Title. Let us see what the Duke of *Buckingham* says of his own himself at his Conference with the Bishop of *Ely*, printed in *Holmshead*, pag. 746. My Mother being Eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmond*, I thought my self indubitate Heir to the House of *Lancaster*; but accidentally travelling to *Worcester* at the same Time that these Thoughts were in my Head, I met the Countess of *Richmond* the very Daughter and sole Heir of *John*, Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather's Elder Brother; so that she and her Son the Earl of *Richmond* I knew were Bars to my Claim of the Sovereignty: And of the *Lancaster* Line he says, That his Grandfather Duke *Edmund* was with King *Henry* the Sixth in the Two and Three Degrees from *John*, Duke of *Lancaster*, lawfully begotten.



A. D. 1475. Reg. 15. Tiltings, Turnaments, Barriers and the like; as the softer Entertainments of Wit, full of an elegant Curiosity for that Time subject to too much Tumult and Noise to give Birth to the best Inventions. But of all Solemnities the Feast of St. George, Patron of the noblest Order of the World, was celebrated with most Splendor and Pomp. Of which our common Chronicles are so liberal in the Relation, that they spare my Pen the Labour.

King Edward's Indulgence of his Lusts.

Among these Delicacies of Peace, the King forgot not to please his Lust (the Bastard of an idle Security;) and indeed impossible almost it was, that his Appetite flatter'd daily with all the Curiosities of Luxury, should contain it self severely within the Bounds of Modesty. For as by his other Actions we may judge, how little trouble his Conscience put him to; and therefore not easie to be frighted from Sin by Religion; so on the Part of his Body, they who familiarly knew him affirm, that never Man was framed by Nature more apt to the Exercise of Love, and whom amorous Courtship did less Misbecome. But Almighty God took not his natural Proneness to Lust, for an Excuse; but severely punish'd him in his Sons: Who were both dispossest of the Kingdom and their Lives by their unnatural Uncle: There being so much Appearance of Right in the Usurper by their Father's Incontinency; that even an Act of Parliament was made to bastardize them. And this sad Judgment was provoked by the Disorder of his Lust; to which how can we wonder if so easily he inclin'd, since Majesty seldom admits of any Instructions to a severe Correction of the Appetite?

A. D. 1476. Reg. 16.

Duke of Burgundy's Ambition to conquer his neighbouring Princes.

Ambition to extend their Dominions, hath been ever recorded the noblest Vertue in Princes: Who to lessen a Neighbour-State too mighty in the Growth of Empire, or in hope to conquer some Territory, to which the Convenience, not the Justice makes good the Title; without Scruple hazard large Armies of their People: And confidently boast the Victory, tho' the War were ground upon Injustice. While K. Edward lived at Home glorious in his Quiet, this Doctrine was listened to by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in following which he made so many injurious and unfortunate Attempts. For after his Peace concluded with France, he directed his whole Power to the Destruction of the Duke of Lorraine. A Prince who in Favour of K. Lewis, to whose Fortune he had devoted his Service, defied the Duke of Burgundy, when he lay at the Siege of Nuz. And tho' this Design against Lorraine might carry with it all Probability of Success; considering the Narrowness of the Dutchy: Yet as it ought in Judgment to have been weighed with the Supports of France and other Confederates in Germany, it might bear a Face of much more Difficulty. For it had not only been a perpetual Dishonour to K. Lewis, but even a Disadvantage to his Affairs to permit a free Spoil of so near an adjoining Country to the Duke of Burgundy; whom for the present a blind Revenge transported beyond Reason, and made him war with all Cruelty, not only against Renatus, the Duke of Lorraine, where the Victory might in some Measure recompence the Cost; but against the Switzers, because they had sided with Lorraine, and made some Irruption into the Territories of the Burgundian. The Switzers, a poor People, unknown to the World, confin'd to a miserable Life among their cold and barren Mountains; only proud in Opinion they had of their Liberty, which was rather maintain'd by the Fortune of

The Switzers described.

the Country inaccessible almost to an invading Army, than by the Valour of the People. Against these he led his Forces, rejecting all those submiss and deprecatory Embassies sent by them, and that free Acknowledgment of their Poverty, when they protested all the Wealth of their Country sum'd up to the highest Value, would not be able to buy the Spurs and Bridle-bits in his Camp. Fortune in the beginning of this Enterprize flatter'd him to a Continuance of the War with prosperous Success, intending by that glorious Bait only to allure him to Destruction. For soon the Chance of War turn'd, and in three Battels in one Year the unfortunate Duke was overthrown: In the last of which fought before Nancy, he was slain. A Prince who by his Alliance and continual Intercourse of Business, had much Relation to the English: Whose Honour, and Recovery of whose large Territories in France, he certainly from his Heart desired. And when he invited K. Edward into France to that Purpose, and there fail'd him of his promised Succours, it proceeded doubtless not from any under-hand Practice or Remissness in the Undertaking; but only by the Misfortune of his Army, somewhat broken not long before at the Siege of Nuz. He was therefore a Friend to us, if an ambitious Man can be said to be a Friend to any; or rather so great an Enemy to Lewis of France that he loved us only in Opposition; and desir'd our Prosperity, because it could not grow without Ruin to the French. How just a Governour he was in Peace appertains little to our Knowledge, and the World had little Leisure to consider; he was so everlastingly in Arms: In which as he shew'd great Courage and Judgment, so likewise did he commit much Injustice. And he who will examine what License War gives to Injury, and how it imposeth almost Necessity of doing Wrong; may in some sort excuse him. But his being ever in Quarrels, (into which he enter'd and continu'd, as his Passion, not his Reason directed him) argues his Spirit daring but turbulent, and his Valour rash and inconsiderate, and takes away all Pardon from his so many Errors. The two great Elemishes upon his Memory, are his Cruelty at Granfon in Lorraine, where in cold Blood he caus'd all the Inhabitants to be kill'd, the Town being yielded to his Discretion: And his Perfidiousness to the Count St. Paul, whom notwithstanding a safe Conduct he deliver'd up to Execution into the Hands of K. Lewis. The good Men who ascribe Punishment to the Justice of Heaven, observe that after these two Crimes his Fortune left him, and with Dishonour Death overtook him, when he least expected it. Having at that time in his Imaginations so many and so vast Designs, that scarce the Age and Fortune of Man had length and Power enough to accomplish them all.

A. D. 1476. Reg. 16.

Duke of Burgundy slain at Nancy His Character.

Duke of Burgundy's Cruelty and Falshood, and the Punishment of it.

The Count of St. Paul's Death, and the Effects of it.

The Death of this Prince, who had begot so much Business in his Life, diversly affected all the neighbouring Countries. Generally according to the Custom in private Families, every State entertain'd it with such a Passion, as the Advantage or Disadvantage appear'd by it to themselves. Some few out of Love to his Person, Hope of Marriage with his Daughter, or Compassion of humane Accidents, griev'd at the Report: But most expressed their Sorrow, for the Liberty King Lewis had attain'd by it, because no Man living now had the Power and Will to oppose him, should he attempt any Injury, and offer Violence to his weaker Neighbours. But King Edward was so infatuated by



## The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1476. by his Arts, that he never startled at this great Accident, nor look'd how nearly it might concern his own Safety; so that notwithstanding he were daily certified of new Undertakings by Kings Lewis, he rested quiet, and gave free Reins to his injurious Ambition, who, as soon as he understood the Death of Duke Charles, and perceived how open his Countries lay to an Invader, he pretended the Dutchy of Burgundy for want of Heirs-male devolv'd back to the Crown of France, and by the Arms of the Duke of Lorraine without further Dispute took it in: In the mean time himself seizing upon all Picardie, which for many Years had remain'd in Possession of Dukes Philip and Charles. And that he might have yet more Occasion of Quarrel with an unsettled Lady unable to withstand his Opposition, he summon'd the Princess Mary, Dutches of Burgundy to come in Person into France to do Homage for the County of Flanders, and her other Estates held in chief of that Crown.

K. Lewis seized upon the Dutchy of Burgundy at the Duke's Death.

But she knowing how unsafe it was to yield her Person up to a Prince, who made his Advantage of every Opportunity, delay'd the Homage, and stood upon her Guard as strongly as in so disorder'd a Country was possible. For though she were a Lady of many opulent and mighty Provinces, able if not to offend, yet to defend themselves against the World; yet were the People stubborn and prone to Rebellion, and who by the Weakness of some of their Princes heretofore, had purchased to themselves too large Immunities. And indeed scarce any Town, but had or pretended to have such Prerogatives, as debased all Authority of Government, which upon every Change in State they reviv'd, and endeavour'd if possible to redeem themselves from Subjection. And this Hope, more than ever now possessed them, considering the Unexperience both of the Youth and Sex of her that ruled; so that by Appearance of their churlish Carriage to the Dutches, and small Preparations against King Lewis, who every Day surpriz'd some Place or other, they rather desired to be expos'd a Prey to some insolent and cruel Enemy, than indure the mild Government of their lawful Princess. She therefore sent Ambassadors to implore Aid of King Edward, and declare to him the Urgency of her present Necessities. Who shew'd, *That their Princess the greatest Heiress in the World, born to a large and rich Territory, was at present in a Condition beneath the poorest Subject that enjoyed but Liberty; being detain'd Captive by the Hands of such as made Restraint far more unsupportable, viz. of her own insolent Rebels. That her Deliverance concern'd the King of England in general as a Prince, and in particular as a Neighbour and an Ally. That her tumultuous Subjects, who had dar'd to attempt and act this Treason, took Courage from the French King's declar'd Enmity. An injurious Proceeding in a Prince against a Neighbour, which justly provokes all Christendom to unite in her Defence, and punish so barbarous a Proceeding in him. That the ancient League observ'd with so much Religion between England and the Low Countries, particularly did require his Majesty's present Aid; and a Consideration of what might happen perhaps in his own Posterity in the same Nature, did invite him to do Favours, as his might challenge to receive them hereafter. That even in the politick Discretion of Government, it was conceiv'd, that nearly it concern'd the State of England to provide against so dangerous an Addition of Dominion to the French, considering King Lewis had already most injuriously wrested away not only*

She desires K. Edward's Assistance against K. Lewis and her Ambassadors urg'd it by many Arguments.

Peronne, Mountdidier, Tournay, and all the rest of Picardie sold heretofore to Duke Philip, but seiz'd even upon Burgundy the Inheritance of their Princess. And what expresseth the Inhumanity of the Tyrant, and the hated Malice of his Intentions, summons her at this present to do Homage personally for Flanders and her other Territories; which Summons if she obeys, she certainly betrays her self to an everlasting Captivity, or to a Necessity to surrender a large Part of her Inheritance for Redemption; and if she refuseth, she endangers her whole Estate to the Surprise of a merciless Enemy, who never wanted the Pretence of Justice to justify Spoil and Rapine. They farther urg'd, how their Princess was not only in her Person restrain'd by her own Subjects, but had not so much as any Appearance of an Army in the Field to oppose the Invader. The Soldier being absolutely destroyed in the former unfortunate Battels fought by her Father in Lorraine; and the Faith of all the Commanders who remain'd, bought up by King Lewis, and turn'd wholly French, with Surrender of the Towns and Forts under their Government. And all Hope of any Levies at home vain and false, the Commons by Practice of the French King every where in Tumult, and the few who wish'd well to their Princess's Affairs, either not daring to declare themselves, or suffering Death or Imprisonment for their Faith. They concluded with Intreaty, That the King would engage his Arms in so just a Quarrel; which, as it could not but most honourable to his Name and no way unprofitable, so likewise would it cast a perpetual Obligation upon their Princess, and devote her Power hereafter to his Service.

A. D. 1476. Reg. 16.

This Embassy carried with it every Way so much Justice, that it begot a general Approbation. For the Opinion was, that England never had so fair an Opportunity to win Honour to the Nation, relieve an oppressed Princess, check an insolent and unfaithful Neighbour, and provide for its own Safety. So that in the Court no Person of Honour, not corrupted with the French Pension, but passionately desired the Undertaking; and thought it necessary in every Point to begin this defensive War. But the King, who was in so deep a Lethargy that no Danger could wake him, nor Touch of Honour make him sensible, heard this with a fair Respect, and dismissed the Ambassadors with some faint Comfort. And tho' he could not but perceive what a Cloud it would be upon his Reputation to permit so foul an Injury to the young Princess, and sit still; yet he resolv'd to listen to the safer Counsels of Peace, and believe (how improbable soever) the many Protestations of King Lewis.

The Embassy of the Dutches of Burgundy approv'd by the Nobles, but not by the King.

Who, as soon as he understood of these Addresses made to England, which at the very first he expected, dispatch'd his Ambassadors to undo whatsoever had been wrought by the former Solicitation. And whereas the Dutches of Burgundy perswaded King Edward to this War by the Arguments of Honour and a generous Pity. He dissuaded it, by menacing an absolute Breach of the Peace sworn at Picquigny, whereby the King should be frustrated of his Tribute, and the so mighty Marriage of his Daughter. He shew'd farther, how it was not only against the so near Amity begun and likely to continue between them and their Posterity, but even against the Custom of common Confederacies, to oppose a neighbouring Prince in League, when he only attempted the Recovery of his own Right. And if the Truth of his Actions were laid open to the World, it would appear, that the Re-assumption of those Towns into the Power of France, (what Interpretation soever they might suffer among the ignorant or malicious,)

K. Lewis sends an Embassy to K. Edward to answer the Arguments of the Dutches of Burgundy.



A. D. 1476. Reg. 16. was but an Act of Justice; since those many Places in Picardie were no way of Right belonging to Duke Charles, but permitted him only to avoid the Continuance of War, which was notorious to any Man who would but call to Memory, how they were mortgaged to Duke Philip. The absolute Alienation of them from the Crown having never been either in the Will or Power of any French King. Then for the Duchy of Burgundy, the original Grant and the common Practice in France would manifest, that it only was conferr'd upon the Heirs Male; which failing in the present Dutcheſs, implies a Return of it back to the Crown, whence it paſt at firſt by an inconsiderate Tranſaction. Laſtly, that his taking Arms was only to recover and juſtify his Right, and reduce the Princeſs Mary to perform her Homage, which never was denied by any Earl of Flanders. And if there be any Infidelity or Tumult among her Subjects, ſhe ought either to blame the evil Diſpoſition of her People to Rebellion, or the Miſfortune of her own Government.

The Engliſh deſirous to relieve the Dutcheſs of Burgundy, cauſe a ſecond Embaſſy from France. This was the Effect of King Lewis his Answer at firſt, which the King was joyful to have divulg'd, becauſe it gave his Slowneſs to Action, a ſpecious Shew of Juſtice and Diſcretion. But the Relief of the oppreſſed Lady grew ſo much into the Deſire of the Commonalty, and even the better Sort of People bend- ed ſo much to Compaſſion, that the French began to ſuſpect the King might be induced to undertake her Protection. Whereupon new Ambaſſadors came with new Inſtructions ſome- thing more plauſible than the former, in which they were to keep the King upon any Terms at home. Theſe offer'd to his Maſteſty a full Relation of King Lewis his Proceedings hitherto, with Promise, 'To refer it wholly to him, if any Violence had been by the Licence of War committed. That their Maſter's Aim was ſo far from Injury, that he would ſubmit to in- different Judgment all the Paſſages in this Quarrel, and bind himſelf to any Reſtitu- tion the King of England ſhould order. For all his Deſire by theſe Arms was only the Re- duction of his own, and Maintenance of the Prerogatives of the Crown of France. And ever among theſe Excuses he mingled ſome Diſcourſe concerning the Dauphin, his ſo forward Growth, and the great Expectation of him; ſomething too of the Lady Elizabeth, and the Joy all France conceiv'd of the future Mar- riage. Neither was the Ceremony of paying the Tribute ever omitted at the Day, nor the great Lords forgotten to be preſented with Penſions, and ſomething too of Addition to in- crease their Diligence.

K. Lewis his Poli- cy to keep K. Edward from af- ſiſting the Dutcheſs of Bur- gundy. By theſe Arts he won Time, a Merchandize he then traffick'd for, and the Purchase of which ſo nearly concern'd his preſent Deſign: For it was his, and certainly a politick Courſe, to ſend often, and ſtill ſeveral Ambaſſadors; who, if in their Overtures they were contra- dictory, laid the Fault on their Inſtructions, and deſired reſpite, till they had ſome farther Un- derſtanding of their Maſter's Intentions: And when any new Thing was propoſed, they em- braced it, intreating only Time to inform the State of France. But when by frequent trea- ting, the Buſineſs was come oftentimes to Ne- ceſſity of abſolute Reſolution, then ſuddenly was the Ambaſſador recall'd, and ſome new Perſon ſent to ſupply his Place, wholly igno- rant, or at leaſt pretending to be wholly igno- rant of all former Paſſages.

A. D. 1477. Reg. 17. At the length when he ſaw there was an Im- poſſibility farther to diſſemble, by pretending Reſtitution of whatſoever had been wreſted

away from the Dutcheſs, he diſcover'd the Treachery of his former Carriage, and made Propoſitions advantageous to the King's Profit. Offering, 'If he would paſs the Seas with a full Army and join in the Quarrel, to defray half the Expence of the War, and never forſake the Engliſh, untill he had ſettled them in Poſ- ſeſſion of Flanders and Brabant, ſo that the Spoil might be equally divided between the Two Kings. In this one Overture he expreſſed the Deceit of his former Purchase, to make which good he tender'd ſo great a Brokage.

But the King reſuſed this Propoſition, not out of Conſcience unwilling to enter upon Eſtates to which he had no Title; nor Great- neſs of Spirit, diſdaining to make Advantage the Miſfortune of a Lady oppreſſed by an over- potent Neighbour, and forſaken by an ungrate- ful and diſobedient People, but only out of Con- ſideration of the Difficulty: Since the Towns were of Strength to make Reſiſtance againſt the moſt powerful Army, that every Fort would require much Time and Charge in the Gaining; and if gain'd would prove as coſtly and difficult to keep. The People, tho' naturally prone to Innovation, and upon the ſlighteſt Grounds ready to rebel, yet by no Art to be ſo tamed as to indure the Yoak of a Stranger. And if the Conquelt was ſtill to be made good by Gar- riſons of Engliſh, (the Natives being both un- ruly and unfaithful) it would draw much Blood and Treafure from England, and return neither Honour nor Profit. Nevertheless the King offer'd immediately to declare himſelf in common League againſt the Dutcheſs, and to lead over an Army Royal into her Territories, promiſing to ſhare in all future Danger if he might be admitted to ſhare in what was already conquer'd. But that the French denied as loath- ever to quit Poſſeſſion, yet never ſo perempto- rily reſuſed any Propoſition; as to leave the Engliſh, perſwaded by Diſpair, to enter into new Counſels; even in their Denials leaving ſome Way open to Expectation.

During this Time ſpun out to the utmoſt length by theſe tedious Negotiations, the French effected their Ends and almoſt undid the afflict- ed Princeſs. Who left no way untried that might lead her into a perfect Friendſhip with the Engliſh, and engage their Arms to her De- fence. Among the reſt ſhe tried one which be- ing ſingular in the Event deſerves a particular Obſervation. Either by her Commiſſion or Per- miſſion, a Motion was made of a Marriage be- tween her and George, Duke of Clarence, who had lately buried his Lady. By which very O-verture ſhe doubted not but the King ambitious of ſo ample a Fortune for his Brother, would run into her Quarrel. But, as ſometimes Phy- ſick miſapplied, it wrought a contrary Effect, and with other Circumſtances procured his Ru- in. For he having by the Levity of his Actions weaken'd his Reputation with the World in ge- neral, and particularly drawn a hatred from the Queen's Kindred upon him, the King and the Duke of Glouceſter likewiſe, having him either in Contempt or Jealouſie, ſtood in a manner a- lone. So that the very firſt Whiſpers of this Marriage were heard with Emulation by ſome, with Scorn by others, and with Diſlike by all. Which gave Occaſion that his Deſtruction was ſuddenly plotted, and almoſt as ſuddenly exe- cuted. For the King, altho' he ow'd his Reſti- tution to the Crown when he was expell'd from England, to the Duke's Revolt from Warwick; yet he remembered more perfectly the Unnatu- ralneſs of his firſt Rebellion: And howſoever Du-

A. D. 1477. Reg. 17. K. Lewis offers to give K. Edward Flanders.

K. Edward offers to join with K. Lewis againſt the Dutcheſs of Burgundy.

Dutcheſs of Bur- gundy to engage K. Ed- ward to her Af- ſiſtance, offers a Marri- age with the Duke of Cla- rence.

Duke of Clarence's Death contrived upon the Motion.



## The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

*A. D.* 1477. *Reg. 17.* he showed outwardly all the Arguments of a reconcil'd Brother, yet certainly the Memory of the Injury at first done remain'd deeply imprinted in his Mind. So that *Clarence* by his after-Service never regain'd that Place in the King's Heart, which his former Disloyalty had forfeited. This he perceiv'd and repin'd against, and the King understanding that he repented the Truth, hated him yet the more: And so far grew this Hatred, that no Discourse was more harsh to the King's Ear than that of *Clarence's* Marriage with the Heir of *Burgundy*; by which it was suspected he being furnished with Power might hereafter prepare for Revenge. For according to the Disposition of Man he saw all his Actions in a flattering Glass: Looking upon his Revolt from his Brother, as an Error of seduced Youth; and on his Return back, as on so great a Merit, that it lay scarce in the King's Power to recompence: The King enjoying by it all the Greatness he possessed.

*Duke of Gloucester's Policy to hasten Clarence's Fall.* *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, upon whose Nature and Friendship he built most, deceived him most. For *Gloucester*, who studied nothing but his own Purposes, and cared not by what Violence all Obstacles of Nature and Friendship were remov'd, so the Way were plain'd to his Ambition; endeavour'd to add more Poison to their Discontent: Knowing that bad Intentions never receive Growth but from Mischief. He therefore perswaded him to be sensible of the King's Neglect, and boldly to express his Resentments: A silent Patience being in a Subject Loyalty, but in a King's Brother Cowardize. While on the other Side he whisper'd in the King's Ear the Danger of *Clarence's* Spirit apt to receive any Discontent, and wanting only Power to seek unlawful Remedies; and whatsoever Counsel came from him was receiv'd by the King with more Attention and Belief, in regard of his great Judgment and Professions of Love to his Brother. And indeed *Gloucester* much disdain'd the Advancement of *Clarence* this Way, not that he had any particular Ground for Malice, but only that he hated any Man, and especially a Brother, should have the Start of him in Fortune.

*The Queen and her Kindred's Malice against Clarence.* But the Queen and her Kindred shallower in their Spleen, spoke loud against him; while *Gloucester* deep in Mischief was not heard to murmur. For they suggested continually to the King with what Contempt they were treated by *Clarence*, how all their Honours were mention'd as Mockeries: As if the King wanted Power to confer his Favours according to the Discretion of his own Bounty. They urged the Memory of his Rebellion at his first Marriage with *Warwick's* Daughter, and the much more Danger of his Intentions in affecting so much Greatness in the Second. And so far by Aggravations of every slight Error they wrought, that the King was willing to have his Brother suffer; but only wanted some Offence capital enough to make his Death appear an Act of Necessity and Justice, not of Plot and Malice.

*The Cause of the Duke of Clarence's Death.* It is generally receiv'd among the Vulgar, and wants not the Approbation of some Chronicles, that the chief Ground of the King's Assent to his Death was the Misinterpretation of a Prophecy: Which foretold that one, the first Letter of whose Name was *G.* should usurp the Kingdom and dispossess *K. Edward's* Children.

*A. D.* 1477. *Reg. 17.* Of which there is much of Probability; however by his other Actions I should not judge the King easie to believe in such Vanities. For Credulity in that Nature, falls for the most part upon weak Minds, as those of Women and Children; or upon the timorous, whose Apprehensions are soften'd to receive every slight Impression; or upon the Over-zealous, whom an Evil regulated Piety bends to Superstition. And with these three the King had no Participation in Humour. Yet this serv'd for the present, and carried with it a strong Accusation against the Duke; for this Prophecy was alledged to be spoken by some of his Servants, who by Necromancy had understood this from the Devil: Which with other Circumstances serv'd to hasten the King to this foul Mischief.

The Duke was in *Ireland*, the Country that gave him Birth, during the Time of these Contrivances, not suspecting any Design against himself. Upon his Return to the Court he understood that *Thomas Burdet* (*k*) of *Arrow* in the County of *Warwick*, Esquire, who ever was dependant upon him and ran his Fortune, had been in his Absence apprehended, indicted, arraign'd and executed (*l*) all in the Compass of two Days. The Crime upon which his Accusation was principally grounded, were inconsiderate Words by which upon a Report, that the white Buck in which he much delighted was killed as the King was hunting in his Park, he wish'd the Head and Horns and all in the King's Belly, whereas indeed he wish'd it only in his Belly, who counsel'd the King to kill it. With this Accusation were mingled many other of Poisoning, Sorceries, and Inchantments: Crimes which every judicious Man easily perceiv'd, were only put in the Scale like Grains, to make his rash Language full Weight, which otherwise would have been too light to deserve the Sentence of Death. These Proceedings *Clarence* resented, as they were intended, and expostulated with the King about the Injustice done to his Servant, and Injury to himself. And according to the Custom of Expostulations, his Words were bold and disorderly, and having receiv'd an apparent Injury, built too much on the Right of his Cause, and provok'd the King too far into Indignation; so that soon after he was committed close Prisoner to the Tower, where being by Act of Parliament attainted, he was secretly put to death. The Manner, as it is generally received, was by Thrusting his Head into a But of *Malmesey*, by which he was stifled (*m*).

In his Attainder, according to the Form, are Crimes enough to make his Death have Appearance of Justice, the Execution of which the King seem'd rather constrain'd to, than to have sought. For there are reckon'd, how the Duke of *Clarence* to bring the present Government into Hatred with the People, and thereby the present State into Trouble; had not only in his Speeches frequently laid Injustice to the King's Charge in attainting *Thomas Burdet* falsely, convict of many notorious Treasons, but suborn'd many of his Servants and divers others, corrupted with Money, to divulge the like seditious Discourses; That he had spread Abroad impious Rumours that the King dealt by Necromancy, and upon Offence against such of his Subjects, whom by Order of Law he could not

(*k*) Son to Sir *Nicholas Burdet*, a famous Soldier in the *French Wars*, and great Butler of *Normandy*.

(*l*) At *Tyburn*.

(*m*) His Body was exposed lying on his Bed, to amuse the People, as if he dy'd of Melancholy; but the Attainder and the King's Temper rendred that Artifice ineffectual.



A. D. 1477. Reg. 17. destroy, he was accusom'd to take away by Poyson; That he had not rested there, but thereby to advance himself to the Kingdom, and for ever to disable the King and his Posterity from the Crown, had contrary to Truth, Nature and Religion, Viper-like destroying her who gave him Life, publish'd that the King was a Bastard and no way capable to Reign; That to make this his so monstrous Ambition more successful and already to begin his Usurpation, he had caused many of the King's Subjects to be sworn upon the most blessed Sacrament to be true to him and his Heirs, without any Exception of their Allegiance; after which so solemn Oaths, he discover'd to them his Resolution to right himself and his Followers, who had both suffered by the King's violent wresting away their Estates: And in particular to revenge himself upon the King, who (as he most impiously and falsely suggested) had by Art-Magick contrived to consume him, as a Candle consumeth in burning. And, what most expressed the Treason of his Designs, that he had got out an Exemplification under the great Seal of Henry VI. late King; wherein was shewed how by the Parliament it was enacted, that if the said Henry and Edward his Son should die without Issue-male, the Kingdom should descend upon the Duke of Clarence and his Heirs; whereby clearly appear'd his Intention, immediately to possess himself of the Crown, with Destruction of King Edward and his Children by Pretence of a general Election of the Commonwealth. This was the Sum of his Attainder, which we may well believe had not so easily past but by the King's publick declaring himself, the secret working of the Duke of Gloucester, and the passionate Urging of the Queen's Kindred. But this Attainder hath in it one Thing most Remarkable, that Clarence here falsely was accused, of laying Bastardy to the King, to endeavour Possession of the Crown: Which afterward was alledg'd indeed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the absolute Disinherit of the King's Sons. Whereby God's severe Judgment manifests, how unsafe it is in a Prince, by false Accusations to condemn an innocent, or but to aggravate the Fault of one less Guilty, to the End that Cruelty may be reported an Act of Justice.

The Crimes alledged false.

Duke of Clarence's Death every where condemn'd.

The Death of this Prince being sudden and extraordinary, begot every where an extraordinary Censure; the unnatural severity, taking away all Excuse, even from their Discourse, who most favour'd the King. At Home it was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the Manner, it being prodigious to be drown'd without Water, upon dry Ground, and the Quality of the Person: He being the First Brother to a King in this Country, that ever was attainted. And what increased the Murmur, a Faction appear'd at Court triumphing in his Ruin, all the Accusations were strangely wrested, and no matter of Fact, scarce an Intention prov'd against the State. Whereupon this Punishment was thought to have been inflicted upon him for no new Attempt: His first taking Part with Warwick, being his only Crime. For which War, tho' somewhat against Nature, he had many Examples in France, Spain, and other Parts of Christendom: Whereas for the Death of a younger Brother, upon bare Suspicion, the King could borrow no Precedent nearer then the Turkish Government. But Clarence imagin'd the Privilege of his Birth a sufficient Defence against Danger, and omitted to fortifie himself with Faction; which laid him open to every Assault

of Envy. And because he had heretofore been in Opposition against the King, the Liberty in censuring any Defect in Government was interpreted a Desire to be in Arms again. Every Word of Distast being held Criminal in him, from whom the King was alienated by his own Disposition, open Invectives of the Queen's Kindred, and secret Trains of the Duke of Gloucester; who now began to look high over all Respects of Nature and Religion. He was certainly ambitious beyond Proportion, which made him so attentive to any new Counsels, and of an easie Nature, which render'd him apt by Practice to be wrought to Mischief. He was a good Master, but an uncertain Friend; which delivers him to us to have been, according to the Nature of weak Men, sooner perswaded by an obsequious Flattery, than a free Advice. We cannot judge him of any evil Nature, only busie and Inconstant, thinking it a Circumstance of Greatness to be still in Action. He was too open-breasted for the Court, where Suspicion looks thro' a Man, and discovers his Resolutions tho' in the Dark, and lock'd up in Secrecy. But what was his Ruin, he was, whether the House of York or Lancaster prevail'd, still second to the Crown: So that his Eye by looking too stedfastly on the Beauty of it became unlawfully enamour'd with it; and that being observ'd by the King's jealousy, he suffer'd as if he actually had sinned. He left two Children by the Earl of Warwick's Daughter, Edward, who inherited his Grandfather's Honour, and was beheaded in the Reign of Henry the Seventh, and Margaret afterwards by Henry the Eighth created Countess of Salisbury, who was marry'd to Richard Pool of the Welsh Family of the Pools.

A. D. 1477. Reg. 17.

His Character.

While this Mischief was secretly in contriving against Clarence, in the Court appear'd no Face, but that of Jollity and Magnificence. For at that Time was Edward eldest Son to the King (during Christmas, to mingle the Solemnity with Liberty) inaugurated Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and his younger Brother Richard, created Duke of York; The Fate of their Honour and their Ruin, being still the same. At this Creation according to the Ceremony, many young Lords and Gentlemen of principal Name were made Knights of the Bath, among whom Brian Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, and Littleton, that learned Father of the Laws, are registred.

K. Edward creates his eldest Son Prince of Wales and Duke of York.

A. D. 1478. Reg. 18.

Knights of the Bath made

But the publick Glory of these extraordinary King Edward's Pomps, and the Wontonness of his private Pleasures could not be maintain'd with the ordinary Revenue. Therefore to make good the Expence of his own Errors, the King began to look narrowly into those of his Subjects; that by this Art, in a manner, he might sin upon free Cost. And as it hath been a certain Observation, that the most delicate and voluptuous Princes have ever been the heaviest Oppressors of the People; Riot being a far more lavish Spender of the common Treasure, than War or Magnificence; so those Parts of the King's Life, which were wanton'd away with variety of Delights, are noted to have been severest. But perhaps the Subject repents not the free Gift of the Kingdom's Substance, when he sees the Return of it in Triumph; but repines if the least Part of his Contribution be the Reward of Parasites, or Persons to whom Fortune, not Merit gives a Growth. And Historians likewise have more Leisure to examine the Crimes of Princes in the Silence of Peace, than in the Noise of War: Or else Princes want

King Edward's private Pleasures put him upon Severity to his Subjects.



## The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

**A. D.** Opportunity to inclose their Thoughts to the study of private Gain, when the Soldier in a Manner lays the Wealth of the Kingdom open, and makes a Common of every Man's particular Treasure. For now the King began to cause the Penal Laws to be put in Execution, and wanting higher Aims, to look downward into every fordid Way of enriching himself; so that a general Fear possessed the People, that his after-Government would be both sharp and heavy, considering the first Part of it was not without a foul Blemish in that Kind. For in the Seventh Year of his Reign, he proceeded against many of the wealthiest Citizens with so much Severity, that it was reputed Tyranny. The chief of them were Sir *Thomas Cook*, Sir *John Plumer*, Knights, *Humphrey Henward* and other Aldermen. And their Crime was, their having given Assistance to King *Henry*: Which, considering the Circumstance of Things could hardly bear any capital Accusation had it been clearly proved: But against these Men there was no Testimony but what was forc'd with Torture; and even that Testimony, not high enough to bring them to the Bar; yet the King commanded them to be arraign'd of High Treason at *Guild-Hall*; and withal expressed an earnest Desire, that upon any Terms they might be found guilty. Their Wealth being the principal Witness that gave Evidence against their Lives: But the Jury well directed by Sir *John Marckham*, Knight, chief Justice of the King's Bench, acquitted them of their Treason: Which, nevertheless released them not, their Estates however were found guilty, and the greatest Part escheated to the King. With the Offenders the Judge was condemn'd, and because he prefer'd his Integrity before a severe Command, made Forfeiture of his Dignity.

The Memory of these Carriages heretofore, in a Business that concern'd the Life of a Man reputed innocent, drew the World into much Fear that he would now decline to Rigour. Neither was the King totally excused, although this cruel Avarice was laid to the Queen, who, having a numerous Issue and Kindred, by Favour raised up to the highest Titles, was almost necessitated for Supportance of their Honours, to wrack the Kingdom. And happily the universal Malice that waited on her and hers, serv'd well for the King; they being as a Screen between him and the unwholesome Air of Envy, which otherwise might have endanger'd his Reputation with the People.

From this rugged Way of Governing, he was soon diverted by Necessity to look abroad, and perhaps by the Gentleness of his Nature, or Repentance of his former Severity. For the Face of the World adjoining began on the sudden to change, and while the Kings of *England* and *France* were dividing the Territories of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, a Third step'd in, and got Possession of her and her rich Country, *Maximilian*, Archduke of *Austria*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick III.* entertain'd heretofore politickly by Duke *Charles*, was now seriously invited to this Marriage. For the Lady dispairing to receive Succours from the *English*, to the Affection of whom she was perhaps inclin'd by the Neighbourhood of the Country, and Perswasion of the Dutchess Dowager, whom deservedly she much honoured, condescended in the end to the Desire of her Subjects, who ever laboured to marry her to some Prince of *Germany*, in regard of the Nearness in Language, and Concordance in Dispositions. And although the hereditary Countries of this Prince

lying far remote, were unlike to be any Support to her weakned State; yet considering him as Son to the Emperor, and in all Probability like to succeed (for in an elective Kingdom scarce ever is the Heir put by, if equally deserving) he might appear necessary to her present Affairs. For he was young, of a noble Spirit, strong and healthful in Constitution, bold in any Attempt of Honour, and what won upon the Affections of the *Low-Country* Men, extraordinary affable and courteous. I know both his Actions and the Histories of that Time deliver him to us of no deep Judgment, and so negligent, that he ever left Things imperfect, oftentimes in main Business betrayed by his Credulity. But this I impute to him as an Error of the Climate under which he was born, and a certain generous Honesty, which is above Suspicion. The Motion of this Marriage was embraced with much Joy, to the Accomplishment of which he instantly prepared. Neither could King *Lewis* with all his Engines batter the Resolution of the Emperor, who, tho' a most passionate Lover of Peace, (which oftentimes he bought with Loss) ran the Hazard of a War from *France*, rather than let his Son lose the Advantage of so great a Country. And suddenly sent him to the Dutchess, attended by many great Commanders, who among a People so oppressed with Arms, would be the best Witnesses of a Marriage. His Presence, altho' it did not absolutely turn the Stream of Fortune, yet gave a Stay to the *French* Conquests: And after he appear'd in the Quarrel, Victory doubtfully inclin'd, sometimes flattering *Maximilian*, at other Times King *Lewis*. *Maximilian* by his brave Valour, overtaking *Lewis*, who had the Start in Experience and Policy: So that frequent Truces were concluded between them, and unfaithfully observ'd; the first Opportunity of Advantage renewing the War.

*Lewis* handled these Businesses apart, never admitting King *Edward*, tho' he ever officiously labour'd to interests himself in them, into any Part of the War or Peace. For, as he knew the Strength of his Understanding such, that he in Treaty could lose nothing by the Arch-Duke; so he well consider'd, that the safest Way to preserve the *English* in Amity, was to keep them at home. Whereupon, he frequently entertain'd the King with Embassies full of Courtesie; such as might appear rather the Arguments of a sincere Friendship than the forc'd Expressions of Ceremony; and ever communicated with him his private Counsels, requiring his faithful Advice; when indeed he reserv'd his Resolutions of any high Nature wholly to himself, and always in the Conduct of Affairs, tho' he would listen to the Opinion of King *Edward*, he still obeyed his own. But this, with his other Arts continu'd his Reputation good with the *English*, and purchased that Quiet, he suspected might by our Arms be interrupted.

And what render'd his Security the more, Troubles began between us and *Scotland*; which we may well believe he underhand increased. The Occasion of them was, the evil Inclination and ungovern'd Spirit of *James III.* who disdain'd to listen to the temperate Counsels of sober Men, obeyed only his own Judgment, which his Passion threw headlong into rash Attempts. The Freedom of Advice by the Lords of that Country used toward their Princes, render'd the Speaker hateful; and frequently was rewarded with Imprisonment or Exile, if not with Death. Among the Multitude of them

**A. D.**  
1479.  
Reg. 19.

**K. Lewis**  
endeavours to hinder the Marriage, but could not.

**K. Edward**  
not concern'd in the *Burgundian* War.

**K. Edward**  
instigated to a War with *Scotland* by the Duke of *Albany*, who was banished by the King of *Scots*.

**K. Edward's**  
Severity to Sir  
*Thomas Cook*,  
Judge  
*Marckham*  
and others.

Judge  
*Marckham's*  
Justice.

The  
Queen  
blam'd  
for the  
King's  
Severity.

Dutchess  
of *Burgundy*  
married  
to *Maximilian* the  
Emperor  
*Frederick*  
his son.

**A. D.**  
1479.  
Reg. 19.

cast



A. D. 1479. Reg. 19. cast out of Favour by him, *Alexander*, Duke of *Albany*, the King of *Scotland*'s Brother, banish'd into *France*, resent'd the Injury, and endeavour'd Revenge. So that as he pass thro' *England* towards his Exile, being admitted to the King, by all Arguments he incens'd him to a War, which could not but prove most successful, the Hatred of the Commons consider'd, against so violent an Oppressor. And he protested, *That he knew the King fallen into so low Esteem even with those he cherish'd, and into such Hatred with all Mankind, that if assaulted by the English, he would be constrain'd by Submission of his Crown to intreat for Safety.*

War with Scotland determin'd, and the Duke of Gloucester sent General. This Importunity of the Duke of *Albany* soon prevail'd with the King; who by many Injuries had been exasperated, and had only waited Opportunity to make War upon *Scotland*. For the Borders on the *English* Side had been often infested, and upon Complaint no Redress, nor Reparation of Damage made. Moreover, the King having heretofore condescended, upon a Motion from King *James*, *That his Second Daughter the Lady Cicily, should marry James, Prince of Scotland*, and upon the Agreement paid in a large Part of the Portion, had receiv'd no Satisfaction to his Expectation; the Articles of Marriage neither being performed, nor yet the Money lent upon the Bonds of the Provost and Merchants of *Edinburgh*, according to Covenants repaid. He was therefore the sooner won to undertake the Business, which he committed to the Order of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who now had no Competitor in Greatness both of Judgment and Power: No Prince of the House of *Tork* remaining, but such whom the Want of Years, or Love of Ease indispos'd to Action. For the King willing to decline Labour, wav'd the Expedition; and *Gloucester* ambitious to gain Opinion, especially with the Soldier, most forwardly undertook it. The King desired to live to the best Advantage of his Pleasure; *Gloucester* of his Honour. And indeed, *Gloucester* began now like a cunning Physician, to examine the State of the King's Body; which, tho' he found strong and healthful, and by the ordinary reckoning of Men likely to continue many Years, yet withal he observ'd evil Symptoms of Death in him, being overgrown with Fat, and both in his Diet and Lust subject to Disorder: Disorder a greater Enemy to Mankind, and which hath destroyed more than Age, the Sword, or Pestilence. This *Gloucester* perceiv'd, and hence drew Poison, which swell'd his Ambition higher.

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20. Duke of Gloucester marches against Scotland with an Army. He therefore with much Alacrity prepared for the War, and with the Title of Lieutenant General, soon after set forward toward *Scotland*. The Army consisted of 22500, all commanded by Men of great Authority and Experience. Of the Nobility in his Retinue went *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Thomas*, Lord *Stanley*, Lord Steward of the King's House; the Lords *Lovell*, *Graistock*, *Fitzhugh*, *Nevill*, and *Scroope* of *Bolton*: Of Knights, Sir *Edward Woodville*, Brother to the Queen; Sir *William Par*, Sir *John Elrington*, Treasurer of the King's House; Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *John Dichfield* and others. The particular Names of whom I mention, only to shew how great a Shadow *Gloucester* began to cast toward the Sunset, both of the King's Glory and Life. The Vanguard was led by the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Rereward by the Lord *Stanley*, the main Battel by the Duke himself; in whose Company was the Duke of *Albany*; *Gloucester* willing perhaps to have him still in Sight, least

if apart, with Sale of the Army, he might purchase his own Peace.

Their first Attempt was upon *Berwick* (surrender'd heretofore by Queen *Margaret* to gain a Sanctuary for King *Henry*, when he was expell'd *England*) into which, partly by Terror of their Forces, partly by the Suddenness of their Approach, they enter'd without Opposition. The Town was soon at their Discretion; but the Castle, the strongest Fort then in the North, by the Earl *Bothwell*, was made good against all Battery. *Gloucester* foreseeing by the Strength both of the Place, and the Commanders Resolution, that this Siege would spend much Time, committed the Charge to the Lord *Stanley*, Sir *John Elrington*, and Sir *William Par*, with 4000 Soldiers; while he with the Body of the Army march'd higher into *Scotland*, perswaded, as indeed it happened, that they might force the King of *Scotland* either to an inglorious Flight, or else for Safety to lock himself up in some strong Hold. By which they might so imprison him, that his Release should not be without a full Discharge for all Injuries both against *England* and the Duke of *Albany*. And according to Expectation it happen'd, the King upon the first Rumour of an Enemy, inclosing himself in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. For in his Government having not studied the Safety of his People (which is the supream Law given to Kings) he found himself now forsaken by them, so far, that in Opposition to the *English*, against whom the *Scots* ever shew'd a fair Resolution, no Army now took the Field, the Country lying open to the Mercy of the Invader.

*Gloucester* therefore, burning many Towns by the Way to strike a Terror, in the Inhabitants; march'd directly to *Edinburgh*; into which he enter'd, receiving such Presents as the Citizens offer'd to him; for at the Intreaty of the Duke of *Albany*, he spared the Town from Spoil. His Entry was only a Spectacle of Glory, the people applauding the Mercy of an Enemy, who presented them with a Triumph, not a Battel; and welcom'd him as a Prince, who took Arms not for Prey or Malice, but for the Safety of a neighbouring Kingdom, disorder'd and laid waste more by the License of a Tyrant in Peace, than it could have been by the Hand of War. The Lords of *Scotland* considering the Danger of their State, and desirous to prevent Ruin, sent from *Haddington* to the Duke of *Gloucester* to intreat a Suspence of Arms, and to desire a firm Peace in future. They there offer'd, if the Occasion of beginning this War, were as it was pretended; to give the *English* full Satisfaction: So that he could have no Colour of continuing in Hostility, but only a Desire to execute his Indignation upon a Country, already sufficiently destroy'd. For concerning the Marriage, they were prepared when it should please the King of *England* to accomplish it; and for any other Injury offer'd to the *English*, they were ready to make Restitution. The Duke of *Gloucester* return'd in Answer, *That his coming thither was to right the Honour of his Country, often violated by the Scots, and restore the Duke of Albany unjustly commanded to Exile, to his native Soil and the Dignity of his Birth. As for the Marriage of the Prince of Scotland with the Daughter of England, he knew not how his Brother's Resolution stood at the present: Whereupon he required Repayment of the Money lent to land their King upon the first Agreement; and withal a delivery of the Castle of Berwick up into his Hands; without which he protested to come to no*

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20.

*Berwick* gain'd by the *English*.

King of Scots forsaken for his Tyranny.

Duke of Gloucester's Mercy to the Scots.

A Peace concluded with Scotland.



## The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

*A. D.* 1480. *Reg. 20.* But the *Scottish* Lords laboured by all Means to have avoided the Surrender of a Place so important, by pretending how anciently it ever appertain'd to their Crown, by parting with which now they should appear at too dear and base a Price, to have purchased Peace. No Argument could prevail against *Gloucester's* Resolution; whereupon they yielded *Berwick*, with Covenant too by no Art hereafter to labour the Reduction of it. They likewise appointed a Day for Restitution of all those Monies lent by King *Edward*, and promised upon a full Discussion, to make Satisfaction for all Damages done the *English* by any Inroad of the *Scottish* Borderers. And for the Duke of *Albany's* Provision, whose Safety in this Expedition was principally pretended; (a) a general Pardon for him and his Followers was granted, together with an Abolition of all Discontents: Whereby he was reinvested in all his former Dignities and Places; and by consent of the Nobility of *Scotland* proclaim'd Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

Duke of Albany restored.

Duke of Gloucester engages the Duke of Albany to his friendship.

Duke of Gloucester returns to London, and with great Applause is received.

With this Lord the Duke of *Gloucester* endeavour'd to make a most entire Friendship, and by all industry imploy'd for his Advancement in Authority, studied how to make him firm to his Purposes, if Occasion should hereafter present it self to require his Aid: And questionless, howsoever the Fortunes of these two Dukes accorded not in every Point, yet there was in their Ambitions some kind of Sympathy. Both being Brothers to Kings, and both the Kings by the Intolency or Licentiousness of their Actions become obnoxious to a publick Scandal. But *Albany* had the Advantage in a more deserv'd and universal Hatred to the King his Brother, whereby he might not improbably expect to be King in Fact, however his Brother were in Title. And *Gloucester* had the Start in that the King's Brother's Ease apparently tended to the shortning of his Life; and then he, remaining the only Prince of the Blood fit to govern, was not unlikely to govern as King both in Fact and Title. To the Advancement of such a Design, a perfect Amity with *Scotland*, *Gloucester* could not but imagine most necessary.

Having therefore settled Business there with all increase of Glory to the *English* Name, (and by Consequence to his own) he return'd to *Berwick*; which according to the former Agreement had been yielded to the Lord *Stanley*. Thence in all solemnity of Greatness he came towards *London*, to yield an Account of his prosperous Enterprize. By the Way he permitted the Honour of this Action to be divulged with the greatest Applause, thereby to insinuate his Reputation into the Opinion of the Commons; and to show how much more nobly he in this Expedition against *Scotland* had managed the Peace for the Honour of the *English* Nation, than his Brother had in his Undertaking against *France*. Considering that in Lieu of a little Money, which King *Edward* got from King *Lewis*, he had taken the only Place of Strength whereby the *Scots* might with Safety to themselves have endanger'd us, and brought them to what Conditions he pleased, forcing the King to immure himself, while the *English* at Liberty spoil'd the Country, and possessed themselves of his capital Town of *Edenborough*. And farther by *Gloucester's* Flatterers it was urged, that if their General had but had Commission ample enough, he would not have return'd without Reduction of the Kingdom of

*Scotland* to the Crown of *England*. Obedience to a superior Command fixing so sudden a Period to his Actions. And certainly in this Expedition the Duke of *Gloucester* laid the Foundation of all his after-Atchievements: For here having by a free Spoil of every Town, except only *Edenborough*, purchased the Affection of the common Soldiers, whose Aim in War is Gain and License; and by sober Order and great Courage, together with a brave Zeal ever to bring Honour to his Side, won Estimation from the nobler Sort; he began to imagine himself reputed generally only unhappy in wanting a good Title to the Kingdom. The Difference between him and his Brother, was, that the one possessed, the other deserv'd the Crown. And his Thoughts farther flatter'd him, that it could not prove hereafter Difficult, upon any handsome Occasion to persuade the People, who already thought him Worthy, also to think it fit to make him King.

But these his black Intentions came not yet to Light; and indeed they were so monstrous, that they would not only have manifested the Ugliness of their Shape had they now appear'd; but like imperfect and deform'd Births, been buried, as soon as produced. Cunningly therefore by Pretences of a most serious Love to his Brother, and publicly ascribing the whole Glory of the Action to his Direction, he declin'd Suspicion. Being welcom'd by the King with all the Demonstrations of Joy, who congratulated his own Felicity in having with so little Charge and no Loss, tamed all the Infolency of the *Scots*, and reduced *Berwick*. He therefore to show how much he approv'd the Conditions of the Peace, went solemnly in Procession from *St. Stephen's* Chappel accompany'd with the Queen and a mighty Retinue of the greatest Lords into *Westminster-Hall*; where in Presence of the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *James Liddall*, Embassadors extraordinary from *Scotland* the Peace was ratified.

During the War with *Scotland*, and after the Conclusion of this Peace, the King discover'd to the People his natural Disposition. Which being Bountiful and Courteous, far from the proud State then in Practice with the Tyrants of the East; begot a general Affection, and made the Subject comparing their Felicity, with the Misery of their Fathers, to bless the present Government. The Administration likewise of the Laws being orderly, without Violence or Partiality, caused all the former Injustice to be cast either upon the License of War, or the Predominancy of some Faction; and the King absolutely acquitted in Mens Opinion. And even from Lust, which was reputed his Bosom-sin, towards the latter end of his Life, he was somewhat clear: Either Conscience reforming him, or by continual Satiety grown to a Loathing of it: For the Abstinence could not be imputed to Age, he at his Death not exceeding Two and Forty. But what endear'd him so much to the Affection of the People, and especially to the Citizens of *London*, was his being rich by his Tribute from *France*, and therefore not likely to lie heavy on them; as likewise the so fam'd Bounty of his Hospitality; Two thousand Persons being daily serv'd in his Court at *Eltham*, where most solemnly he celebrated the Feast of the Nativity. And to recompence the great Love which in both Fortunes the *Londoners* had show'd him, to his last Hour he us'd towards them a particular Kind-

*A. D.* 1480. *Reg. 20.*

Duke of Gloucester's Ambition.

Duke of Gloucester's pretended Affection to the King.

King Edward's obliging Carriage to his Subjects in the End of his Reign.

King Edward's magnificent Court.

*A. D.* 1481. *Reg. 21.*

(a) The Duke of *Albany* deserted the *Scots*, and was chosen to be their Governour, *Hol.*

ness:



A. D. 1481. Reg. 21. ness: Even so much, that he invited the Lord Mayor (o) and Aldermen, and some of the principal Citizens to the Forrest of *Walsham*, to give them a Friendly not a pompous Entertainment. Where in a pleasant Lodge they were feasted, the King himself seeing their Dinner serv'd in; and by thus stooping down to a loving Familiarity, sunk deep into their Hearts: Ordinary slight Courtesies, order'd thus to the best Advantage, taking more often even with sound Judgments than churlish Benefits. And that the Sex he always affected might not be unremembred, he caused great plenty of Venison to be sent to the Lady Mayores and the Aldermen's Wives.

The Queen's Pride and Indiscretion. Thus was the Outward Face of the Court full of the Beauty of Delight and Majesty; while the Inward was all rotten with Discord and Envy. For the Queen by how much she consider'd her self more unworthy the Fortune she enjoy'd, by so much she endeavour'd in the exterior height of Carriage to raise her self; foolishly imagining Pride could set off the Humility of her Birth. She was likewise (according to the Nature of Women) Factionous; as if her Greatness could not appear clear enough without Opposition. And those she oppos'd were the chiefest both in Blood and Power; the Weaker she disdain'd to wrastle with, and they fearful to contest with her. But what subjected her to an universal Malice, was the Rapine, which the necessary Provision of her Kindred engaged her to. For they being many and great in Title could not be supplied according to their Ambition, but by so common an Injury as made her Name odious through the Kingdom. Moreover the Lords of her Blood, by reason of their Nearness to the King's Children being insolent, and in regard of their Youth, indiscreet; frequently ran into those Errors which betray'd them to the publick Scorn or Hatred. Against the Queen (for through her Kindred they aim'd at her) the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Hastings*, and others of the most ancient Nobility oppos'd themselves. And to render both her and hers odious, *Gloucester* laid the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* (which Fratricide himself most barbarously contriv'd) altogether upon their Malice; pretending a more than ordinary Caution for his own Safety, lest his Person might by the same Practices be brought in Danger. By which Calumny he both clear'd his own Reputation, and clouded the Fame of a Faction he endeavour'd so much to ruin. For this Side had much the Start in Opinion and Policy, over the other, who were Young, and unexperienced; and the President of whose Council was a Woman.

King Edward's Grief for the Quarrels among his Kindred. To compose these Quarrels it begot the King much Trouble: Neither could he without extream Anxiety hear the continual Complaints of Persons so considerable both in Power in the Kingdom, and Kindred to his Children, not knowing to how dangerous a Height this Discord in time might grow. But to increase his Discontent every Day his Jealousie increased Reg. 22. concerning King Lewis's Faith, who now began to unmask his Intention, and show how much he had deluded the *English*. For having ever since *Maximilian's* Marriage with *Mary*, Dutches of *Burgundy*, been upon unkind Terms with him; sometimes at open War, other times in an unfaithful Truce, he was now

growing to an absolute Peace. And the Conditions were whisper'd contrary to the Treaty at *Picquigny*, which made the King suspicious they two might enter into some League prejudicial to the Honour of the *English*. For *Maximilian* having kept *Lewis* all the Life-time of his Lady, from any further incroach upon her Territories, and by his Fortune gotten into Opinion with the *French*, grew to be much desired in the nearest Friendship by them: And he having buried his Dutches (who owed her Death to her Modesty, in respect that having broke her Thigh by a Fall from a Horse, she denied to expose it to the Sight of Chirurgeons) was willing to stand upon good Terms with *France*. Knowing how slender and how unfaithful an Obedience those Countries would yield to a Prince, who was to rule by Courtelie; since to their natural Lords, they had ever shewed themselves Insolent and Rebellious. These Considerations prepared both Sides to Peace, and the Conclusion of it to beget a more perfect Amity was that the Lady *Margaret*, a Child of two Years Old, Daughter to *Maximilian* and the Dutches of *Burgundy*, should be affianced to the *Dauphin*, then upon the Age of Twelve. So that King *Lewis* in the Marriage of his Son, was ever most Disproportionable; the Daughter of *England* as much too old, as this Lady too young; but indeed his End was the same with *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy* and many other wordly Fathers, to match his son for the best Advantage of his Profit and Convenience.

To confirm the uncertain Rumours of this Perjury in King *Lewis*, the Lord *Howard* return'd out of *France*, and made Relation, how he saw the Lady *Margaret* brought with all Pomp and Ceremony to *Ambois* and there married to *Charles* the *Dauphin*: And to heap yet more Injuries, not long after the Tribute hitherto so carefully paid, was denied. The *French* now disclosing the innate Malice they bore the *English*, and with how little Scruple they could dispence with the most solemn Oath, when no apparent Danger threatned the Crime: For though the *Dauphin* when he had attain'd to the Age of Consent, might have broke off this Marriage; and it could have been only term'd an Act of Discourtesie; yet King *Lewis* who had sworn to this Article with so much Ceremony, cannot be excused from a most foul Impiety.

But what Reason of State prevail'd with him, who heretofore awed by his Fears had condescended in a manner to compound for his Kingdom, thus now to slight the *English*, is not delivered in History. And it may appear Difficult to imagine, considering King *Edward* was now, if possibly, more absolute in his command at Home, his People better disciplin'd, and no Appearance of an Enemy from Abroad. Add to that, his Coffers full, increast every Year by the Tribute from *France*, and his Reputation high, by the Victory lately purchased against the *Scots*; a Nation though inferiour to the *French* in the Riches and Extent of Territory, yet in martial Courage equal; and in warring with whom, we have found more Sweat and Danger than with *France*. It is therefore hard to know the Cause of King *Lewis's* Proceedings in this injurious Way, if we look on our selves only as at Home: But if we consider the State of Businesses Abroad, we may easily discern his Policy. For now had the

(o) Sir Robert Chauncy, he did it says *Holinshed*, to encourage the Lord Mayor, who being a great Merchant paid the King vast Sums for Customs, and had besides entertain'd him very Magnificently before.



## The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1482. French Arts or the Change of Time quite dissolved all our Confederacies, and left us to maintain with our own Arms our own Quarrel. Reg. 22. St. Paul was annihilated, in whose Death expired all the Discontents of the factious Nobility in France.

Duke of  
Brittain  
mad.

The Duke of Brittain by an extream Melancholy (which scarce was reputed less than Madness) was become unfit for Government, much less for any great Attempt: And being overcharged by the Practices and Arms of the French, in a manner made Resignation of his Dutchy to the Disposition of some Officers easie to be corrupted. And Burgundy (which in the Victories of Henry the Fifth, had so much advanced the English Enterprizes) was by the last League with Maximilian wholly at the Devotion of the French. So that all they who heretofore had brought us over, were now either reduced to be unprofitable for our Aid; or else become Enemies, should we renew our ancient Quarrel. Moreover the long Ease the King of England had lived in, and the Pleasures with which he appear'd altogether fascinated, render'd him to the World nothing formidable. And King Lewis having with so little Difficulty hitherto deluded him, and retain'd him in a kind of servile Amity, while he threw Injuries thick upon him; was now heighten'd to a Presumption, that the English would either connive at this Affront, or that by some new Cunning they might be appeased, were the Indignity never so much resent'd. And if the worst should happen, the French nothing fear'd the Enmity: Considering that King Edward alone would be unable to prevail against them seconded by the Forces of Maximilian, whom his Daughter now interest'd in the War.

These Considerations of Security to do Wrong according to the Nature of Wicked Princes, made King Lewis so boldly attempt it: And what was strange in a Man so cunning, he left himself no Excuse for the Fact, either in the Way of Honour or Conscience: And scarce in human Policy. Unless his Expectation reach'd beyond common Reason, in thought that Prince Philip, Son to Maximilian, and the Dutches (for she was Mother only to a Son and a Daughter) might chance to die, and thus by the Lady Margaret all those large Countries devolve into the Power of France. But how slight soever King Lewis's Opinion was of the English, this Breach of Faith was no sooner related to King Edward, but he resolv'd severely to take Revenge.

And calling together all the Council and Nobility, who for the Suddenness could be summon'd, he to this Purpose made a Declaration of his Wrongs, and Intentions how to right himself.

My Lords,

THE Injuries I have received are divulged every where, and the Eye of the World is fix'd upon me, to observe with what Countenance I suffer. And I must confess they are of so strange a Nature, that I remain rather amazed than enraged: Had I dealt with any Prince not civilized by Laws, or inured to Commerce; I had yet the Religion of so many Oaths, and the Reason of every Politick Circumstance so clear, that I could no Way have suspected this foul and foolish Breach of Faith. But in a Christian King (and who pretends to be most Christian) I have met with so horrid a Perjury, and so disgraceful to our Nation; that as all Mankind must abhor him as barbarous, so in my own Particular I must neglect the principal Office of

King Edward's  
Speech to  
his Council  
complain-  
ing of King  
Lewis's  
Deceit,  
and Resolu-  
tion to  
Correct  
it.  
K. Lewis's  
Perjury.

a Prince, if I omit to chastise him. Most of you (my Lords) are Witnesses to the Solemnity of his Vows, when humbly he declined Ruin to his Kingdom: And I to avoid so great a Massacre as the War would have endanger'd, condescended to end all Controversies by a Peace. My Clemency is now become my Scorn; and I reap Indignities where I sow'd Favours. For this ungrateful Man: Prince I must not term him, who hath by Perjury forfeited that sacred Title, and in Contempt of all Law both Human and Divine, denies not only the Marriage of the Dauphin to our Daughter, which would have prov'd so great an Honour to his Blood, and Security to his Kingdom; but even the annual Tribute of Fifty Thousand Crowns; a slender Rent for so large a Country, as by our Permission he hath hitherto enjoy'd.

This Contumely I am resolv'd to punish; and I cannot doubt Success; Almighty God strengthens still his Arm, who undertakes a War for Justice. In our Expeditions heretofore against the French, what Prosperity waited upon the English Arms, is to the World divulg'd; and yet Ambition then appeared the chief Counsellor to War. Now beside all that Right, which led over Edward the Third our glorious Ancestor, and Henry the Fifth our Predecessor, we seem to have a Deputation from Heaven, to execute the Office of the Supreme Judge in chastising the Impious.

When we were last in France, an innate Fear in this false Man forced him down to a sordid Purchase of Security: How low will a wicked Conscience, (which even makes the Valiant, cowardly to tremble) bend him now? Now, when an implacable Resolution for Revenge sets a far sharper Edge upon our Swords: Now when he hath no Hypocrisy left undiscovered, nor Subterfuge for his former Perjury, nor Art to gain Belief to new Dissimulation: Now, when our Ears shall be deaf to all Submission, and when our Conscience is so well resolv'd for the Necessity of this War; that Mercy will be thought a vicious Lenity, and the most savage Cruelty, but an Act of Justice.

I need not repeat how much Age hath infirm'd him (and indeed I think it was his Dotage committed this so foolish Crime): Nor yet how hated he is render'd Abroad by his unfaithful Dealing, and at Home by his severe Government. The Commonalty sunk down by his heavy Impositions; the Nobility by his proud Neglect, exasperated to desire any Innovation. But we want not these Advantages; in the Justice of our Cause, and Valour of our People we have enough.

It is confessed our Confederacies are quite dissolved: And I rejoice in that alone we shall undertake this great Business: For Experience in our last Attempt show'd, that Princes of several Nations (however they pretend the same) have still several Aims: And oftentimes a Confederate is a greater Enemy to the Prosperity of a War, than the Enemy himself: Envy begetting more Difficulty in a Camp, than any Opposition from the adverse Army. Our Brother of Burgundy and Uncle of St. Paul are both dead. How little their Amity advanced us, may how a just Jealousie of their secret Practices hindered our Design then on France, you all may well remember. And how in our Return towards England, we had more Fear to have been assaulted by their traiterous Weapons, than by any Arms from the Enemy. But we will spare their Memory; they labour'd their own Safety, not our Glory. This I am secure, that as by Death they are render'd unprofitable to us, so likewise not dangerous. And as for Brittain, if his Weakness disable him to our Aid,

A. D. 1482.  
Reg. 22.

K. Edward  
threatens  
a merci-  
less Seve-  
rity.

Lewis ha-  
ted by his  
Subjects.

Confede-  
racies  
mischie-  
vous.



A. D. 1482. Reg. 22. *Aid, I am confident it will continue him a Neutral. Neither is it to be forgot, how secretly now we may leave England rather than heretofore: Considering our so entire Friendship with the Scots; whose Hostility was always sharp upon us at Home, when we attempted Victory Abroad.*

*But I detain you, by my Speech, too long from Action. I see the Clouds of due Revenge gather'd in your Brow, and the Lightning of Fury break from your Eyes: Which bodes Thunder against our Enemy. Let us therefore lose no Time, but suddenly and severely scourge this perjured Coward to a too late Repentance; and regain Honour to our Nation, and his Kingdom to our Crown.*

War with France desired and resolv'd on.

The Lords resent'd the Affront with Indignation as high as the King's, and desired that instant Preparations might be made for the War. But above all, the Duke of Gloucester appear'd zealous in the Quarrel; expressing aloud his Desire, *That all his Estate might be spent, and all his Veins emptied in Revenge of this Injury.* All the Court was presently for the Design, and the whole Kingdom with a fierce Appetite desired to arm: So that no Language was heard but Martial; and all the Gallantry was in new Armour, or other Conveniences for Service. The King most passionately pursued his Determination, and that very Spring resolv'd to begin the War. But he was diverted on the sudden from calling King Lewis to a Reckoning for this Crime; and summon'd by Death to give a strict Account for all his own. Death arrested him, and in the Space of not many Hours, instructed him in more than all the Oratory from Pulpits had done for Forty Years.

A. D. 1483. Reg. 23.

K. Edward suddenly seized with a mortal Sickness.

For as soon as he found himself mortally sick, he began to consider the Vanity of all his Victories, which with the Expence of so much Blood he had purchased, and at the Heart repented his too hard Bargain. He looked back upon the Beauty of his sensual Pleasures, and now discern'd it was only fair in the outside, inwardly rotten and deform'd. He cast up the Accounts of his Tribute both at home and abroad, and all those Treasures gather'd either by Proscription of his Enemies, or exacting from his Subjects, and found himself a Bankrupt. For till now, he wanted Leisure to search into that which most concern'd him; and being delighted too much in the Pomp and Pleasure of the Inn where he was not to stay, forgot he had a Journey, and unawares was overtaken by Night, an endless Night which no Day succeeds.

His Behaviour in his Sickness and his last Advice.

Perceiving his Doom inevitable, and no Hope of the least Reprieve, he began to order Business as fully as the Shortness of the Time would licence. The great Affair of his Soul, and indeed the only that is necessary, he committed to the Mercy of his Redeemer; and by the Sacraments then in use with the Church of England, and a real Contrition, he labour'd for a full Expiation of the Crimes and Errors of his Life. And as his Death is describ'd to us by an excellent Author who liv'd near his Time; Almighty God seems to have struck Water even from the Rock (as he Moses's Wand by did for the Israelites) in touching this Prince to the Heart, and forcing a most religious Repentance,

from a Soul obdurate in Sin, as we may conjecture by his Life.

The Revenge of the Injury he receiv'd from K. Lewis, he referr'd to the Judgment of Heaven, whose Work it is to punish Perjury. And Lewis suffered for it according to his Demerit: For that Son, in marrying whom he so busied his Imaginations, and slighted all Faith and Religion, liv'd but a short Space, and died issueless. Not one Branch remaining of that great Tree, whose Root was in Perjury and Dissimulation.

The Protection of the King and Kingdom he left to the Lords nearest in Kindred to his Children, advising them, *To Amity and Concord; by which the Nation would flourish in Greatness abroad and Safety at Home; the young King be secured from Flattery, and instructed in the best Discipline for Government; and they themselves live in much Honour and Felicity, if united to advance the Commonwealth, and oppose all foreign Danger: Where-as Discord would beget Civil War, and that endanger Ruin.* So that this Christian King like Christ himself, when he departed bequeath'd Peace to the World. And had this Doctrine been as zealously followed as it was utter'd, the succeeding Time had not been guilty of so many sad Confusions. But for the present a perfect Reconciliation appear'd, both Sides lovingly embracing, and protesting all Amity for the future. So that with Comfort he forsook the World, and may well be said to have deserv'd a general Applause in this last Scene of his Life.

Among his Words of farewell at his Death, it is worthy Observation; *That he solemnly protested his Repentance, for Obtaining the Crown with so much Blood, as the Necessity of the Quarrel spilt.* Which certainly shews a most singular Piety, considering the indubitable Justice of his Title; and withal teacheth Princes a new Lesson, *That the Power of Sway, which great Men so superstitiously adore, is but the Idol of Folly and Ambition; whose Oracles delude the Living, but on our Death-beds we discern the Truth, and hate the Irreligion of our former Error.*

Concerning the Occasion of his Death, there is much Variety of Opinion; for by several Authors, it is severally imputed to Poison, grief, and Surfeit. They who ascribe it to Poison, are the passionate Enemies of Richard, Duke of Gloucester's Memory; who permit not Nature at that Time to have been obnoxious to Decay, but make the Death of every Prince an Act of Violence or Practice. And in regard this cruel Lord was guilty of much Blood, without any other Argument, condemn him for those Crimes, from which he was however actually most innocent. The French affirm it to have proceeded from Grief conceiv'd upon Repudiation of his Daughter, and Detention of the Tribute. But they looking on our Affairs afar off, mistake the Shadow for the Substance, desiring perhaps that King Lewis should kill a King of England by a new Weapon: And certainly Lewis did persuade himself, that King Edward was slain this Way; and congratulated his Wit much in the Accident. But this carries not the least Appearance of Probability (p). Great Sorrows kill for the most part suddenly, else by a languishing Decay of Nature; whereas King Edward died not presently

A. D. 1483.

Reg. 23.

The ill Success of per-jurious Actions in Lewis of France.

K. Edward advises the Lords to Amity.

His sorrow for the War he got the Crown by.

The Causes of K. Edward's Death are variously reported, as first by Poison.

Second, Grief.

(p) Philip de Comines writes *Tout Soudainement il est mort, & Comme par Melancholie du Mariage de Nostre Roy, qui regne a Present, avec Madame Marguerite d'Autriche, & tantost apres qu'il en eut des Nouvelles il prit La Maladie, &c.* He died on a sudden, as one would think out of Melancholly for our King now reigning, his Marriage with the Princess Margarets of Austria; for as soon as he heard the News he fell sick &c.



## The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

*A. D.* upon the Report, nor yet drew Melancholly  
1483. from this Injury, but a brave Anger fierce to  
Reg. 23. seek Revenge. Moreover Grief hath then been  
observ'd most powerful over Life, when the  
Disconsolate hath no Ear to which he may ex-  
press himself, and no Hope left for Remedy:  
Whereas King *Edward* breath'd forth Passions to  
his Council, and found in them a Sympathy both  
in the Sorrow and the Rage: And as for Re-  
venge, certainly the State of *England* was ne-  
ver better prepar'd to exact it; the King being  
a valiant and fortunate Leader, the People in-  
ured heretofore to the Exercise of Arms, and  
never so forward to any Quarrel, as against  
the *French*, from whom they ever reaped Vi-  
ctory and Treasure: And concerning Money  
the Strength of an Army, the Exchequer was  
full enough, without any burdensome Imposi-  
to begin the War.

Thirdly,  
A Surfeit  
the true  
Cause of  
his Death,  
and the  
Time of  
it.

K. Ed-  
ward's  
Parallel  
with K.  
Lewis.

It was therefore questionless a Surfeit  
brought this great Prince so suddenly to his  
end. For who observes well the Scope of his  
pleasure, finds it to have been placed much in  
Wantonness and Riot, the Two mighty De-  
stroyers of Nature: And commonly by those  
Excesses with which we solace Life, we ruin it.  
He died upon the Ninth of *April* 1483.(9) at his  
Palace of *Westminster*, and was interr'd at *Wind-  
sor*. *Sixtus* the Fourth being Pope, *Frederick*  
the Third Emperor, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King  
and Queen of *Aragon* and *Castile*, *John* the Se-  
cond, King of *Portugal*, *James* the Third, of  
*Scotland*, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*. Be-  
tween whom and King *Edward*, as there was  
much Intercourse in Business, so was there  
great Concurrence in Fortune. Both began and  
ended their Reigns in the same Years: Both  
were held in Jealousie by the precedent Kings,  
*Edward* by King *Henry*, *Lewis* by his Father  
*Charles* the Seventh; both had Titles disputa-  
ble to the Crown. The House of *Lancaster*  
usurping against *Edward*; the House of *Eng-  
land* claiming against *Lewis*. Both were per-  
plex'd with Civil War, and both successful.  
*Lewis* infested by an insolent Nobility; *Edward*  
by a Saint-like Competitor. *Lewis* victorious  
by Art, *Edward* by Courage. Both were re-  
bell'd against by their own Brothers; *Lewis*, by  
*Charles*, Duke of *Berry*, *Edward*, by *George*,  
Duke of *Clarence*: And both took a severe Re-  
venge, *Lewis* freeing himself from so bosom an  
Enemy, by poisoning *Charles*; *Edward* by drown-  
ing *Clarence*. Both ended this Life with Ap-  
pearance of much Zeal; *Edward* religiously,  
*Lewis* something superstitiously. Both left their  
Sons, yet Children to inherit, who died issue-  
less, and left their Crown to their greatest  
Enemies; *Edward* the Fifth to his Uncle *Rich-  
ard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, *Charles*, the Eighth,  
to his Kinsman *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*.

But who looks upon the Lives of these Two  
Princes on the other Side, may, as in a Table  
which presents several Faces, perceive as great  
Disparity. But I am only to give you the Pi-  
cture of King *Edward* without Flattery or De-  
traction; which is rare in History, consider-  
ing Authors fashion for the most part *Jdaas* in  
their Minds, and according to them, not to  
the Truth of Action form a Prince; which tho'  
happily it win Applause to the Writer, is a  
high Abuse to the Reader.

But this King was, if we compare his with  
the Lives of Princes in general, worthy to be  
number'd among the best. And whom, though  
not an extraordinary Vertue, yet, a singular  
Fortune made conspicuous. He was born at  
*Roan* in *Normandy*, his Father at that Time Re-  
gent in *France*. The so fatal Division between  
the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* with him in a  
Manner having both its Birth and Growth; for  
as he, so the Faction of his Family gathered  
Strength. His Education was, according to  
the best Provision for his Honour and Safety, in  
Arms: A strict and religious Discipline, in all  
Probability likely to have softned him too much  
to Mercy, and a Love of Quiet.

*A. D.*  
1483.  
Reg. 23.  
K. Ed-  
ward's  
Chara-  
cter.  
His Birth.  
Educa-  
tion.

He had a great Extent of Wit, which cer-  
tainly he owed to Nature: That Age better-  
ing Men little by Learning, which howsoever  
he had wanted Leisure to have receiv'd; the  
Trumpet sounding still too loud in his Ear, to  
have admitted the sober Counsels of Philosophy.  
And his Wit lay not in the Sights of Cunning  
and Deceit; but in a sharp Apprehension, yet  
not too much whetted by Suspicion.

Wit and  
Parts.

In Counsel he was judicious, with little Diffi-  
culty dispatching much: His Understanding open  
to clear Doubts, not dark and cloudy and apt  
to create new. His Wisdom look'd ever directly  
upon Truth, which appears by the Manage-  
ment of his Affairs both in Peace and War: In  
neither of which (as far as concern'd the po-  
litical Part) he committed any main Error.  
Tis true, he was over-reach'd in Peace by King  
*Lewis*, abused concerning the Marriage of his  
Daughter; in War by the Earl of *Warwick*,  
when upon Confidence of a final Agreement he  
was surpriz'd: But both these Misfortunes I  
impute to want of Faith in his Enemies, not of  
Judgment in him. Though to speak impar-  
tially, his too great Presumption on the Oath of  
a dissembling Prince; and want of Circum-  
spection, a Reconciliation being but in Treaty,  
cannot scape without Reprehension.

His Judg-  
ment.

His Nature certainly was both noble and ho-  
nest, which if rectified by the strait Rule of  
Vertue, had render'd him fit for Example,  
whereas he is only now for Observation. For  
Prosperity raised him but to a Complacency in  
his Fortune, not to a Disdain of others Losses,  
or a Pride of his own Acquisitions. And when  
he had most Security in his Kingdom, and conse-  
quently most Allurements to Tyranny, then  
shewed he himself most familiar and indulgent.  
An admirable Temper in a Prince, who so well  
knew his own Strength, and whom the Love of  
Riot necessitated to a Love of Treasure, which  
commonly is supplied by Oppression of the  
Subject.

His ex-  
cellent  
Dispo-  
sition.

The heavy Fine laid upon Sir *Thomas Cook*,  
and his Displacing the Chief Justice *Markham*,  
blemisheth him with Violence and Avarice.  
But that Severity, and the other, when he be-  
gan to look into the Penal Laws, were but  
short Tempests, or rather small Overcastings,  
during the glorious Calm of his Government.  
And whatsoever Injury the Subject endured,  
was not imputed to the King, but to *Tiptoft*,  
Earl of *Worcester*, and some under-Informers;  
or else to the Queen and her necessitous Kin-

The Se-  
verity  
of his  
Reign not  
imputed  
to K. Ed-  
ward.

(9) He reigned Twenty Three Years and One Month, and lived about Forty One Years.

dred.



A. D. 1483. The World either judicially or else favourably diverting all Envy from his Memory.

Reg. 23.

His Courage & Conduct in War.

Great Judgment in leading his Armies, and Courage in fighting personally, speaks him both a daring Soldier, and an expert Commander. And the many Battels he fought, in all which he triumph'd, make him as much to be admired for his military Discipline, as his happy Success. Fortune not deserving to have all his mighty Victories ascribed to her Gift; Valour and good Conduct share at the least with her in the Fate of War. But as in Arms he appears most glorious to Posterity, so likewise most unhappy: For all those bloody Conquests he obtain'd, were against his own Nation; and the greatest Adversaries he overcame, were near in Consanguinity to him; so that he may more properly be said to have let himself Blood, than his Enemies; or rather for Preservation of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and most necessary Limbs. For beside those many Princes of the House of Somerset, Buckingham, Excester, Oxford, Devonshire, Northumberland, Westmerland, Shrewsbury, and finally the Tree it self, and the only Branch, Henry the Sixth and his Son Prince Edward; He slew even the Earl of Warwick and the Marquess Mountague; Two Brothers, who having lost their Father in his Quarrel, hazarded their Lives and those mighty Possessions and Honours which peaceably they might have enjoyed, only to advance his Title. But this was rather his Fate than his Fault; and into this Sea of Blood he failed not voluntarily, but violently driven by the Tempests of his Fortune. And for the

The Cruelty to his Brother, the Duke of Clarence, a Trouble to him.

Cruelty laid to him in the Death of the Duke of Clarence, he was certainly wrought to it by the Practice, and the Misinformation of an envious Faction in Court; the Horror of which Fratricide possessed him to the last Hour of his Life; frequently complaining against the unhappy Severity of his Justice, and against the hard Nature of his Counsellors, who would not interpose one Word to him for Mercy, whereby so black a Deed might have been prevented. But howsoever we may wash away much of this Blood from his Memory, yet there continue many foul Stains upon it; since publick Mischiefs seldom happen, but that the Prince, tho' not actually nocent, is in some Degree guilty.

The Turk's Success in Europe, his Grief.

As these so many Confusions at Home were the Misfortune of his Time, so was Abroad, that so scandalous Loss of the Eastern Empire to the Turk. For though King Edward were not the Occasion of so great Ruin to the Christian Commonwealth, and this happen'd before he attain'd the Sovereignty, his Father being Head of the Faction; yet the civil Wars of England rais'd about the Quarrel which he was soon after to maintain, and the universal Division among the Princes of the West gave Courage to the Infidels; and denied Succours to the miserable Emperour oppress'd by an over-potent Enemy. Whereby a City was prophaned, in which the Christian-Faith had flourish'd without Interruption for a thousand Years. But as the Sea is said to gain in another, if it looseth in this Place: So about this time Religion, by the singular Piety and Valour of Ferdinand and Isabella, won Ground upon the Moors in Spain, whence not long after they were totally and (I hope) for ever expel'd.

His Care of Justice.

But when the War licens'd the King to attend his Government, we find the Administra-

tion of Laws just and equal; and many new Statutes enacted, wholesome against Diseases crept into the State; so that he appear'd diligent both to heal up any Wound, which the Tumults of his Reign had given the Commonwealth, and provident for the Health of future Ages. And certainly no Prince could Husband the Benefits of Peace better for the outward Magnificence; for his Glory was much in Hospitality, and a pompous Celebration of the principal Feasts of our Redemption. In which Way of Bravery settling much of his Happiness; he had been doubtless the most Fortunate of any King of the Norman Line, had he not fail'd in the Expectation of his Daughters Marriage.

A. D. 1483.

Reg. 23.

His Buildings.

His Buildings were few, but sumptuous for that Time, or more properly but Reparations: Which are yet to be seen at the Tower of London, his House of Eltham, the Castles of Nottingham and Dover: But above all at Windsor, where he built the new Chappel (finish'd after by Sir Riginald Bray, Knight of the Order) and indow'd the College with mighty Revenues; which he gave not, but transferred thither; taking from King's-College in Cambridge, and Eaton-College a thousand Pound by the Year to enrich this at Windsor.

But our Buildings like our Children are obnoxious to Death; and Time scorns their Folly, who place a Perpetuity in either. And indeed the safer kind of Fate happen'd to King Edward in both these Felicities: His Posterity like his Edifices, lost in other Names. For his Two Sons, before they had survived their Father, the ceremonious Time of Mourning, were themselves inhumanely murder'd, and as obscurely buried. His Eldest Daughter the Lady Elizabeth, was married to the Earl of Richmond, known by the Name of Henry the Seventh; whose Heir in a strait Line not liable to any Doubt or Question, is his most sacred Majesty, now glorious in Government of this Realm. The Younger Daughters were bestowed, one in a Monastery, others upon inferior Lords. Cicily married John, Viscount Wells: Anne, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk: Bridget was a professed Nun at Dartford: Mary was contracted to the King of Denmark, but died before Consummation of Marriage: Margaret died an Infant: Katherine married William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire. But of none of these younger Princesses at this Day remains any Thing but their Memory: All dying issueless but the Lady Katherine, whose Posterity failed likewise in the Third Descent. Henry her Son, Marquess of Exeter suffered by Attainder in the Reign of his Cousen German, Henry the Eighth, being not long before designed Heir Apparent to the Crown (an Honour fatal in England: ) and his Son Edward untimely came to his Death at Padua in Italy, in the Reign of Queen Mary, by whose Favour he had regain'd his Father's Honours and Possessions. So that all the clear Stream from the Spring of York flows in the House of Scotland: The troubled and impure runs in many Veins of the English Gentry. For by the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, he had an illegitimate Son, named Arthur, who by his Wife's Right was Viscount Lisle, and dying without Issue-male, left to his Three Daughters and their Posterity some Tincture of the Blood Royal.

His Children, and the Fate of his Sons Edward and Richard.

His illegitimate Offspring.

This Disease of his Blood was the Crime which procured both to his Government and Memory

His Lusts.



## The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

*A. D.* 1483. Memory many hard Censures. For tho' some excuse his Lust, as a Sin, tho' black to the Eye of Heaven, yet no way generally injurious; in regard the Incontinency of one Man could not be so diffusive as to wrong a Multitude: Nevertheless, who observes the Revolutions of Kingdoms, shall find no one Iniquity in Princes so punish'd. The Dishonour of one Lady abused extending to the Disgrace of several Families, and mighty Factions knitting together for Revenge: In the whole Stock of Injuries none being so cruel to human Nature, and which with less Patience can be dissembled.

His Perjury.

His frequent Perjury, (a Sin, which strikes like a Sword with Two Edges, both against divine and humane Faith) was the Crime which render'd him most odious to the Society of Man. For impiously he appeared in this to brave Heaven, slighting all solemn Covenants made with God; and foolishly preferring before a holy Promise, a little Profit, or the Satisfaction of his Revenge. Which Crime, however for the present it might stand him in some Benefit, yet certainly it might have involv'd him in much Loss in all after-Enterprizes, which depended upon his Faith. The Death of *Wells* and *Dimmock*, of *Fauconbridge*, of *Somerset*, Lord Prior of *St. John's* and others, were the Wounds Perjury gave his Soul, the Scars of which remain yet foul upon his Fame. But perhaps he thought no Faith was to be held with an Enemy, or promised not with Intention of Performance: An impious Equivocation; but then in Practice with his Neighbour Princes both of *France* and *Burgundy*: So that the Custom may in some Sort seem to privilege the Fault.

His Carelessness and Confidence.

In his Youth he was so uncircumspect, and even when he had the strongest Arguments for Jealousie, so overconfident, that it engaged him

to extream Difficulties, and endanger'd absolute Ruin. But his Fortune, almost miraculously, made up all those Breaches, which had been by his Carelessness and Presumption laid open; and delighting something wantonly to boast her Power and Favour to him, raised him then highest, when all the World, and almost his own Hopes forsook him. For presently upon the Slaughter of his Father at the Battel of *Wakefield*, and the Overthrow of his great Supporter the Earl of *Warwick* at that of *S. Albans*: She inthron'd him in the Kingdom, making the Queen and all the Favourers of *Lancaster*, when doubly victorious, retire as overcome; and the universal Acclamations of the People set the regal Diadem upon his Head; whose Father's Head at that Time, like a Traytor's was fixed upon the Walls of *York*, scorn'd with a Paper Crown. And afterward when from a mighty Prince he was become a miserable Exile, forced by the Treason of his chiefest Counsellors and Powers of his greatest Enemy to fly into *Burgundy*, where he likewise met with but a dissembled Amity: She restored him to what at first she gave: And whereas his Forces were so weak upon his Return into *England*, that despairing of more, he humbly only desired to be invested in his Father's Dutchy, and vowed never to attempt the Crown: She violently forc'd it on him, protesting, (by the Mouths of the Nobility who resorted to him at *Nottingham*) not to afford him Safety if he refused the Sovereignty; by which amorous Way of threatening, she in a manner wooed him to accept, what he durst not then hope to recover. And had the Appetite of Glory more prevail'd with him, than the Sense of Pleasure, as far as we may conjecture of his Fortune, he might have extended his Victories over the World, which are now straitned within the narrow Limits of our Island.

*A. D.* 1483. Reg. 23.

His Fortune.

### The End of the Reign of King EDWARD the Fourth.

THE



THE  
**Remarkable OCCURRENCES**  
 IN THE  
*Reign of EDWARD the Fourth.*

**I**N the beginning of this Government it rain'd Blood in *Bedfordshire*, the red Drops appearing on some Linnen that was hung out to be dry'd. *Hol.*

Tho' it may seem below the Dignity of History to take Notice of Fashions in dress, yet we do not think any Thing that may entertain the Curious too trivial to be inserted in this Place.

In the Seventh Year of the King's Reign, the People had an extravagant Way of adorning their Feet, which was thought of such ill Consequence, that a Proclamation was put forth against it. They wore the *Beaks* or *Pikes* of their Shoes so long, that it incumber'd them in their Walking, and they were forced to tie them up to their Knees; the fine Gentlemen did it with Chains of Silver, or Silver-gilt; and those who could not afford to be at the Charge of them with Silk Laces: Which ridiculous Fashion had been in Vogue ever since the Year 1382, above Four-score Years, and now 'twas prohibited on the Forfeiture of twenty Shillings, and the Pain of Cursing by the Clergy.

This Year the King concluded a League with *Henry K. of Castile*, and *John, K. of Arragon*; at the Conclusion of which he allow'd that certain *Cotswold* Sheep should be transported into *Spain* where the Breed so increased, and the Wool was so much finer than that of *England*, that King *Edward's* Complacency for the Kings of *Spain* has been very detrimental to his own Country.

In the Eleventh Year of his Reign, Anno 1471, *William Caxton* a Mercer of *London*, a Lover of Letters, and a good Historian for those Times, Author of the Chronicle, call'd *Fructus Temporum*, brought the Art of Printing into *England*, and practis'd it first in *Westminster-Abby*.

In his Seventeenth Year there was so dreadful a Plague, that Historians relate more People were destroy'd by it, than by Fifteen Years War before.

In his Nineteenth Year, *Robert Bifield*, Esq; one of the Sheriffs of *London*, was fined Fifty Pound by the Court of Aldermen, for affronting the Lord Mayor, which it seems was only in kneeling too near him at Prayers in *Paul's Church*.

In the following Year two notorious Thieves were pressed to Death for robbing *St. Martin's Le Grand Church* in *London*, and three others of the Gang hang'd and burnt.

*In the Reigns of this King's Predecessors, Glory inspired the English Nobility with Valour, and produced many Hero's Ambition, Envy and Revenge did the same now. Faction made the Barons of England Enemies to one another, and Hatred and Envy animated them to such daring Actions in destroying each other, that one would think their Courage was as Invincible as their Hate. Of these the most Famous on the Part of King Henry were,*

*Henry and Edmund Beaufort, Dukes of Somerset; Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire; James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; John, Earl of Oxford, his Son the Lord Aubrey Vere, and the Brave and Loyal Lord John, Earl of Oxford his other Son and Successor; the Lord Hungerford, the Lord Ross, the Lord Molins; John Holland, Duke of Exeter; the Lord Clifford; Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland; the Lord Wells; the Lord Bardolf; the Lord Fitz Walter; Sir Ralph Piercy; Sir John Nevill; Sir Henry Nevill, Son to the Lord Latimer; Sir Ralph Grey, and Sir Robert Wells, Son to the Lord Wells. These all died for the Cause of the House of Lancaster, except the Earls of Wiltshire and Oxford.*

*On King EDWARD's Part the most Eminent were,*

*John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester; the Earl of Rivers, and his Son Sir Anthony Woodville; William, Earl of Kent; the Lord Cobham; Henry, Lord Bouchier; the Lord Audley; the Lord Clinton; William, Lord Hastings, his Chamberlain and Favourite; the Lord Scroop; Sir Walter Blunt; William, Lord Herbert; Sir Richard Herbert; Sir Thomas Burroughs; Sir John Howard; the Lord Say; and Sir Richard Walgrave. The greater Part of these lost their Lives in the Quarrel of the House of York.*

*The following Lords were sometimes on the One Side, and sometimes on the Other; but at last they all dy'd in Defence of the Claim of the White Rose, as the Lancastrians were term'd, and the Yorkists the Red.*

The first of these and of all the English Hero's was *Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick*, surnam'd the *King-Maker*. He was a chief Instrument in deposing King *Henry* and crowning King *Edward*: In expelling King *Edward* and restoring King *Henry*; of the same Principles were his Brother *John, Marquis Mountacute*; *John, Lord Wenlock*; *Thomas Nevill*, call'd the *Bastard of Falconbridge*, and *Sir William Tirrell*, equally Famous for their Courage and Inconstancy.

*The*



*The Writers who liv'd in King EDWARD the Fourth's Days were,*

*Nicholas Kenton* of *Suffolk*, Provincial of the *Carmelites* in *England*.

*Henry Parker*, a *Carmelite Fryer* of *Launceston*, who preach'd against the Pride of the Prelates, for which he was imprison'd with one *Thomas Holden*.

*John Gunthorpe*, Dean of *Wells*, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal. He travell'd into *Italy*, where he studied Rhetorick under *Guarinus* of *Ferrara*.

*Dr. William Fy*, Prebend of *Pauls*.

*Thomas Wilton*, Dean of *Pauls*.

*Juliana Bemis*, a Lady who wrote several Treatises of Hawking and Hunting, the Laws of Arms and Heraldry.

*John Stamberie*, a West-Country-man, Bishop of *Hereford*.

*John Sluete*, Provincial of the *Augustine Fryers*.

*Sir John Fortescue*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, wrote several Treatises of Law and Politicks.

*Fryer Rochus*, born in *London*, but studied in *Paris*. He was a Poet.

*John Phreas* studied under *Guarinus* of *Ferrara*, became very Eloquent, and was an eminent Physician and Lawyer.

*Walter Hunt*, a *Carmelite Fryer*, one of the *English* Deputies at the Council of *Ferrara*, where he disputed with the *Greeks* in Defence of the Discipline and Ceremonies of the *Roman Church*.

*Thomas Wigenhall*, a Monk of *Durham*.

*Dr. John Hambois*, a Doctor of *Mulick*.

*John Tiptoft*, Earl of *Warcester*, wrote divers Treatises on various Subjects: He was beheaded in the Year 1471, by Order of the Earl of *Warwick* for siding with this King.

*John Milverton*, a *Carmelite Fryer* of *Bristol*, Provincial of his Order thro' *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. He defended some of his Fryers

who were persecuted for writing against endowing the Church with Temporal Possessions; for which, being an unpardonable Crime, he was cited to *Rome*, imprison'd in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and had not his Liberty till three Years after, when he was deliver'd by Sentence of the Cardinals appointed to be his Judges.

*David Morgan* a *Welsh* Man, Treasurer of the Church of *Landaff*, wrote a Discription of *Wales* and of its Antiquities.

*John Shirwood*, Bishop of *Durham*.

*Thomas Kent*, an excellent Philosopher.

*Robert Huggen*, a pretended Prophet of *Norfolk*.

*Dr. John Maxfield*, a learned Physician.

*William Green*, a *Carmelite Fryer*.

*Thomas Norton* of *Bristol*, a Chymist.

*Dr. Rich. Porland*, a *Franciscan Fryer* of *Norfolk*.

*Dr. Thomas Milling*, Bishop of *Hereford*.

*Mr. Scogan*, a Student of *Oxford*, a celebrated Wit according to those Times: He was sent for to Court and diverted the King, Queen and Courtiers with his Frolicks and Jests.

*Those that follow were Historians.*

*Nicholas Mountacute*, A. M. of *Eaton School*.

*Roger Albanus*, a *Carmelite* of *London*.

*William Caxton*, a Mercer of *London*, whom we have elsewhere mention'd: He wrote a History stil'd *Fruetus Temporum*, an Appendix to *Trevisa*, and translated several Books into *English*.

*John Harding*, Esq; wrote a Chronicle in *English Verse*: Wherein he collected all the Homages paid by the *Scots Kings* to the Kings of *England*, proving the Superiority of the Crown of *England* over that of *Scotland*.

*John Rouse* of *Warwickshire*, a Canon of *Osnay*, who dy'd Anno 1491.



THE  
LIFE and REIGN  
OF  
K. EDWARD V.  
AND  
RICHARD III.

By Sir THO. MOOR.

An. Reg.  
I.  
1483.  
His Suc-  
cession,  
and Age.

State of  
Affairs at  
his Fa-  
ther's  
Death.

The  
Queen's  
Contri-  
vance for  
his Securi-  
ty and Suc-  
cession.

**B**Y the Death of King *Edward IV*, the first Prince of the *Tork* Line, the Inheritance of the Crown descended by the Right of Succession to his Eldest Son *Edward*, then Prince of *Wales*, who from that Day (viz. *April 9. 1483.*) was still'd King of *England*, and proclaim'd such by the Name of *Edward V.* being then about 13 Years of Age. (a) In his Father's Sickness, which was something long, and tho' lingering was judg'd mortal, Necessities of State, and the Peace of the Nation had oblig'd that King to Separate his Nobles and Kindred from him; which gave them an Opportunity of forming new Contrivances and Schemes among themselves to be put in Execution after his Death; which, notwithstanding the King's Foresight and Endeavours to prevent, prov'd fatal to his Son. The Prince of *Wales* himself was sent down to *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, that by his Presence he might Compose the Disorders of the *Welsh*; who, tho' not in actual Rebellion, yet were grown so Unruly, and Disobedient, to their Governours and Superiors, that the Magistrates with all their Power, were not Able to suppress the Dissentions and Disorders, Robberies and Wrongs committed by them. The Wisdom of this Action appear'd in the present Effect it had upon them: for the *Welsh*, who have always been very Affectionate to those Princes, who have born the Title of their Principality, as being Memorials of their Ancient Liberty and Dominion, shewed a wonderful Respect to him; and tho' but a Child, were more Obedient to him, than ever they were known to their Ancient Magistrates. The Queen, who had a mighty Sway over the King's Affections, and never more than at this time, had so framed Matters, that for the Security of her Son, the Prince, as well as for their Honour

and Interest, all her own Kindred and Relations were placed in the greatest Offices about him; by which Contrivance she thought to secure his Right and their Power, against all her and their Enemies: for the Queen's Brother *Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers*, a Wise and Valiant Man, was appointed his Governour; and *Richard Lord Grey*, the Queen's Son by her former Husband, with others of her Friends and Kin, had other Offices about him; and that *London* the Regal Seat might be kept to her Son's Interests, in his Absence, *Thomas Grey* her Eldest Son, being created Marquess *Dorset*, was made Governour of the *Tower*, and not only the Arms of that Magazine, but the King's Treasure put into his Hands. These things the Ancient Nobility of the Nation, of whom *Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham*, and *William Lord Hastings*, Chamberlain to King *Edward*, were the Chief, bore with much Indignation, as knowing, that if the Queen, and her Kindred were so insolent and imperious when they had a King over them, who, tho' too willing to yield to their Humours and Desires for the Queen's Sake, yet kept them within some Bounds of Modesty and Subjection, they would grow most intolerable when they had a Young Prince under their Command, and might abuse his Power as they pleas'd, to fulfil their Wills, and so they should be in greater Danger and Contempt under the New King, than they had been under the Old; tho' even by him few of them were trusted, or regarded. These Presages of Unhappy Times, made them entertain the Thoughts and Resolutions of getting the Prince into their Power, if the King should Die, and to put him under the Government of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who might justly Claim that Place, as the next Prince of the Blood, and their Uncle by Father's Side, and would certainly put

1483.

The An-  
cient No-  
bility's re-  
sentments  
of her  
Actions.

(a) This Unfortunate Prince was Born in *Sept. 1470.* His Mother, Queen *Elizabeth*, was Delivered of him in Sanctuary; whither she was escap'd from the Earl of *Warwick*, who had driven her Husband King *Edward* out of *England*. The Abbot and Prior of *Westminster* were his Godfathers, the Lady *Scroop* his Godmother, and the whole Ceremony of his Christning as mean as a Poor Man's Child.



1483. the Affairs of the Nation into the Right Current, by Honouring and Entrusting the Ancient Nobility more. But whether they had Communicated their Designs to the Duke of Gloucester or no, is uncertain, because he was then at York, being lately return'd from his Expedition to the Borders of Scotland, whither he had been sent by his Brother to repress the sudden Invasions of those People, who, upon the Breach with Lewis XI. the French King, were grown very troublefom Neighbours to the English. This

D. of Glou.  
cester's Title to the  
Crown after K. Edward's  
Death.

Anno 17.  
Edw. 4.

In vita  
Lud. XI.  
c. 112. and  
122.

Duke remaining here unemploy'd, began to cast his Thoughts upon the Succession to the Crown, and to consider, how many things made for his Title, tho' his Brother's Children stood between it and him, in the Eye of the World; which yet ought to be no Hindrance to his Claim, if Justice and Right were on his Side. And first, He call'd to Mind, that in the Attainder of his Brother George Duke of Clarence, it was alledg'd against him, "That to advance himself to the Kingdom, and for ever to disable the King, and his Posterity from inheriting the Crown, he had contrary to Truth, Nature, and Religion, Viper-like destroying her who gave him Life, publish'd, that King Edward was a Bastard, and so no Way capable to Reign; and that he himself therefore was true Heir of the Kingdom, and the Royalty and Crown belong'd to him and his Heirs. As also that there was a Report grounded upon vehement Presumptions, that the Duke of Clarence himself was a Bastard. Which Malicious Calumnies, tho' he did not believe, and was more loath to Alledge against his Mother as true, yet he thought they might be thus far serviceable to him, that since both his Brothers were now Dead, or Dying, he was the Only Legitimate Issue of Richard Duke of York; and so unquestionably the Right Heir to the Crown, if the Issue of his Brothers were either thereby, or any other Ways made incapable of it. And as to the Children of the Duke of Clarence, they were render'd incapable of the Crown by the Attainder of their Father, and need not that Bastardy be pleaded against them. The only Bar of his Title was then the Children of his Brother King Edward, by the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Marriage with whom having at first begotten a great Contest, and being violently Opposed by his Mother the Dutchess of York upon this Ground, because he was before married to the Lady Eleanor Butler, Widow of Thomas Lord Butler, Baron of Sudesley, and Daughter of John Lord Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; he resolv'd to search narrowly into the Truth of it, not only to Vindicate his own Right, but to keep the Royal Line from the foul Blot of an Illegitimate Succession. This Inquiry he made by Men both Diligent and Faithful, by whose labour he got the Depositions of several Persons concerning it; and among others, (as Philip de Comines relates) the Testimony of Dr. Thomas Stillington, Bishop of Bath, to this Effect, according to the Words of the Author; "Le Evefque de Bath (lequel avoit este Counseiller du Roy Edward) disoit, que le dit Roy avoit promis Foy de Marriage à une Dame de Angleterre, & que il avoit nomme Dame Eleanor Talbot, & que le Roy avoit fait la Promise entre les Mains du dict Evefque, & dit aussi c'est Evefque, qu'avoit apres Espouse, & n'y avoit, que luy, & ceux deux. Which is thus English'd: The Bishop of Bath, a Privy Councillor of King Edward, said, That the said King had Plighted his Faith to Marry a Lady of England, whom the Bishop named the Lady Eleanor Talbot,

and that this Contract was made between the Hands of the said Bishop, who said that afterwards he Married them, no Persons being present but they two, and he the King charging him strictly not to reveal it. These Proofs the Duke caused to be drawn up into an Authentick Form, and consulted the most Eminent Doctors and Proctors of the Civil Law, who unanimously gave their Judgments, that King Edward's Children were Bastards, the King having another Wife before their Mother; and consequently that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only undoubted Heir to the Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who was adjudged to be the true Heir to the Crown of this Realm by Authority of Parliament. And thus the Duke of Gloucester having cleared up his Title to the Crown kept it secret, till he should have a fair Opportunity after his Brother's Death to vindicate his own Right, with as little Disturbance to the Peace of the Nation, and Dishonour to his Nephews, as was possible; tho' it is probable, that one Potter of Redcross-street without Cripple-gate, a Servant of the Duke's, who was Privy to the Business, unwarily discover'd it, by telling one Mistlebrunke, who brought him the News of King Edward's Death; Then, says he, will my Master the Duke of Gloucester be King: which Words tho' startling to him, yet the Grounds of them not being known, made little Noise, till the Duke of Gloucester was on the Throne.

The Civilians consulted about King Edward's Issue.

These Foundations of Discord being laid, tho' privately, in the Life of the Father, receiv'd a Perfection immediately after his Death, and began with the Reign of the Son; tho' to satisfy the King on his Death-Bed the two Parties had shaken hands as Friends, and promis'd to forget all former Injuries. For the Queen, as if she had been conscious that her Pride had been too great to be forgiven, presently after her Husband's Death, writes down to her Brother the Earl of Rivers to raise such a Body of Men, as might be sufficient to defend him against the Lords, and bring her Son up to London to be crown'd, that it might not be in the Power of her Enemies to keep him from the actual Possession of the Throne; which Order the said Earl as carefully obey'd. On the Other-side, the Duke of Buckingham, as Zealous to carry on the Design of himself and his Party, to take the King out of the hands of his Mother's Kindred, sent a Trusty Servant of his, named Pursivall, to the City of York, to propound their Design to the Duke of Gloucester, and to offer him, if need requir'd, a Thousand stout Fellows to assist him in the Effecting of it. The Duke of Gloucester looking upon this Tender, as the first Step to his greater Design, willingly comply'd with the Proposal, and sending the Messenger back with many Thanks to his Master, and other private Instructions, contrived a Meeting soon after about Northampton; where the two Dukes, with all the Lords and Gentlemen their Friends, and 900 Men in their Retinue, came at the time agreed on. Here they entred into a Consultation immediately upon their Arrival, and the Duke of Gloucester, who was the Chief Man in the Action, communicated the Necessity and Reasonableness of the Undertaking, to all the Lords and Gentlemen assembled, in words to this Effect: "That it was neither reasonable, nor tolerable, to leave the Young King their Master in the Hands and Custody of his Mother's Kindred; who to engross all Honour to themselves, would exclude the Rest of the Nobility from their Attendance on him, 'tho all of them were as ready and willing to perform all the Services

The Agitations of different Parties.

The Lords conspire to take the King: And Gloucester's Speech to encourage them to it.

of



1483. " of a good Subject to him, as themselves, and  
 " many of them a far more honourable Part of  
 " his Kindred, than those of his Mother's Side,  
 " whose Blood, (saying that it was the King's  
 " Pleasure to have it so) was very unfit to be  
 " match'd with his. But granting it allowable  
 " for the King to do as he pleased; yet that  
 " all the Ancient Nobility should be remov'd  
 " from the King's Presence, and only the least  
 " Noble left about him, is neither honourable  
 " to his Majesty, nor to Us, and must in the  
 " issue be both dangerous to the Nation in ge-  
 " neral, and unsafe to his Majesty; for will not  
 " this Strangeness make the King's most Potent  
 " Friends either turn his utter Enemies, or be-  
 " come very indifferent to his Service, when  
 " they see their Inferiors both in Birth and  
 " Power in greatest Authority and Credit with  
 " him, and themselves likely to live in Dis-  
 " grace for ever, because the King, being in his  
 " Youth framed to the Love and Liking of them,  
 " and to a Dislike of others, will very hardly  
 " in his Riper Years alter his Affections. They  
 " could not but remember, that the late King  
 " Edward himself, altho' he was a Man of Age  
 " and Discretion, yet was often so over-ruled  
 " by his Wife and her Friends, that he did ma-  
 " ny things inconsistent with his own Honour,  
 " our Safety, and the Nation's Welfare, merely  
 " to advance them and establish their Power.  
 " And if the Friendship of some Persons had  
 " not prevail'd more with the King, sometimes,  
 " than the Suits of his Kindred, they had be-  
 " fore this brought some of us to Ruin, as they  
 " did some of as great Degree as any of us.  
 " And tho' indeed those Dangers are now past,  
 " yet as great are growing, if we suffer the  
 " Young King still to remain in their Hands,  
 " who, we see, value not the Destruction of any  
 " that stand in the Way of their Designs, or  
 " the Road to their Greatness. Will they not en-  
 " gross all Honours, and Places of Trust to them-  
 " selves, and whenever they have occasion, abuse  
 " his Name and Authority to any of our De-  
 " structions? Can we imagin, that their old  
 " Resentments are so quite bury'd, that they will  
 " not remember to revenge them upon the least  
 " Disgust, and, now their Pride is arm'd with  
 " Authority, become implacable to most of us,  
 " to whom they have ever had malice enough  
 " to ruin us, and wanted nothing but what they  
 " have now, Authority to vent it upon us?  
 " That these things consider'd, it was their  
 " greatest Wisdom to take the Young King out  
 " of their Enemies Hands, and not suffer things  
 " to continue in the Posture they are now in  
 " any longer: for tho' indeed there appears an  
 " outward Friendship for the present, which  
 " was and is the Effect more of the King's de-  
 " sire than their own; yet we shall find, that  
 " their old Enmity will revive with their Power,  
 " and their long accusom'd Malice will be  
 " strengthen'd with their Authority, in which  
 " if we endure them once to be settled, it will  
 " not be in all our Powers to oppose them  
 " effectually; and therefore now's the Time to  
 " prevent all Mischiefs by taking away the Cause  
 " of them. These Words and Perswasions mo-  
 " ved all present to engage heartily in the Busi-  
 " ness; and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord  
 " Hastings, who were Men both of great Power  
 " and Interest, shew'd such a Forwardness in the  
 " Attempt, that all the Rest were encourag'd by  
 " their Example to be Assistants and Followers of  
 " them; and many, which were not present, were  
 " drawn in by the Duke of Gloucester's Letters to  
 " promise their help in the same Affair, if there  
 " were further Occasion,

While the Lords were thus consulting, and 1483.  
 contriving to get the King into their Hands, with-  
 out the Knowledge or Privy of the Queen and  
 her Friends, the Duke of Gloucester receiv'd the  
 News, that the Lord Rivers had gather'd a strong  
 Body of armed Men, and with them was ready  
 to bring up the King to London to his Corona-  
 tion; which unexpected report surprized them  
 much, because it broke all their Measures at  
 once, it being impossible for them, tho' they had  
 a good Number of Attendants, to effect their  
 Design, if he were brought to London under a  
 strong Guard; especially considering, that as on  
 the one hand the Earl of Rivers was a Valiant  
 and Experienc'd Soldier, so if they should gain  
 the King by Force, besides the danger of the  
 King's Person, it would look like an Open Re-  
 bellion: Whereupon the Duke of Gloucester, and  
 his Friends, rather chose to overturn Force by  
 Policy, and to that end privately order'd some  
 of his Friends, who were about the Queen, to  
 represent to her, " That as it was no ways ne-  
 cessary to bring the King to London with an  
 Army of Attendants, as tho' he were to pass  
 thro' an Enemy's and not his own Country,  
 so it would be dangerous to the King's Per-  
 son and Government; for whereas now all  
 the Lords seem'd to be perfect Friends, and  
 to study nothing but the Honour of the King,  
 and the Triumph of his Coronation, if they  
 see the Lords about his Royal Person, whom  
 so lately they thought their Enemies, to gather  
 great Numbers of Men armed about them in  
 the King's Name, they will immediately sus-  
 spect and fear, that those Men are intended  
 not so much for the King's Safety as their  
 Destruction, and so they would take them-  
 selves obliged for their own Defence to raise  
 an equal Force, and fill the Nation with Up-  
 roar and Confusion, to the Danger of the  
 King and Breach of the Peace: and therefore  
 such Methods of Action ought carefully to be  
 avoided, especially since her Son was a Child,  
 and in the Beginning of his Reign. These  
 Reasons seem'd plausible to the Queen, who was  
 not suspicious of the Evil designed, and very  
 willing to submit to any thing for the Good of  
 her Son, and his quiet Settlement on the Throne;  
 and therefore without delay wrote Letters to  
 her Brother the Lord Rivers, ordering him to  
 dismiss all her Son's extraordinary Attendants  
 and Guards, and hasten to London with only  
 his own Household Servants and usual Retinue.  
 The Duke of Gloucester also, much about the same  
 time, sent Letters to the Lord Rivers, with full  
 Assurances of Duty and Subjection to the King  
 his Nephew, and Love and Friendship to him-  
 self; so that he seeing all things Calm and  
 Peaceable, concurred readily with the Queen's  
 Desires, and leaving his armed Men behind him,  
 came up with no greater Number of Followers,  
 than was necessary to shew the King's Honour  
 and Greatness. In their Way about Northampton,  
 the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, with  
 their Retinues, had layn some Days, and hearing  
 of the King's Arrival met him at Northampton;  
 but because that Town was not big enough to  
 hold both their Companies, they advis'd, that  
 the King should go forward to Stony-Stratford to  
 lodge there, and they would stay at Northam-  
 pton, inviting the Lord Rivers to lodge with  
 them, that they might enjoy his Company that  
 Evening. The Lord Rivers, hoping to improve  
 his Friendship with them by Compliance, dis-  
 missed his Company, and took his Lodgings with  
 the Dukes, who feasted him that Night with  
 all Demonstrations of Joy, and Signs of Friend-  
 ship,



1483. ship, till they parted with him to his Lodgings. But as soon as he was gone, the two Dukes with a Select number of their Friends enter'd into a Consultation, and spent the greatest part of the Night in it: what their Resolutions were, the next Day's Actions shew. In the Morning they got up very early, and by private Orders had all their Servants ready to Attend them, before the Lord Rivers or his Servants were stirring. The Keys of the Inn, wherein they all were, they took into their own Custody; and pretending that they themselves would be the first in the Morning, who should be at *Stony-Stratford* to Attend the King, they sent a certain Number of their Retinue to Line the Way, and suffer none to enter that Town, till they should arrive to wait on his Majesty; for the Dukes were resolv'd (as it was given out) to be the first that Morning who should go to the King from *Northampton*. All this was done without Lord Rivers's Knowledge or Advice, who therefore when he came to hear it, was very much surpris'd at the thing, and so much the more, because neither himself, nor Servants were permitted to go out of the Inn. His Thoughts were in a great hurry, and what the Reason should be, he could not conjecture. He easily saw thro' their weak Pretences, and began to fear, that his last Night's Cheer might prove a bait to Falshood and Treachery: Fly he could not if he were Guilty, but not being conscious of any Wrong done them, which might provoke them to Revenge, he resolv'd to go to the Dukes, and demand of them the Reason and Cause of this Action, which he accordingly did: But instead of giving him an Answer, they quarrell'd with him, and told him with great Passion, "That

"he was one of them, who had labour'd all he could to alienate the King's Mind from them, and stir up a Dissention between the King and his Nobles, that he might bring them and their Families to Confusion: but now they would take Care that it should not lye in his Power. The Lord Rivers was an Eloquent and well-spoken Man, and began to make his Defence calmly and coolly; but they would hear no Excuses, nor suffer him to make Answer, and committing him to the Custody of some of their Servants, till they should give further Orders concerning him, they mounted their Horses, and rode in haste to the King at *Stony-Stratford*. When they were come into the Royal Presence, (the King being ready to Mount to leave Room for their Companies) they alighted from their Horses with all their Attendants, and saluted the King upon their Knees, who received them freely and favourably, not mistrusting in the least what had been done. They pretended that they came only to wait on his Majesty in his Journey, and to that end the Duke of *Buckingham* call'd aloud to the Gentlemen and Yeomen to keep their Places, and march forward. But before the King was out of the Town they pick'd a Quarrel with the Lord *Richard Grey*, the Queen's Son and the King's half Brother, charging him in the King's Presence, "That he and the Marquess

"*Dorset*, with his Uncle the Lord *Rivers*, had conspir'd together to rule the King and Realm while the King was in his Minority; and to that end had stirr'd up Divisions among the Nobles, that by subduing some of them, they might destroy the rest: And for the more effectual Accomplishment of this their Design, the Lord Marquess had entred into the Tower of *London*, and had taken from thence all the King's Treasure, and sent several Ships to Sea with it, that none might be able to

1483. "oppose him. The King, who not only was Young, and unexperienc'd in State-Affairs, but having been absent sometime, was ignorant of such Matters of Fact as his Brother was charged with, yet gave a very Judicious Answer to the Accusation, That he could not tell what his Brother the Marquess had done; but in good faith, he said, he dare well Answer for his Uncle *Rivers*, and his Brother *Richard*, that they were both Innocent of any such Matter, having been continually with him. The Duke of *Buckingham* reply'd, That they had kept the knowledge of their Actions from his good Grace, and forthwith they Arrested the said Lord *Grey*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* and Sir *Richard Hawse* in the King's Presence; and then in stead of going forward, return'd back again with the King to *Northampton*; where they displaced all such Persons, who had any Offices about the King, as they could not confide in, and entred into serious Consultation about their further Proceedings. The King was much troubled at these Dealings, and wept because he had not Power to defend Himself or his Friends, but the Lords had now obtain'd their Designs, and valu'd not who took, what they did, well or ill: yet they gave the King all the respect of good Subjects; and promis'd the Queen's Kindred that all should be well; but when they left *Northampton*, they sent them to divers Prisons in the North for a time, and at length, tho' they pretended they should have a fair Tryal to answer to several Misdemeanours which they had to lay to their Charge, they were all brought to *Pomfract* Castle in order to their Execution.

These Actions of the Lords being done under a shew of Friendship, and carrying in them something of Violence and Treachery, begat a great Amazement in all Places where they were known, and few Men construed them, as the Lords wish'd, but look'd upon them as the Prologues to the King's Destruction. The Queen, who was particularly certify'd of the same Night, that the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, and others of their Party, whom she look'd upon as her implacable Enemies, had taken her Son the King, and Imprison'd her Brother *Rivers*, and Son *Richard Grey*, with other of her Friends, in Places Remote and Unknown, fell into a bitter Passion of Grief, and bewailed the Destruction of her Child, and other Friends, cursing the Hour in which she credulously harken'd to the Perswasions of her false Friends, and by ordering her Son's Guards to be dismiss'd, had expos'd him and her Kindred to the Malice and base Designs of her Enemies. But since to indulge herself in her just Grief, and neglect a Provision for her own, and those Childrens Safety which she had with her, would make her Case worse than it was at present; therefore she resolv'd to lay aside her Sorrow for the present, and get herself, the Duke of *York* her 2d Son, and her five Daughters, with what Goods were Necessary for her Use into the Sanctuary at *Westminster*; and thereupon at Midnight order'd her Servants, and what help could be had, to remove them with all speed thither; where being receiv'd into the Abbot's Lodgings, she and her Children, and all her Company were immediately Registered for Sanctuary Persons, and so look'd upon themselves, as in an inviolable Fortrefs against their Enemies Power or Malice. The Lord *Hastings*, who was Chamberlain, was at the same time at Court, and tho' a Conspirator with the Lords, yet made a quite different Interpretation of the Lords Actions; because he being truly Loyal, and heartily desiring the Welfare of the

The Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* quarrel with the Lord *Grey*, and arrest him.

The Queen and her Children fly to Sanctuary at *Westminster*.

The Lord Hastings's Loyalty.



1483. the King, believed, that they had no further Intent, than to take him out of the Government of the Queen's Kindred, whose Insolencies were intolerable, and from whom he himself in the late Reign was often in danger of his Life: He was therefore much pleas'd to see the Queen and her Friends in such a Fright, and not doubting but, the Nation would be much better govern'd than before, and the King much happier in the Hands of the Ancient Nobility, rejoiced to see the Downfall of the Queen, and her Relations, whose Pride they had felt long enough in the late King's Reign; but that he might give the Nobility about the Court a true Information of the Lords Action, he dispatch'd a Messenger the same Night to Dr. Rotherham (a) Archbishop of York, and then Lord Chancellor, who liv'd in York-Place by Westminster, to assure him, "That the Lords Intentions were honourable, and for the Nation's Welfare: and tho' the Imprisonment of the Queen's Kindred, and the Queen's Fears, who was flying in great haste and confusion into Sanctuary, had no good Aspect; yet he should find that all things would in the end prove well. The Archbishop, who was awaked out of his first Sleep by his Servants, and something amazed at the suddenness of the News, reply'd, Say'st thou, that all shall be well? I can't see what good can be expected from such Demeanour. Pray tell him, That be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it: and so he sent the Messenger back again to his Master. But the Archbishop was in too great a Disturbance to return to his Rest; and therefore immediately rose, and calling up all his Servants, went with them arm'd to the Queen at her Palace, and carried the Great Seal along with him. He found all things there in a Tumult, the Servants removing Trunks and Householdstuff to carry them into the Sanctuary: The Queen he saw sitting upon the Floor on Mats, lamenting her own and her Childrens Miseries and Misfortunes. The Archbishop, who was no ways engaged in the Conspiracy against her, much compassionated her Case and Grief; and endeavouring to comfort her, told her the Message which he had received from the Lord Hastings not an Hour before, by which he was assured, that Matters were nothing so bad as she imagin'd, that the King was in safe Hands, and doubted not but all would be well. The Queen, who had an invincible Odium to Hastings, as soon as she heard his Name, reply'd, "That nothing was to be believ'd that came from him, being one of them that sought the Destruction of herself and her Blood. The Archbishop seeing her not thus to be comforted, assur'd her for himself, That he would be Constant to her; and if the Lords should deal ill with the Prince, and crown any other Person King besides her Son, he would on the Morrow crown his Brother the Duke of York, whom she had then in Sanctuary with her; And that, Madam, (says he) you may be certain of my Integrity, Lo! here I leave with you the Great Seal of England, the Badge of Regal Power, without which nothing of Moment in State Affairs can be done. His Father your Husband gave it me, and I here return it to you to keep it for his Children, and secure their Right; and if I could give you any greater Testimony of my Loyalty, I would do it: and so he departed to his own House in the dawning of the Morning, not considering what he had done in resigning the Seal. The next day the City of London was in an Up-

1483. roar, and divers Lords and Gentlemen took Arms, and assembled great Companies of Citizens and others for their own Defence, till they should see what the Lords intended; for the general Report was, that what was done to the Lord Rivers, and the others with him, was but a Blind to the People: the real Design of the Nobility was to keep the King from his Coronation, and deprive him of his Right; and this they were the more confirm'd in, because great Numbers of the Duke of Gloucester's Servants and Friends were about the City and on the Thames, who examin'd all that pass'd, and kept any Persons from taking Sanctuary. In these Tumults Archbishop Rotherham, fearing lest there should be a just Occasion to shew his Authority, and troubled that he had deliver'd up the Great Seal to the Queen, to whom it did not belong, without the King's Order, sent privately for the Seal again and obtain'd it. In the mean time, the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, whose Loyalty was not question'd, and who was suppos'd not to be ignorant of the Lords Intentions, went into the City to appease the Tumults, and calling the Lords and Gentlemen together who headed the Commonalty, told them, That tho' the Suddenness of the Lords Actions was surprizing, because the Reasons were not generally known; yet he could assure them, that the Duke of Gloucester was true and faithful to his Prince, of which he had given many undeniable Proofs in his Brother's Reign, and would continue the same to his Son: That the Lords Rivers and Grey, and the Knights apprehended with them, were imprison'd for certain Conspiracies plotted against the Life of the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, as would appear evidently at their Trials, which was design'd shortly to be had before all the Lords of his Majesty's Council: That their taking Arms in such a Riotous and Seditious manner would prove of very dangerous Consequence to themselves, if they did not speedily lay them down, as they had without just Reason or Cause taken them up; and therefore he advised them to depart to their Dwellings, and not pretend to Judge or Censure the Actions of their Superiors, who meant nothing but the Common good, till they knew the Truth of their Designs, lest they themselves should be the only Damages to the Publick, and hinder the King's Coronation, which the Lords were coming up to London to effect with all convenient speed. With these words the Chamberlain so pacify'd the Discontents of the Citizens, that all things were for the present at quiet.

By this time the Lords, who seem'd as Zealous for the King's Coronation as his Uncle had been, and behaved themselves with such wonderful Reverence and Respect to the King, even from the time that he came into their Hands, that he suspected no ill Designs in them, were upon their march to London, which caus'd the People to be the more easie, since they thought that now they should soon discern their Intentions. By the Way as they pass'd, the Duke of Gloucester assum'd nothing upon the Account of his Birth or Greatness, but demean'd himself as a Dutiful Subject; and that he might give a Demonstration to the People of the treacherous and cruel Designs of the Lord Rivers, and the Queen's Friends, against himself and the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke's Servants shew'd the Barrels of Harnes which they had privily convey'd in their Carriages to Murther them;

Archbishop Rotherham sends for the Seal again.

Lord Hastings appeases the Tumults.

The King brought to London.

(a) His Name was Thomas Scot, he was call'd Rotherham from the Place of his Birth in Yorkshire.



1483. and tho' indeed some laugh'd at the Weakness of the Suggestion, because if they really intended to have so used them, their Harness had better been on their Backs than in Barrels; yet they pretended they were seized before the Plot was come fully to Execution, and so aggravated Matters, that the common People believ'd the truth of it, and cry'd out, *That it will be a great*

*The King Charity to the Nation to hang them.* When the King and Dukes drew near the City of London, Edmund Shaw Goldsmith, then Mayor, and William White and John Matthews Sheriffs, with all their Brethren the Aldermen in Scarlet, and 500 Commoners on Horseback in Purple-colour'd Gowns met them at Harnsey-Park, and with great Honour and Reverence conducted him thro' their City to the Bishop of London's Palace, near St. Paul's Church, on the 4th of May.

*Duke of Gloucester's Loyalty shew'd.* In this Solemn Cavalcade the Behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester to the King was very remarkable, for he rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud Voice said to the People, *Behold your Prince and Sovereign*; giving them on all Occasions such an Example of Reverence and Duty as might teach them how to honour and respect their Prince; by which Actions he so won upon all the Spectators, that they look'd on the late Misrepresentations of him as the Effects of his Enemies Malice, and he was on all hands accounted the Best, as he was the first Subject in the Kingdom. At the Bishop's Palace he did the King Homage, and invited all the Nobility to do the same; by which he put his Loyalty out of dispute with the Nobles, as he had done before with the Commons. Within a few days after, a Great Council of the Nobility

*The Duke of Gloucester chosen Protector.* met to settle the Government, and choose a Protector according to the usual Custom in the Minority of their Kings, and the Duke of Gloucester was without the least Contradiction appointed to Manage that Honourable Station, not only as the King's Uncle, and the next Prince of the Blood, and a Person fit for that Trust, as of eminent Judgment and Courage; but as one that was most Loyal and Loving to the King, and likely to prove the most Faithful in that Station. By this Council was the Archbishop of York much blamed for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, and being depriv'd of his Councillorship, the Seal was given in the beginning of June to Dr. John Russell Bishop of Lincoln, a Wife and good Man, and of very great Experience in State-Affairs. Several other Inferior Officers of the Court were displaced, and others more fit put in their Room. The Lord Chamberlain Hastings was continu'd in his Office, with some others whom the Protector and Council had no great Objections against; and so the Council being dissolved, the Protector betook himself to his Double Care: 1. Of the King to Content and Please him, as well as Educate him and Crown him. 2. Of the State and People, to rule so well as might befor the King's Honour and general Good and Welfare of the Nation.

*The Protector desires the Duke of York to be brought to the King.* King Edward, who was now under the sole Care and Government of his Uncle Richard Duke of Gloucester, made Protector by the Nobility, and general Approbation of the People, being displeased at the Violent Actions of the Lords towards his Mother's Relations, whom not only continual Converse, but Nature had endeared to him, and seeing his Mother and Brother in Sanctuary, as if she had fear'd the same

hard Usage, if not worse, was not contented with the present Disposition of Affairs; and tho' he being Young could not help what was done, yet he could not willingly submit to it. The Protector, who was a very Sagacious Person, and shew'd all Readiness to satisfy the King's Will, and discharge his Station well, soon discern'd the Causes of the King's Uneasiness, and considering how much the Reasons of the King's Grief reflected upon his Reputation, as well as hinder'd his Designs in bringing the King to his Coronation, (for why should the Queen with her Children continue in Sanctuary, unless it were that she was Jealous of some Wrong and Injury from him, who having the Supream Power now in his hands could only hurt her? And what a lame Ceremony would the Coronation be, if the Queen and the King's only Brother bore not a Part in it, but instead of that were deterred from it) he resolv'd to remove these Rubs in the way of his Government and Designs; and to that end calling a Council, he deliver'd himself to this Purpose: (a) "Let me perish for ever if it be not my greatest, my continual Care to promote the Happiness and Welfare of the King my Nephew, and all my Brother's Family; being sensible, that not only the Nation's, but my own Ruin is the unavoidable Consequence of their Misfortunes: and therefore since it hath pleased you, who are the Nobles of the Land, and to whom it belongs chiefly to Provide for the good Government of it in the Minority of the King, to confer that weighty Employment of Ruling all upon my self, as I shall always look upon my self only as the King's and your Deputy, so I shall, in all difficult Matters of State, look upon you as my Helpers and Assistants, and not dare to move one Step without your Council and Advice, that so I may have your Approbation in all I do, that it is for the Good of the King and Welfare of all. In the Management of the Station you have placed me in, I do find, that the Queen's Continuance in the Sanctuary with her Children, is such an invincible Impediment in the Execution of my Place, that I cannot but propound the manifest Inconveniences of it; and so much the rather, because I expected, that so good a Settlement as your Lordships had made in the last Council would have remov'd her Womanish Fears, and she would have return'd to Court to the Contentment of his Majesty and us all: but since she persists in her Mischievous Purposes, it is evident, that if Fear drove her into the Sanctuary, 'tis nothing but Malice that keeps her there; for she, who is no impolitic Woman, sees several unavoidable Mischiefs redounding to the Publick, and to his Majesty by this her Action, which had she not some ill Designs she would carefully avoid. And first, what greater Affront can be offer'd to you of his Majesty's Council, than for the Queen and Children to remain in Sanctuary? Will not the People upon so unexpected a Resolution make these Inferences from it, that doubtless they are in very great Danger, and that you who are in Power are her implacable Enemies, since neither her Son's Authority, nor her own and Childrens Greatness, are sufficient to Secure them, but they are forc'd to seek Protection from the Church, which is the Asylum of the greatest Criminals? And

(a) This Speech did not begin with a Curse, according to the Copy in *Holinshed*, nor is it entirely the same as in *Holinshed*, Pag. 717.



1483. " what an intolerable Injury is this to you? But  
 " if you shall think fit to pass this Wrong over,  
 " yet his Majesty's Discontents are not to be  
 " over-look'd, who wanting the Company of his  
 " Brother, with whom chiefly he uses to Re-  
 " create himself, leads a melancholy and dis-  
 " contented Life, which doubtless if not timely  
 " prevented may endanger his Health; for the  
 " good State of the Body does not long last usu-  
 " ally, when the Mind is disturb'd. Sorrow of  
 " Mind drieth up the Bones, especially in Youth,  
 " and want of moderate Recreation and suitable  
 " Company begets a Dulness and Pensiveness,  
 " which brings Diseases and Distempers on the  
 " Body, which proves fatal. Wherefore since  
 " even Kings themselves must have some Com-  
 " pany, and they are too great for their Sub-  
 " jects generally, it seems Necessary that his  
 " Brother, who comes nearest an Equality with  
 " him, should be sent for to him, that he may  
 " refresh himself with him. And thus we may  
 " hope that the King will not only be satisfy'd  
 " and pleas'd, but we shall be freed from the ill  
 " Opinion which certainly all foreign Princes  
 " have of us; for as long as he continues in  
 " Sanctuary, they will either censure us as  
 " cruel or tyrannical, or deride us as impo-  
 " tent or weak. But besides, the Coronation  
 " of the King being the main thing now in Agi-  
 " tation, how can we proceed in it with any heart  
 " or earnestness, while the Queen and Duke of  
 " York are in Sanctuary? What sort of Men shall  
 " we be thought, who at the same time we  
 " crown one Brother, so terrifie the other, that  
 " he is forc'd to abide at the Altar of the same  
 " Church for his Safety. Who can with Satis-  
 " faction officiate at this great Ceremony, while  
 " the Duke of York, whose Place is next to the  
 " King, is absent from it. It is therefore my  
 " Opinion, these Reasons and Considerations be-  
 " ing well weighed, that some Honourable and  
 " Trusty Person, who cannot be doubted to  
 " tender the King's Wealth, and Reputation of  
 " the Council, and is in Credit with the Queen,  
 " be sent to her to demand the Release of the  
 " Duke of York: And for this Office, I think  
 " no Person better qualify'd than the most Re-  
 " verend Father my Lord Cardinal, (a) the  
 " Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who may be the  
 " most prevailing Mediator in this Matter, if  
 " he pleases to take the Trouble upon him,  
 " which of his great Goodness, I do believe he will  
 " not refuse for the King's Sake and ours, and  
 " the Wealth of the Young Duke himself, the  
 " King's most honourable Brother, and for the  
 " Comfort of my Sovereign Lord himself, my  
 " most Dearest Nephew, considering that it will  
 " be a certain means to stop the Mouths of our  
 " Enemies abroad, and prevent the Ill-constru-  
 " ctions of censorious Persons at home, and a-  
 " void the ill Consequences which arise from it,  
 " both to his Majesty, and the whole Realm.  
 " And tho' the Cardinal may go no further  
 " in treating with the Queen, than to perswade  
 " her by the best Arguments of Reason and  
 " Necessity to yield to our Desires, which his  
 " Wisdom knows best how to Use and Apply;  
 " yet if she prove so obstinate and wilful, and  
 " will yield to no Advice and Counsel which he  
 " can give; then 'tis my Opinion that we fetch  
 " the Duke of York out of that Prison by force,  
 " and bring him into the King's Company and  
 " Prefence; in which we will take such Care of  
 " him, and give him such honourable Treatment,  
 " that all the World shall perceive, to our Ho-  
 " nour and her Reproach, that it was nothing  
 " but her Frowardness and groundless Suspicion,  
 " that first carried, and then kept him there.  
 " This is my Judgment in this Affair; but if any  
 " of you, my Lords, are of contrary Sentiments,  
 " and find me mistaken, I never was, nor by  
 " God's Grace ever shall be so wedded to my  
 " own Opinion, but I shall be ready to change  
 " it upon better Reasons and Grounds.  
 " When the Protector had thus deliver'd his  
 " Mind to the Council, they all approv'd of his  
 " Motion, as a thing good and reasonable in it-  
 " self, and honourable both to the King, and the  
 " Duke his Brother, agreeing with him, that the  
 " Archbishop of *Canterbury* was the fittest Person  
 " in all respects, to be a Mediator between the  
 " Queen and them; not doubting, but by his Can-  
 " dour and Wisdom this Business might easily be  
 " effected, and the Queen without more ado  
 " perswaded to deliver him. Nor did the Arch-  
 " bishop at all refuse the Office, which much be-  
 " came his Station, being to Compose a growing  
 " Difference among Persons of the Greatest Qua-  
 " lity: but he with the Lords Spiritual present  
 " told the Council with Submission, (b) That as  
 " he consented to the Motion that the Duke of  
 " York should be brought to the King's Prefence  
 " out of the Sanctuary by Perswasions, and would  
 " himself do his Best to effect it, since they had  
 " pleas'd to impose that task upon him; yet he  
 " could not by any means consent to that Pro-  
 " position, That if the Queen refus'd to deliver  
 " him, he should be taken out of Sanctuary by  
 " force; because it would be a thing not only  
 " Ungrateful to the whole Nation, but highly  
 " displeasing to Almighty God, to have the Pri-  
 " vilege of Sanctuary broken, in that Church,  
 " which, being at first consecrated by *S. Peter*,  
 " who came down above 500 Years ago in  
 " Person accompany'd with many Angels by  
 " Night to do it, has since been adorn'd with  
 " the Privilege of a Sanctuary by many Popes  
 " and Kings; and therefore as no Bishop ever  
 " dare attempt the Consecration of that Church,  
 " so no Prince has ever yet been so fierce and  
 " indevout as to violate the Privilege of it:  
 " And God forbid, that any Man whatsoever  
 " shall at this time, or hereafter, upon any world-  
 " ly Advantages or Reasons, attempt to infringe  
 " the Immunities of that most Holy Place, that  
 " hath been the Defence and Safety of so many  
 " Good-mens Lives. However, he said, he hop'd  
 " they should not be driven to use such Extre-  
 " mities, and doubted not, when the Queen,  
 " who was a Person of known Judgment and Un-  
 " derstanding, once heard their Reasons, she  
 " would for her Son's sake, the King, readily  
 " yield to their Desires; and if it otherwise  
 " should happen, he would so perform his Part,  
 " that they should be convinc'd, that there want-  
 " ed no good Will, or Endeavour in himself, but  
 " the Queen's Dread, and Womanish fear was  
 " the only Cause of it. The Duke of *Buckingham*,  
 " who impatiently heard the Archbishop's Obje-  
 " ction against taking the Duke out of Sanctuary by  
 " force, immediately resumes the Discourse, and in  
 " a Passion replies with an Oath; " Womanish  
 " Fear, say you my Lord? Nay, Womanish Fro-  
 " wardness; for I dare take it upon my Soul,

(a) Cardinal Thomas Bourchier descended of the Noble Family of the Bourchiers Earls of Essex.

(b) In Sir Thomas Moor's History as Printed in *Holinshead*, p. 717. 'tis, as that the Archbishop of York made this Speech; and for a Proof of *St. Peter's* descending from Heaven to Consecrate the Church of *Westminster*, the good Prelate affirm'd *St. Peter's* Cope was still to be seen in the Abbey.

" that



1483. " that she knows she has no just Occasion to fear  
 " any Danger to her Son or her self. But as to  
 " her self, here is no Man that will contend with  
 " Women, and I would to God some of her Kin-  
 " dred were so too, and then should the Con-  
 " test be soon at an end with them. Yet I dare  
 " be bold to say, that none of her Kindred are  
 " the Less belov'd for the Relation they have  
 " to her, but because of their own Demerits,  
 " and for joyning with her in her Malicious De-  
 " signs. However let it be granted, that we  
 " love neither her nor her Kindred; yet there  
 " can be no just Ground to infer from thence  
 " that we hate the King's Brother, who, tho'  
 " her Son, yet is also a-kin to us; and if she  
 " desir'd his Honour, as we do, and had not more  
 " regard to her own Will, than her Son's Wel-  
 " fare, she would not be so obstinate, but would  
 " be as unwilling to keep him from the King's  
 " Prefence, as any of us are. Some of whom  
 " at least she must acknowledge to have as much  
 " Wit as her self, and can't doubt of their Fi-  
 " delity and Love to the Duke, who they would  
 " be as loath should come to any harm as she  
 " her self can be, and yet they would have him  
 " from her to continue with the King, if she  
 " will tarry there: but if she pleases to come  
 " out her self with him, and her other Children,  
 " and take up her Habitation in such a Place  
 " where they may be with Honour to her self  
 " and them, every Man of us shall be better con-  
 " tent than if she sends him alone. Now if upon  
 " these Grounds she refuses to deliver him, de-  
 " nyng to follow the Wisdom of them, of whose  
 " ripe Judgment and Fidelity she hath had good  
 " Experience, it is easie to discern that it is  
 " her Frowardness, and not her Fear, that is the  
 " Cause of it. But we will suppose that her  
 " Distrusts are invincible, thro' the greatness of  
 " her Fears, (as what can hinder her from fear-  
 " ing her own Shadow, if she will so much in-  
 " dulse her Passions) we have the greater rea-  
 " son to take heed, how we leave the Duke in  
 " her Hands: for if she causelessly fear his hurt  
 " out of Sanctuary, she may also fear that he  
 " may be fetch'd from thence; (for 'tis easie for  
 " her to imagin, that if we be resolv'd to have  
 " him from her, we will not value the Sacred-  
 " ness of the Place she is in; as indeed I think  
 " Good Men without Sin might somewhat less  
 " regard them than they do) and so for grea-  
 " ter Security convey him out of the Realm,  
 " which if she should be so lucky as to effect,  
 " (and without any great Difficulty it may be  
 " done) all the World will scorn and deride  
 " us, saying, That we are a wise sort of Coun-  
 " cellors about the King, to suffer his Brother  
 " to be cast away under our Noses. And there-  
 " fore I assure you, for my part, I am for fetch-  
 " ing him away against her Will, rather than by  
 " humouring her Fears and Peevishness, give  
 " her an Opportunity of conveying him away.  
 " And yet I shall be bold to assert, that I do  
 " not break any Privilege of Sanctuary, but  
 " rather rectify one of the Abuses of it: for  
 " tho' indeed Sanctuaries, as they were appoint-  
 " ed and used under the Jewish Law, were, and  
 " still may be of very good Use in several Cases,  
 " as to be a Refuge for such Men as the Chance  
 " of Sea, or their evil Debtors have brought to  
 " Poverty, to protect them from the Cruelty of  
 " their Creditors; and because the Title to the  
 " Crown of these Realms hath often come in  
 " Question, in which Contests each Side counts  
 " the other Traitors, and the Conquering Side,  
 " tho' sometimes the worst Rebels, treats the  
 " adverse Party as such, it is Necessary there

The Use  
and Abuse  
of Sanctu-  
aries.

1483. " should be a Refuge in this Case to the Unfor-  
 " tunate: but as for Thieves and Murderers,  
 " whereof these Places are full, and who sel-  
 " dom leave their Trade when they have once  
 " begun, it is an horrid Shame that any San-  
 " ctuary should save them; and especially wil-  
 " ful Murderers, whom God himself commands  
 " to be taken from the Altar, and put to Death.  
 " Yet if we look into our Sanctuaries, as now  
 " they are managed, how few are there whom  
 " Necessity of their own Defence, or their Mis-  
 " fortunes have driven to take Shelter there?  
 " But on the other side, what numbers are there  
 " in them of Thieves, Murderers, and malicious  
 " and heinous Traitors, and especially in the  
 " two chief Ones in this City, the one at the  
 " Elbow, and the other in the very Midst of it?  
 " Infomuch that if the Good they do were bal-  
 " lanc'd with the Evil, we shall find 'twere bet-  
 " ter for us to be without them, unless such as  
 " are in Power would effectually correct their  
 " Abuses, and amend them. And indeed, 'tis  
 " a gross Shame not to be endur'd, to see St. Pe-  
 " ter made a Patron of Thieves, Prodigals, Knaves  
 " and Whores! Surely neither God, nor that  
 " Apostle can approve of these Abuses; and  
 " therefore they may be reformed with thanks  
 " of Both. Let Sanctuaries then continue in God's  
 " Name in their full force, as far as Religion  
 " and Reason will permit, and I am sure no  
 " lawful Privilege granted to them can hinder  
 " us from fetching the Duke of York from thence,  
 " where he neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary-  
 " Person. A Sanctuary serveth to defend the  
 " Body of Man, who is in Danger from not on-  
 " ly some great, but unlawful Hurt? And what  
 " Danger is that Duke in? Is not the King his  
 " Brother, and all we his Special Friends? As  
 " he has never done any Man an Injury, so  
 " no Man designs him any Wrong, and then  
 " what Grounds can there be for him to be  
 " left in Sanctuary? Besides, Men come not to  
 " a Sanctuary, as to Baptism by Godfathers, but  
 " they must ask it themselves if they will have  
 " it; for none but such as can alledge their just  
 " Fears and Dangers ought to be admitted thi-  
 " ther. And how can the Duke of York be just-  
 " ly entertain'd or kept there, who cannot thro'  
 " his Infancy require it; and if he were sensible  
 " of the Place he is in, would rather desire  
 " to be released from it: So that I think  
 " with the Clergy's Leave, 'tis no Breach of  
 " Privilege, if he and many others be taken by  
 " Force out of it. And to convince them of it  
 " more fully, let me ask them a few Questions.  
 " If a Man go into Sanctuary with another Man's  
 " Goods, may not the King, leaving his Body  
 " at Liberty, take them out of Sanctuary, and  
 " restore them to the right Owner? Can either  
 " Pope or King privilege a Man from paying  
 " Debts that is able to pay them? Several of  
 " the Clergy present agreed, That by the Laws  
 " of God and the Church, a Sanctuary-Man may  
 " be deliver'd up to pay his Debts, or restore  
 " stoln Goods, his Liberty being allow'd him to  
 " get his Living by his Labour. Then the Duke  
 " said, " There's the same Reason to do it, if a  
 " Man's Wife ran from him to Sanctuary, or a  
 " Child take Sanctuary because he will not go to  
 " School, and many like Cases. And therefore I  
 " conclude, that since he can be no Sanctuary-  
 " Man who hath no Discretion to desire it, (for  
 " I never yet heard of Sanctuary-Children) nor  
 " Malice to deserve it, whose Life and Liberty  
 " can in no wise be in Danger, he that taketh such  
 " an one out of Sanctuary to do him good, breaks  
 " no Privilege of that Holy Place.

When



1483. When the Duke had finish'd this long Discourse, it was generally Agreed by all the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, (a) That if the Queen would not Deliver up the Duke by Perswasions, he should be forc'd from her by the King's Authority: But it being judg'd convenient that all fair Means should be first try'd, the Cardinal, with several Lords to accompany him, was sent into the Sanctuary to the Queen; the Protector, and the rest of the Council going into the *Star-Chamber* at *Westminster* to expect the Event. When the Cardinal was come into the Queen's Presence, after all Dutiful Salutations, he Deliver'd to her the Cause of his Coming, Saying, "That he was with those other Lords, sent by the Protector, and the Privy Council to her Majesty, to let her know, how much her Detaining of the Duke of *York* in that Place was Scandalous to the Publick, and disliked by the King his Brother; it being an Action that must needs produce ill Effects: That the King himself was much grieved at it, and the Council offended, because it look'd as if one Brother was in Danger from the other, and could not be Preserved by the other's Life: That it would be a very great Comfort to his Majesty to have his Natural Brother in Company with him; nor would it be of Less Advantage to the Young Duke himself, because it would Confirm and Strengthen their Loves to be brought up together, as well at their Books, as Sports: That in the King's Court the Duke could only Live answerable to his State and Condition: That it would much Please the Protector and Council to send him to the King's Presence, and in Effect might prove of no Small Advantage to her Friends, that were in Prison. Upon which Accounts, as he was sent by his Majesty and Council to demand the Duke of her, to be brought to his Brother; so he could not but earnestly entreat her to comply with a thing so very Reasonable, and every way Convenient. The Queen, who was of a sharp Wit and graceful Speech, answer'd the Cardinal; and said, "My Lord, I cannot deny, but it is very convenient that my Son, the Duke, should be in the Company of his Brother the King as well for Society, as Love's-sake; but since they are both so Young, as that it is the most suitable for them to be under the Government of their Mother; It is better for the King to be with me here, than that I should send the Duke to him: Tho' was it really otherwise, that Duty obliged the Duke to go to him, yet Necessity in this Case creates a Dispensation, because he hath been of late so sorely afflicted with Diseases, and being not perfectly recover'd is in so great a Danger of a Relapse (which generally Physicians say is more fatal than the first Sickness) that I dare trust no Earthly Person as yet with the Care of him: For tho' I doubt not, but that he might have such about him as would do their Best to Preserve his Health, yet since I have ordered him all along, and am his Mother, it must be allow'd by all Men, that as I am the most Able, so I shall be the most Affectionately Careful and Tender of him. And for these Reasons, I hope both the King and his Council will dispense with his Absence a-while, till he is perfectly Recovered, and in Health; and before that, I can't endure to hear of Parting with him.

The Cardinal hearing this Reply, answer'd; 1483. "No Man, Good Madam, doth deny but that your Majesty is the fittest Person to take Care of all your Children, and I am sure the Council will be very Glad to hear that it is your Pleasure so to do; yea, they would beg it of you, Provided you would be contented to do it in such a Place as is consistent with their, and your own Honour; Whereas, if you resolve to tarry in this Place, then they judge it more convenient, that the Duke should be with the King at Liberty, to the Comfort and Satisfaction of them both, tho' with some small Danger to his Health; than to remain in Sanctuary, to the Dishonour of the King, Duke himself, and the whole Council: for it is not always so Necessary that the Child should be with the Mother, but there may be Reasons sometimes of taking him from her, and that for the Best, as your Majesty knows there was, when your Eldest Son, then Prince of *Wales*, and now King, was sent to keep his Court at *Ludlow* for his own Honour and the Good Order of the Country, of which your Majesty was so well convinced, that you seem'd Contented with it.

The Queen grew a little Warm, and smartly retorted, "Not so very well Contented neither at that Separation; tho' the Case is much different now: For the Prince was in good Health, the Duke is now Sick; for tho' the height of the Distemper is past, yet he is Weak, and not so fully recovered, but that without great Care he may fall into a Relapse; in which Condition, while he remains, I wonder that the Protector and Council should be so Earnest to have him from me, since if the Child should grow Sick again and Miscarry, they would incur the Censures of some Ill-dealings with him. And whereas you say that it is Dishonourable to my Child, and to them, that he remain in this Place, I think the Contrary; for certainly 'tis most for their Honour to let him Abide, where no Man can doubt but he will remain Safest, and that is here so long as I continue here: and I do not intend to leave this Place and endanger my Life with my Friends, who, I would to God were rather in Safety here with me, than I were in Hazard with them. Why, Madam, (saith the Lord *Howard*) "Do you know any Reason, that they are in Danger? No truly, (said she roundly) "Nor why they should be in Prison neither, as they now be: but I have great Cause to fear, lest those, who have not scrupled to put them in Prison without Cause, will as little value to Destroy them without Law or Right. Upon these Words, the Cardinal wink'd upon the Lord to put an End to that Discourse; and then added himself, "That he did not doubt, but that those Lords, who being of her Kindred remained under Arrest, would upon a due Examination of Matters, discharge themselves well enough of any Accusation alledged against them: And as to her own Royal Person, there neither was, nor could be any kind of Danger. How shall I be certain of that (said the Queen)? Is it, that I am Innocent? It doth not appear that they are Guilty. Is it, that I am better beloved of their Enemies? No; but rather, they are hated for my Sake. Is it, that I am so nearly related to the King? They are not much further off: and therefore since it seems to me, that as

(a) Several of the Bishops were against fetching him out by Force.



1483. "I am in the same Cause, so I am in like Danger;  
"I do not intend to depart out of this Place.  
"And as for my Son, the Duke of York, I pur-  
"pose to keep him with me till I see how Busi-  
"nesses will go; for the more greedy and ear-  
"nest some Men are to have him into their  
"Hands without any substantial Cause, the more  
"Fearful and Scrupulous am I to deliver him.

The Car-  
dinal's  
Answer.

"And the more Suspicious you are, Madam,  
(answer'd the Cardinal) "the more Jealous are  
"others of you, least under a causeless Pretence  
"of Danger, you should convey him out of the  
"Nation; and so if they permit him to remain  
"with you now, it shall not be in their Power  
"to have him for the Future. Wherefore it is  
"the Opinion of many of the Council, that  
"there is a Necessity of taking the Duke of York  
"immediately into their Care and Government,  
"and since he can enjoy no Privilege by Sanctu-  
"ary, who has neither Will to Require it, nor  
"Malice or Offence to need it, they judge it no  
"Breach of Sanctuary, if you finally refuse to  
"deliver him by fair means, to fetch him out  
"of it: And I assure you, Madam, that the  
"Protector, who bears a most tender Love to  
"his Nephews; and the Council, who have an  
"equal Care and Respect for your Children, will  
"certainly set him at Liberty, unless you resign  
"him to us, least you should send him away. Ay,

Queen's  
Reply.

(says the Queen) "hath the Protector his Uncle  
"such a Love for him, that he fears nothing  
"more than that he should Escape his Hands?  
"I unfeignedly declare, that it never so much  
"as entred into my Thoughts to send him out  
"of this Place into any Foreign Parts, partly  
"because his Health will not bear any Journeys,  
"and partly because, tho' I should not scruple  
"to send him into any Part of the World,  
"where I knew him out of all Danger, yet I do  
"not think any Place more secure than this  
"Sanctuary, which there never was any Ty-  
"rant so devilish, who dare Violate; and I trust  
"that the Almighty God will so awe the Minds  
"of his, and my Enemies, as to Restrain them  
"from offering Violence to this Holy Place. But

Queen's  
Argu-  
ment for  
Privileges  
of San-  
ctuary.

"you tell me, That the Lord Protector and  
"the Council are of Opinion that my Son can't  
"deserve a Sanctuary, and therefore may not  
"be allow'd the Privileges of it: He hath found  
"out a goodly Gloss, as if that Place which can  
"Protect a Thief, or Wicked Person, is not of  
"greater Force to Defend the Innocent, because  
"he is in no Danger, and therefore can have no  
"need of it; which is an Opinion as Erroneous  
"as Hellish. But the Child, you say, can't re-  
"quire the Privilege of a Sanctuary, and there-  
"fore since he has no Will to Choose it he ought  
"not to have it: Who told the Protector so?  
"Ask him, and you shall here him Require it.  
"But suppose it were really so that he could  
"not ask it, or if he could, would not, but  
"would rather choose to go out; I think it is  
"sufficient that I do Require it, and am Regis-  
"tered a Sanctuary-Person, to make any Man  
"guilty of breaking Sanctuary to take my Son  
"out of it by Force and against my Will: For  
"is not the Sanctuary a Protection in that Case  
"as well for my Goods as my Self? No Man  
"can lawfully take my Horse from me, if I Stole  
"him not, or Owe nothing; and surely much  
"less my Child. Besides by Law, as my Lear-  
"ned Council sheweth me, he is my Ward, be-  
"cause he hath no Lands by Descent holden by  
"*Knights Service*, but only by *Socage*, and then  
"I being the Guardian of my Son by Law, no  
"Man can take him by force from me without  
"Injustice in any Place, and without Sacrilege

1483. "from hence. And upon this Right I do insist,  
"and Require the Privilege of Sanctuary for  
"him, as my Pupil and Infant, to whom alone  
"by Law the Care of him belongs: and if this  
"triple Cord may be broken, I mean, the Right  
"which I have to keep him with me by the  
"Law of Man, as his Guardian; by the Law of  
"Nature, as his Mother; and by the Law of  
"God, as being in Sanctuary with him; If all  
"this be not enough to secure him from any  
"Human Force, I think nothing under Heaven  
"can: But I do not despair of Safety where I  
"have always found so much. Here was I brought  
"to Bed of my Son who is now King, and tho'  
"his Enemy Reigned, and might have used the  
"same or like Pretences to have taken us both  
"from Sanctuary, yet he did not; and I hope  
"no Man will have the Boldness to act contra-  
"ry to all former Precedents, but the Place  
"that protected one Son, will be as great a  
"Security to the other: For to be plain with  
"you, My Lord, I fear to put him into the  
"Protector's Hands, because he hath his  
"Brother already, and since he pretends to be  
"the next Heir to the Crown after them, not-  
"withstanding his Sisters, if they any ways  
"miscarry, his Way to the Throne lies Plain  
"and Easy to him. Now this is so just a Cause  
"of Fear, that even the Laws of the Land teach  
"me it, which as Learned Men tell me, forbids  
"every Man the Guardianship of them, by  
"whose Death they become Heirs to their In-  
"heritance; and if the Law is so careful of  
"such as have the least Inheritance, how much  
"more ought I to be fearful that my Children  
"come not into his Power, who by their Death  
"will have the Kingdom for his Inheritance.  
"By these Reasons I am confirmed in my Reso-  
"lutions of keeping my Son in Sanctuary with  
"me and my Right so to do, and think them so  
"far to Out-ballance the Protector's frivolous  
"Reasons of keeping his Brother company, and  
"being Dishonourable to him, that I cannot al-  
"ter my Mind: For I have reason to think that  
"whoever he proves a Protector to, he will  
"prove a Destroyer to them, if they be once in  
"his Hands and Power. I know the Protector  
"and Council have Power enough, if they have  
"Will, to take him and me from this Place;  
"but whosoever he be that shall dare to do it,  
"I pray God send him shortly Need of a Sanctu-  
"ary, but no Possibility to come to it.

Her Suspi-  
tion of the  
Duke of  
Gloucester.

The Cardinal seeing the Queen grow more and more  
"Passionate by Discouraging, and to reflect sharply  
"upon the Protector, which he was unwilling to  
"hear, because he believed them inconsiderate Ef-  
"fects of Passion, thought it time to break off Ar-  
"guing with her, and therefore to bring all things  
"to a Conclusion, said unto her; "Madam, I will  
"not Dispute the Matter longer with you: It is  
"equal to me, whether you deliver him, or not.  
"I am with these Lords, but the Messenger to  
"know your Resolution, and beg you will but  
"tell us plainly, whether you will, or will not  
"deliver him to us? For tho' if you resign him  
"to us, I durst Pawn my own Body and Soul  
"to you for his Safety; yet if you Deny it, I  
"will immediately Depart and finish my Trust,  
"resolving never to engage in the Matter again,  
"since I see you so Resolute in your own Judg-  
"ment, as if you thought both me, and all  
"others lack'd either Wit or Honesty; Wit,  
"in that we, not perceiving the Protector's ill  
"Designs, were made the Tools of his Wicked  
"Craft; Honesty, in that knowing his Inten-  
"tions we have labour'd to bring your Son in-  
"to the Protector's Hands to Destroy him; an  
"Execra-

Cardi-  
nal's An-  
swer.



1483. " Execrable Treason, which as our selves abhor, " so we dare boldly say was far from the Protector's Thoughts, and cannot be imputed to " any in this Case, but you must brand the whole " Council with Short-sighted Advice and Dis- " loyalty to their Prince.

These Words of the Cardinal's being Perem- ptory and Short, much amused the Queen, being put to it on a sudden to resolve whether she would send him, or no. The Cardinal she saw ready to depart, and the Protector and Council were near she knew; what to do she could not tell: she fear'd that by Delivering him, she cast him into the Mouth of Ruin; and by Keeping him, she did but provoke the Protector and Council to be more Rough and Severe with them both. She saw there was no way to save him from the Protector's Hands, but by Conveying him out of his Knowledge or Power; which tho' she Wish'd, yet she had no Way to effect it: Wherefore she resolv'd to make the best use of Necessity, and since the Protector must have him, take the best Way to Secure him in his Hands. She consider'd, that her Fears were but grounded on vehement Presumptions, and therefore hop'd Things might not prove so Bad as she imagin'd. She could not doubt of the Cardinal's Sincerity and Loyalty to her Son, and tho' she indeed fear'd he might be deceived, yet she did not believe either he, or the Lords present, would be any ways Accessory to his Destruction: and for these Reasons she thought it better to deliver him to them, who were ready to Pawn their Honour and Lives for his Security, and would therefore look upon themselves engaged for his Safety, than suffer him to be taken from her; and there- upon taking her Son, the Duke of York, in her Hand, she led him to the Cardinal and Lords, and with great Earnestness said to them, " My

The Queen's Speech at the Delivery of the Duke of York to the Lords.

" Lord Cardinal, and you my Lords, I am not " so opinionated of my self, or ill-advised " concerning you, as to Mistrust either your " Wisdom or Fidelity, as I shall prove to you " by reposing such Trust in you, as, if either of " them be wanting in you, will Redound to my " Inexpressible Grief, the Damage of the whole " Realm, and your eternal Shame and Disgrace: " For Lo! Here is my Son, the Person whom " you desire; and tho' I doubt not but that I " could keep him Safe in this Sanctuary from " all Violence; yet here I resign him into your " Hands. I am sensible that I run great Hazards " in so doing, no whit less than my Fears sug- " gest; for I have some so great Enemies to my " Blood, that if they knew where any of it lay " in their own Veins, they would presently let " it out; and much more in others, and the near- " er to me the more Zealously. Experience " also convinces us all, that the Desire of a " Kingdom knows no Kindred. The Brother " in that Case hath been the Destruction of the " Brother, and the Son of his Father; and have " we any Cause to think the Uncle will be more " tender of his Nephews? Each of these Chil- " dren are the other's Defence while they are " asunder; if one be safe they are both secure; " but being both together they are in great Dan- " ger: and therefore as a Wise Merchant will " never adventure all his Goods in one Ship, " so it looks not so Politickly in me to put " them both under the same Hazards. But not- " withstanding all this, (whether rightly foreseen " or no, I leave to you to think on, and pre- " vent.) I do here Deliver him, and his Brother " in him to your Keeping, of whom I shall ask " him again at all times before God and the " World. I am Confident of your Fidelity, and

1483. " and have no reason to distrust your Wisdom, " Power, or Ability to keep him, if you will " make use of your Resolution when it is re- " quired; and if you are unwilling to do that, " then I pray you leave him still here with me: " and that you may not meet with more than " you did expect, let me beg of you, for " the Trust which his Father ever reposed " in you, and for the Confidence I now put in " you, that as you think I fear too much, so " you would be cautious that in this weighty " Case you fear not too little; because your " Credulity here may make an irrecoverable " Mistake. Having thus spoken, she turn'd to " the Child, and said to him, " Farewel, mine own " sweet Son, The Almighty be thy Protector: Let " me Kiss thee once more before we part, for " God knows when we shall Kiss again; and then " having kissed him, she Blessed him, and turn'd " from him and wept, and so went her way, leav- " ing the Child with the Lords weeping also for " her Departure.

The Cardinal and Lords having obtain'd their The Duke Desire thus, and gotten the Duke of York from of York brought to the Protector. his Mother, immediately led him to the Star- Chamber, where the Protector and Lords of the Council staid in Expectation of him. The Pro- tector receiv'd him with all the seeming Kind- ness and Respect that was due to him, as the King's Brother and his Nephew; and taking him in his Arms kissed him, and said, *Now Welcome my Lord with all my very Heart*: and the same Day carried him to the King his Brother, who was at the Bishop of London's Palace near S. Paul's Church. Here he left them a few Days toge- ther; and because all Things were in a great forwardness for the Coronation, which he was Zealous to Promote, he caus'd the King and the Duke his Brother to be remov'd to the Tower, the usual Place from whence that Solemnity be- gan, with much Pomp and State. But now the Protector was at a stand how to Proceed: He look'd upon himself, as the Lawful King of these Realms, by the Judgment of such as were best Able to determine such Doubts; but yet since his Brother's Children were generally presumed the True Heirs, and their Illegitimacy not un- derstood, or Disregarded, he was Afraid to Claim his Right against the Common Opinion, and yet as loath to throw it up himself, as he must do by Crowning his Brother's Son. There was almost a Necessity the Coronation should go forward; it had proceeded so far, that the Na- tion would grumble extreamly at the Expence if it were now laid aside; and on the other side, if his Nephew were crown'd he must give up his Right, and not only deprive himself but his Children: Wherefore he resolv'd with himself to seem as Earnest as ever in carrying it on, A Council and to that end, appointed a Council of such appoint- ed to carry on the Coronation. Lords as he knew to be most Faithful to the King his Nephew, of whom the Lord Hastings the Chamberlain, and Lord Stanley were the Chief, to Assemble *De die in diem* at Baynard's- Castle to consult and contrive the Ways and Ceremonies for the Coronation of his Nephew; but in the mean Season he contriv'd secretly to make known his own Title to certain Persons that he could Confide in, and by delaying the Coronation try how far his own Interests might be Advanced, that he might obtain his Right Peaceably and Quietly; but being Sensible how great Prejudices he was to Encounter with on all Hands, he knew he must proceed very warily in it. The Duke of Buckingham in all his Mo- tions hitherto had been his chief Friend and Assistant. He in a manner had made him Pro- tector,



1483. tector, and it would be such a Disobligation if he should not make use of him in his Councils, that he certainly would turn his Enemy, and being of such mighty Interest would pull him down, as he had set him up. And yet he could hardly hope for any Encouragement from him; because tho' the Duke was a Male-content in the Days of the late King, yet he seem'd very Loyal to his Son, as if he had Buried the Enmity to his Father in his Grave. But the Protector knew old Enmity is easily Reviv'd, and to prepare the Duke of *Buckingham* for his Designs, he Suborn'd certain Persons about the Duke to represent to him the King's Displeasure for Imprisoning his Mother's Kindred, and into what a miserable Dilemma he had run himself by that Action; for if they were Released they'd bear him an Immortal Grudge, and if they were put to Death, he was sure to incur the King's Anger so much, that he could hope for nothing, but Misfortunes on all Hands; for the King did not Refrain from such Expressions as shew'd, that whenever he had Power he would Revenge it upon him to the Utmost. These Relations struck him with a Fear of Danger, and predispos'd him to lay hold upon any Opportunity of Securing himself; which the Duke of *Gloucester*, who laid the Train, soon offer'd him: for a little after inviting him to a Conference, he desired him to Assist him in taking upon him the Crown of *England* as his Right, shewing him the Judgment of the Civil Lawyers concerning the Illegitimacy of his Brother's Children, and promising, as the Reward of his Faithful Services to him, that his Son should Marry the Duke's Daughter; that he would give him the Earldom of *Hereford* with all the Appurtenances, which tho' his Inheritance, yet had been Unjustly kept from him by his Brother; And lastly, That he would Allow him a large Share of *R. Edward's* Treasure, and so much of the Wardrobe as should furnish his House, and settle upon him and his Posterity the Office of the High-Constable of *England*, which his Ancestors by Descent for many Generations had enjoy'd.

Duke of  
*Buckingham*  
engages with  
the Pro-  
tector in  
taking the  
Crown.

The Duke of *Buckingham* was not hard to be won to engage in such an Action as secur'd him from his present Fears, and afforded a Prospect of so much Gain and Advantage, and so became a Zealous Actor for the Protector in making him King; for he soon brought many of his Friends into the same Design, and with the Protector constituted a Council, which sat at *Crosby's-Place*, the Protector's Mansion House, to contrive the most Artificial and Politick Ways to Settle the Crown upon his Head; but they were to meet very Secretly and Privately.

The Pro-  
tector's  
Private  
Council  
suspected  
by the  
other.

This Council had not sat long, but both their Persons and their Actions were Discerned: for Cardinal *Bourcier* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Rotherham* Archbishop of *York*, *John Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Stanley*, Lord *Hastings*, and other Persons of Quality, who were busie to order the Coronation, perceiv'd that, notwithstanding their Endeavours, Matters mov'd slowly, and they saw Cause to suspect contrary Motions.

The Common People began to Murmur at the Delays of the Coronation, and Talk'd as tho' there were some bad Designs on foot, tho' no Man could guess at what was really intended; but it was generally look'd upon as a bad Omen that the Protector took upon him a State and Magnificence above his Place, and would endure none but his own Servants about the King, who gave an unkind Welcome to all Persons, that either desir'd to see the King out of Cu-

riosity, or wait on him out of Duty; as tho' they would tell Men that they must seek the King elsewhere, viz. at their Master's Palace, which was soon so well understood by such as expected any Honours and Preferments at Court, that the Protector was Flatter'd and Caress'd as King, while his Nephew was little regarded, and bore only an insignificant Name.

These Actions increased the Jealousie of the Lords who sat at *Baynard's-Castle* to Direct the Coronation; and the Lord *Stanley*, who was a Wise and Sagacious Man, began to declare openly to his Brethren, "That he much dislike'd these Doings, and could not believe that two different Councils could Produce any good Effects: We are conscious of the Loyalty and Integrity of our Actions; but who knows what the Cabal at *Crosby's-Place* Talk of, and Contrive? I fear, what we are Building, they are Plucking down; and unless we could Unite, or know their Councils, ours will be in Vain. Peace, My Lord, said the Lord *Hastings*, never fear or misdoubt any thing; I durst assure you upon my Life All's well, or at least nothing Ill is intended against Us: For while One Man is there, who is never Absent, I am sure there can be nothing propounded which shall sound Ill to me, but it will be in my Ears as soon as it is out of their Mouths almost. This the Lord *Hastings* meant of one *Catesby* a Lawyer, who was his special Confident, and being put into a Considerable Trust in the Counties of *Leicester* and *Northampton*, where this Lord's Interest and Power lay, merely by his Means, was reputed by him so Faithful and Grateful, that he would neither do, nor suffer to be done any things Injurious to his Patron: which indeed he had great reason to have done, but he much deceiv'd him, as will after appear, and so was the Chief Instrument of Working the Protector's Will and Aims; for the Lords generally saw so many Signs of Distrust, that had they not rely'd entirely upon the Lord *Hastings's* Word, whom they knew Firm and Loyal, they had all departed every Man to his own Country and provided for their own Safety, which had certainly broken all the Protector's Measures; for they were Men of great Power and Interest with the People, and could easily have kept Matters in the Right Current had they been at Home; but *Catesby* carrying all fair to *Hastings*, and he perswading them that nothing could be done amiss till he should know it and advertise them of it, they trusted to him, and denying their own Senses almost to construe all things for the best, laid themselves open to Ruin, and made way to the Protector's Designs, which both himself and his Council were vigilant to improve.

The former Jealousies of the Council at *Baynard's-Castle* were soon known to the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tho' they would not seem to be sensible of it, yet they took up Resolutions with themselves either to win them over to their Side, or if not to secure them from being their Enemies, and to this end they shew'd great Favour to the Lord *Hastings*, who much influenc'd the Actions of all the Rest, and kept him much in their Company, hoping by Familiarity and friendly Endearments to dispose him to a Compliance with their Designs, which they not long after caus'd *Catesby* his familiar Acquaintance to Propound to him, but at some distance, least his Refusal should betray all; for if they could gain him, they were sure of the greater part of the Rest. *Catesby*, who now had forgotten all former Obligations, and

1483.

Lord *Hastings* appears their Distrust.

*Hastings* Careless, and sound by his Confident *Catesby*.



1483. and was courting greater Favours, readily undertook the Employment, and coming to the Lord Hastings, who had not yet the least Mistrust of him, after much other Discourse about the present Circumstances of Affairs, asks his Opinion about the Title and Claim that the Protector had to the Crown; insinuating, that if it might Lawfully be done, it would be better that an Experienc'd Person and a Brave Commander should Rule than a Child. The Lord Hastings, who was firmly Loyal to K. Edward's Children, presuming upon Catesby's Fidelity, freely open'd his Mind to him without any Circumlocutions, and having shew'd him what Jealousies the Council had of the Protector's Actions, with Indignation expressed his utter Dislike of it in Words to this Effect: "That he had rather see the Death and Destruction of the Protector and D. of Buckingham, than the Young King deprived of the Crown; and that if he discern'd any Designs that Way in any Persons whatsoever, he would engage his utmost Power and Ability against them. These Words, which 'tis believed the Lord Hastings would never have spoke, had he suspected (a) either the Mission, or Treachery of Catesby, were carried to the Protector immediately, and represented to him not with the mollifying Terms of a Friend, but Aggravations of an Enemy, because he hop'd by his Death and the Protector's Favour, which for this ill Office alone he had reason not to doubt of, to obtain most of the Rule and Trust, which that Lord had in his Country, and so his Ruin would be his own Making.

Catesby's Treachery.

The Protector received the Account of Hastings's Aversion to his Designs with much Trouble and Regret, not for the Disappointment only, but because he had a great Love for him, who had always been his Friend, and had done him many Kindnesses in his Brother's Days, and therefore engaged Catesby to win him, if possible: but Catesby willing to see his Downfall, represented him so irreconcilable to his Proceedings, that he chang'd the Protector's Love into Hatred to him, and made him lay hold upon any slight Pretences to take away his Life, without which he saw he must meet with a great Impediment in the Road of his Ambition, and so the Way was Agreed upon in this Manner. The Protector call'd a Great Council at the Tower on Friday the 13th of June, on pretence of concluding all Things for the Coronation, which drew on apace, the Pageants being making Day and Night at Westminster, and Victuals killed ready for it. The Lords of this Council assembled Early in the Morning, and sat Close to their Business to settle every thing for that Solemnity.

Hastings's Death contriv'd.

The Protector came about Nine a Clock to them, and having Saluted all the Lords very courteously, excus'd himself for coming to them so late, saying Merrily, That he had play'd the Sluggard this Morning. Then he sat down and discoursed a-while with them about the Business in hand, and was very Pleasant and Jocular in all his Speeches. Among other things more Serious he by the Bye said to the Bishop of Ely, *My Lord, You have very good Strawberries in your Garden at Holborn, I desire you to let us have a Dish to Dinner. Gladly, my Lord, will I do that,* (quoth the Bishop) *I wish I had some better Thing as ready for your Service as they;* and thereupon sent his Servant in all haste for a Dish of Straw-

berries. A little after this, the Protector obliging them to go on in their Councils, requested them to dispense with his Absence a-while, and so Departed.

In the space of little more than an Hour he return'd again, but with such an angry Countenance, knitting his Brows, frowning and biting his Lips, that the whole Council were amaz'd at the sudden Change. Being set down, he said nothing for a good while, but at length spoke with great Concern, and ask'd them this Question, What Punishment do they deserve who had Plotted his Death, who was so near in Blood to the King, and by Office the Protector of the King's Person and Realm? This Question he had rais'd out of Catesby's Account of the Lord Hastings's Words and Discourse, which he so represented to him, as if he had Wish'd and Contriv'd his Death. The Lords of the Council were much startled at it, and, thinking with themselves of whom he meant it, return'd no Answer. The Lord Hastings who was always familiar with him, and thought this general Silence not respectful, reply'd, That they deserv'd to be punish'd as heinous Traitors, whosoever they were. Then said the Protector, *And that hath that Sorceress my Brother's Wife,* (meaning the Queen, but disdain'd to call her so) *with others her Accomplices endeavour'd to do.* These Words begat fresh Fears and Disturbances among them; because they most of them favour'd the Queen: but Hastings was well enough Content that the Crime was not laid upon any that he lov'd better, tho' he lik'd not that the Protector had not communicated it to him, as he had done his Designs to put the Queen's Kindred to Death: (which was by his Advice and Approbation to be done that Day at Pomfret-Castle.) The Protector still went on in his Complaints, and said, "See, in what a miserable manner that Sorceress, and Shore's Wife, with others their Associates have by their Sorcery and Witchcraft miserably destroy'd my Body: And therewith Unbuttoning his Left Sleeve, shew'd them his Arm fleshless, dry and wither'd, Saying, "Thus would they by degrees have destroy'd my whole Body, if they had not been Discover'd and Prevented, in a short time. This Proof, which the Protector thought to give of his Accusation, convinc'd the Council that he had only a Mind to Quarrel with them, for they all knew that his Arm was never otherwise, and that as the Queen was too Nice to engage in any such Foolish Enterprize, so if she had done it, she would not have made Shore's Wife, whom of all Women she most hated, because she was her Husband's best-beloved Concubine, one of her Council.

1483.

The Queen accused of Witchcraft.

The Lord Hastings, who from King Edward's Death had kept Shore's Wife (for whom he had a great Kindness in the King's Life, but in Reverence to him forbore her) was inwardly troubled to hear her, whom he lov'd, and knew to be Innocent of any such thing, so highly and unjustly Accused, and because he had made the first Answer to the Duke's Question, he took himself obliged to return as Modest an Answer as he could to his Accusation; and therefore said, "Certainly my Lord, if they have indeed done any such Thing, they deserve to be both severely punish'd: But this Answer discover'd the Lord Hastings's Opinion so much, that he thought the Accusation false and forged, that

(a) Sir Thomas Moor makes it a Doubt whether he Spoke the Words, or not; or indeed, whether Catesby try'd him, or not.



1483. the Protector in Anger catch'd hold of his Words, and said, Do you Answer me with *If's* and *And's*, as if I charg'd them falsely? I tell you, they have done it, and thou hast joyn'd with them in this Villainy; and therewith clapped his Fist down hard upon the Board, at which Sign several Men in Arms rush'd into the Room, crying, Treason, Treason. The Protector seeing them come in, said to the Lord *Hastings*, I Arrest the Traitor. What me, My Lord, said *Hastings*? Yea, thou Traitor, said the Protector. Whereupon he was taken into their Custody. In this Buffle, which was all before contrived, a certain Person struck at the Lord *Stanley* with a Pole-Ax, and had certainly cleft him down, had not he been aware of the Blow and sunk under the Table: yet he was wounded so on the Head that the Blood ran about his Ears.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
York, and  
other Bi-  
shops im-  
prison'd

Then was the Archbishop of *York*, Bishop of *Ely*, and Lord *Stanley*, with divers other Lords who were thought averse to his Designs, Imprison'd in several places in the *Tower*; and the Lord *Hastings* order'd forthwith to Confess and Prepare himself for his Death, for the Protector had Sworn by *St. Paul* that he would not Dine till his Head was off.

It was in vain to complain of Severity, or demand Justice, the Protector's Oath must not be broken: so he was forc'd to take the next Priest that came, and make a short Confession, for the Common Form was too long for the Protector's Stomach to wait on, and being immediately hurried to the Green by the Chappel within the *Tower*, his Head was laid on a Timber-logg which was provided for Repairing the Chappel, and there stricken off. His Body and Head were carried to *Windfor*, and there buried by his Master King *Edward IV.* late deceased, it being very Convenient that he should have a Place next him at his Death, who had lost his Life for his Unmoveable Loyalty to his Children.

Omens of  
*Hastings's*  
Death.

The Death of this Great Lord, as it was sudden and unsuspected, so it may seem to have been particularly regarded by Heaven, from whence he had many Omens of it given him either to avoid it or prepare for it, if he had had but Wisdom to take a due Notice of them; which are worth a particular Relation, that we may see the Care Providence has of Men in imminent Dangers.

The Night before his Death the Lord *Stanley* had a fearful Dream, in which he thought that a Wild Boar with his Tusshes had so wounded his own and the Lord Chamberlain's Head, that the Blood ran about both their Shoulders. This Dream had more than an usual Impression upon him, and because he interpreted the Dream of the Protector, who gave the Boar for his Arms, and the Wounds and Blood from their Heads of some imminent Danger of their Lives, he resolv'd no longer to tarry within reach of his Power, but ordering Horses to be got ready, sent his Chamberlain to the Lord *Hastings* at Midnight to acquaint him with his Dream, and encourage him to take Horse as fast as he could, and with him secure himself, for with swift Horses they could get near their Friends by Morning.

Lord *Stan-  
ley* from  
his Dream  
advise  
him to  
fly.

The Lord *Hastings*, tho' awak'd out of his Sleep, yet being naturally a Man neither Melancholy nor Superstitious, receiv'd the Message with a Smile; And said to him, Doth my Lord, your Master, give so much Credit to such Trifles as Dreams, which are usually the Effect of our Fears or Cares? Pray tell him, That it is plain Witchcraft to believe in such Dreams, which if they may be allowed Foretellers of Things

to come, yet are so Uncertain, that we may do our selves more Harm than Good in following them: for who could assure him, that if there is any real Danger to be feared from the Boar, we shall not fall into it rather by Flying than Tarrying? For if we should be taken and brought back, (as might very well happen) we should give the Boar just Occasion to Goar us; for our Flight would be such an Argument of some Guilt, that we could hardly avoid it, and to alledge a Dream as the Cause, would make us ridiculous to all Men: Wherefore if there were Danger, as indeed there is none unless in his causeless Fears, it is rather in Flying than Tarrying; and if we must fall into it one way or other, I had rather that Men should see it to be from others Falshood, than my Guilt or Cowardice: And therefore go to thy Master, and commend me to him, and bid him be merry and fear nothing; for I can assure him, that there is as little Danger from the Man he means as from my own right Hand. God grant it may be so (says the Messenger) and so departed. The Gentleman brought the Message to his Lord, and made him forgot his Resolution; tho' with what Mischief to himself the Event proved.

Other Ominous Presages he had of his Death that Morning, which his Security would not suffer him to take Notice of. Before he was up from his Bed, (where he had lain all Night with *Shore's* Wife) there came to him Sir *Thomas Howard*, Son of the Lord *Howard*, to call him as he pretended, and to Accompany him to the Council; but he was really sent by the Protector to perswade him to come if he should not intend it, or if he design'd it to hasten him; which tho' he manag'd artificially enough, yet being of the Protector's Cabinet Council he was suspicious, and in the Way as they passed along, he gave the Lord *Hastings* such an Odd interruption, in his Discourse with a Priest which he met by the Way, by telling him, tho' merrily, That he wonder'd he would Talk so long with a Priest, He had no Occasion for one, as yet; that he might easily have suspected he knew that he should have need of one Soon: but he was a loose and careless Man, and regarded it not.

In the Way also as he passed from his House to the *Tower*, his Horse that he was accusom'd to Ride, stumbled with him twice or thrice so dangerously that he had almost falln; which thing, tho' it happens almost daily to Persons who fall into no Mischance, yet of old it was accounted a certain Presage of some Misfortune. Also when he came to the *Tower-Wharff*, within a Stone's cast of the place where his Head was cut off a few Hours after, he met with a Purse-  
servant of his own Name call'd *Hastings*, who having met him in the same Place, when he lay under King *Edward's* Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord *Rivers* the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in Mind of his former Danger, and thereupon he fell into a Discourse with him about it and said, Ah *Hastings*! Dost thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yea, my Lord (said he) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you no harm by it. You would say so indeed (said the Lord *Hastings*) if you knew as much as I do now, or as you will shortly. I was never so afraid of my Life, as I was then; but now Matters are well mended with me: Mine Enemies are now in as great Danger as I was then, (This he said, because he knew that the Protector by his and others Advice had given

1483.

Sir Tho.  
*Howard's*  
Words.

His Hor-  
se's stum-  
bling.

His Dis-  
course  
with one  
*Hastings*.



1483. given Order for the Execution of the Lord Rivers, Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan at Pomfret) and I was never Merrier nor more Secure in all my Life. With these Words he parted and went into the Tower, whence he never came out again. Oh the uncertain Confidence and short-sighted Knowledge of Man! When this Lord was most afraid, he was most secure; and when he was secure, Danger was over his Head. By him we may see the Truth of David's Advice, *Oh put not your trust in Princes!* and learn to leave all to God's Providence who delivers us in Dangers, and never leaves us but when we grow Self-confident; of which this great Man was a sad Example, and ought to be a Warning to us in the like Case.

*Hastings's Death murmured at and justified.*

The Protector having thus far proceeded to open himself a plain Way to the Crown by removing all that appear'd in Opposition to it, Hastings being Dead, and the Lords of his Party in Prison, was yet at a Plunge, how to justify to the Nation the Severity of these Proceedings against him. For the Lord Hastings tho' in himself no good Man, as his Publick keeping of Shore's Wife for his Concubine declared, yet was had in great Esteem by the King's Friends, as a Person of approved Loyalty and good Affection to King Edward's Line, and by the People as a Lover of the Common Good, and he was sensible that the News of his Death, which would fly into all Parts from the City apace, would cause great Discontents in all Parts of the Nation: Whereupon he thought it his wisest Course to send for the Lord Mayor and Chief Citizens to him into the Tower, and give them a full Account of the Justice of the Lord Hastings's Sufferings; that so the Murmurs of the City being appeased, the Nation might have no cause to repine.

This Contrivance he put in Execution immediately after Dinner the same Day, and having put on Old rusty Armour, which lay neglected in the Tower, and commanded the Duke of Buckingham to do the same, as if their sudden Danger had caused them to take any thing that lay next for their Defence, he and the Duke stood ready to receive them.

When they were come, the Protector told them, "That the Lord Hastings, and several other Persons, had conspired and contrived together suddenly to Kill him and the Duke of Buckingham that Day in Council, for what Cause, or for what Design he could not guess, and had not yet time to search it out, because he had no certain Knowledge of the intended Treason before Ten a Clock of the same Day, so that he had enough to do to stand upon his own Guard, and provide for his own Defence; which tho' they had both done in an Undecent manner, by putting on such filthy Armour, yet Necessity obliging them to it, they were forc'd to take what was next Hand: That God had wonderfully protected them from the Danger he hoped, now the Lord Hastings was dead, against whom, tho' there might seem to be something of Cruelty us'd in so sudden an Execution without any Legal Tryal and Hearing, yet there appearing to the King and the Lords of his Council many Reasons to believe, that if he had been kept in Prison, his Complices would have made a formidable Insurrection in the Country to Rescue him, and his Guilt being very Evident, they judg'd it best to inflict the deserved Punishment of his Crimes upon him immediately, that the Peace of the Nation might not be in Danger. This is the real Truth of the Business, and we

1483. "have therefore call'd you hither to inform you of it that you may, as you see Cause, satisfy the People of the Justice of the Lord Hastings's Sufferings, which tho' we were no ways oblig'd to do, yet out of our Care to please them, we have condescended to it, and we require you thus to Report it. They all answer'd fair, and declar'd their Readiness to Obey, as if they really believed him, tho' in themselves they look'd upon his Harangue as a plausible Pretence for a foul Fact, and so taking their Leaves of him departed. But upon more Mature Deliberation this was not thought sufficient to appease the People's Minds; and therefore soon after the Mayor and Citizens were gone, an Herald of Arms was sent into the City to Publish a Proclamation in all Parts of it, to this Effect:

"That the Lord Hastings with divers other wicked Conspirators, had Traiterously contrived the same Day to have Slain the Protector and Duke of Buckingham Sitting in Council, with a Purpose and Design to take upon him the Government of the King and Kingdom, and rule all Things at his Pleasure, hoping that when they were Dead, they should meet no Opposition in their Designs. And in how miserable a Condition this Nation had been, if God had left them in his Hands, appear'd from the former Actions of the said Lord, who being so ill a Man, could not make a good Governour. For he it was, that by his ill Advice enticed the King's Father to many Things much redounding to his Dishonour and to the Universal Damage and Detriment of the Realm, leading him into Debauchery by his Exemplary Wickedness, and procuring Lewd and Ungracious Persons to gratifie his Lusts, and particularly Shore's Wife, who was one of his Secret Council in this Treason, by which lewd Living, the said King not only shortned his Days, but also was forced to Oppress and Tax his People, that he might have sufficient to gratify his Expences. And since the Death of the said K. he hath lived in a continual Incontinency with the said Shore's Wife, and lay Nightly with her, and particularly the very Night before his Death; so that it was no marvel if his Ungracious Life brought him to as Unhappy a Death, which he was put to by the Special Command of the King's Highness, and of his Honourable and Faithful Council, both for his own Demerits, being so openly taken in his intended Treason, and also least any Delay of his Execution might have encourag'd other Mischievous Persons, who were engaged in the Conspiracy with him, to make an Insurrection for his Deliverance, which being wisely foreseen, and as effectually prevented, was the only means under God's Providence to preserve the whole Realm in Peace and Quietness.

This Proclamation, which was very well Indited (as was thought by Catesby, who was a Chief Actor in this Tragedy) and as fairly written on Parchment, tho' the Expedition of the Publishing of it was look'd upon as Politick and Wise to prevent the Discontents of the People, yet it did very little Good: for when Men came to compare Things, and consider'd, That the Proclamation was very Elegantly compos'd, very fairly written, and being very long was yet Publish'd within two Hours after the Death of the Lord Hastings, they began to suspect that that Lord had foul Dealings, and that his Ruin being determin'd, it was compos'd and written before his Death; for the Time after was

1483.

A Proclamation Publish'd to justify Hastings's Death.

The Proclamation not regarded.



1483. was not sufficient, either to Compose or Write it in. And hence it was, that some spared not to Reflect upon it. The School-master of *Paul's*, sharply said,

*Here's a very goodly Cast,  
Fouly cast away for Haste.*

And a Merchant that stood by him, Answer'd him, It was Written by Prophecy. Thus did the Protector endeavour to Palliate his Wickedness, in Destroying the Lord *Hastings*, but all was in vain; this Action was too foul to receive any tolerable Plea, which would pass with Men of any Thought at all.

The Protector proceeds against *Shore's* Wife.

The Protector having done as much as cou'd be done, to excuse his Cruelty to the Lord *Hastings*, took himself oblig'd to proceed against *Shore's* Wife, whom he had accus'd of the same Treason; least if he shou'd let her escape, he shou'd betray his Plot: for if she were not Guilty, no more was the Lord *Hastings*; and if he deserved Death, so did she. For this Reason, he sent Sir *Thomas Howard* to her House, with an Order of Council to Apprehend her Person, and Seize her Goods, as forfeited to the King by her Treason; which were both accordingly done; and her Goods, to the value of Two or Three Thousand Marks being taken from her, she was carry'd to Prison into the *Tower*: Within a few Days after, she was brought to her Examination before the King's Council, and the Protector laid to her Charge, "That she had endeavour'd his Ruin and Destruction several ways; and particularly, by Witchcraft had decay'd his Body, and with the Lord *Hastings*, had contriv'd to Assassinate him. But she made so good a Defence for her self, as that there appear'd not the least Likelihood of her being Guilty: Whereupon they, by the Protector's Order, fell upon her for her open and scandalous Whoredome, which every Body knowing she cou'd not Deny. And because they wou'd do something to her to Satisfy him, they deliver'd her over to the Bishop of *London*, to do Publick Penance for her Sin in *St. Paul's* Church, which she accordingly perform'd the next Sunday-Morning, after this Manner: Mrs. *Shore* being depriv'd of all her Ornaments, and Cloath'd with a white Sheet, was brought by way of Procession, with the Cross carried before her, and a Wax Taper in her Hand, to the Church of *St. Paul's* from the Bishop's Palace adjoining, through great Crowds of People gather'd together to behold her; and there Standing before the Preacher, acknowledg'd in a set Form, her open Wickedness, and declared her Repentance for it: In all this Action, she behav'd her self with so much Modesty and Decency, that such as respected her Beauty more than her Fault, never were in greater Admiration of her, than now: for she being a Beautiful and Handsome Woman, wanting nothing in her Face but a little Blush, this shameful Act supply'd that so well, that she appear'd more lovely for it; and as to such, as were glad to see Sin Corrected, yet they pittied her, because they knew, that the Protector did it more out of Hatred to her Person, than Sin; more out of Malice, than a love to Virtue.

Mrs. *Shore's* Character.

This Woman was Born in *London*, virtuously Educated, and Well Married to a Substantial and Honest Citizen; but being drawn to the Match, rather by Interest than Affection, by her Parents Judgment, than her own Inclination, she never had that Fondness for him, that joyns a Wife inviolably to her Husband's Bed. This

Looseness to her Husband, with that natural Ambition, and Affectation of Gay Cloathing and Greatness, which is usually in Women much above their Fortunes, though almost never so Great, dispos'd her to accept of the King's Kindness, when offer'd; who, besides that he was a very Handsome and Lovely Person, cou'd easily gratify her Desires, and by fulfilling his Lusts, she knew she had Mastery of his Gifts and Treasure; and for these Reasons, she became his Concubine. Her Husband (tho' made Unhappy by her Lewdness) yet carried his Resentments evenly; and after the King had Abus'd her, never wou'd have any thing to do with her, whether out of Reverence to the King's Person, or out of a Principle of Conscience, it is not easy to determine, tho' both might concur. She lived many Years in King *Edward's* Court, and tho' that King had many Concubines, and some of them of much greater Quality than her self, yet he loved her best for her merry and ingenious Behaviour. In this Great, tho' Bad Station, she Demean'd her self with admirable Prudence, and was not Exalted by the King's Favour, but always us'd it with as much Benefit to others as to her self; for she never abus'd the King's Kindness to any Man's Hurt, but always us'd it to their Comfort and Advantage: Where the King took Displeasure against any Man, she would mitigate his Anger and Appease his Mind; and such as were out of Favour, she would Reconcile. For many heinous Offenders she obtain'd Pardon, and got a Relaxation, and sometimes a total Remission of large Fines: and tho' she was the only effectual Suitor almost at Court for such as wanted Places and Preferments, yet she made little Advantage to her self by it; expecting none, or very small Reward, and that rather Gay than Rich; either because she was content with doing of a Kindness, or delighted to be Sought to; for Wanton Women and Wealthy, be not always Covetous. In fine, her Lewdness was her only Fault; and tho' that was great enough, yet to have a King for their Bedfellow is such a mighty Temptation, that if no Woman would Condemn her before they have the like Trials, it's to be fear'd, she'd have few to cast a Stone at her. She was Affable and Obliging, Generous and Charitable; and tho', indeed, she was after reduc'd to a miserable Poverty in her Old Age, a just Punishment for her Sin, yet it was a Reproach to many Thousands, that she was so, whom she kept from Beggary; and if they had been Grateful to Requite her for those Kindnesses in her Want, which she scorn'd to Sell in her Prosperity, she might have Liv'd to her Death, in a Condition great enough for her Birth and Degree.

While the Protector was thus busied at *London*, in making his way to the Crown, and excusing himself for the Death of the Lord *Hastings*, his bloody Order given for the Execution of the Queen's Kindred, the Lord *Rivers* and *Richard Lord Grey*, with *Richard Hauke* and *Sir Thomas Vaughan* at *Pomfract*, was punctually executed by *Sir Richard Rascliffe*, a great Favourite of the Protector's, who was a Man of a desperate Courage, and forward to promote all his Designs. It is thought, they suffer'd Death at the same time the Lord *Hastings* was Beheaded in the *Tower*; who being a principal Adviser in their Deaths, may be a Warning to us all, how we concur in the undeserved Sufferings of innocent Persons: For God often, and that justly, brings the Evil

1483.

*Shore's* Wife's Goodness.

Her Lewdness her only fault.

The Earl of *Rivers*, &c. Executed at *Pomfract*.

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1483. we do to others upon our own Heads. The Lord *Hastings*, by advising the Protector to Destroy the Queen's Kindred caulesly, shew'd him the way to do the like to himself. The manner of their Execution was as barbarous as unjust. Great and Heavy Accusations were laid against them, but none prov'd. They had not so much as the formality of a Tryal, but were brought to the Scaffold on the Day appointed; and being branded, in general, with the Name of Traitors, were Beheaded. The Lord *Rivers* would fain have declar'd his Innocency to the People, but *Ratcliffe* would not suffer him, least his Words should lay open the Protector's Cruelty too much, and make both him and his Party odious to the People; and so he Died in silence. Sir *Thomas Vaughan* would not endure his Mouth to be stopp'd, but as he was going to the Block he said aloud, A Mischief take them that Expounded the Prophecy, "which foretold that G should Destroy King Edward's Children, for *George* Duke of *Clarence*, who for that Suspicion is now Dead; for there still remain'd *Richard G. i. e. Duke of Gloucester*, who now I see is he that shall, and will, accomplish the Prophecy, and Destroy King *Edward's* Children, and all his Allies and Friends, as appeareth by us this Day; against whom, I Appeal to the High Tribunal of God, for this wrongful Murther, and our real Innocency. Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* heard this with Regret, and putting it off, said to him in scorn, You have made a goodly Appeal, lay down your Head. Yea, faith Sir *Thomas*, but I Die in the Right, take heed that you Die not in the Wrong: and having this said, he was Beheaded. He, with the other three, were Buried Naked in the Monastery of St. *John* the Evangelist at *Pomfract*.

Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* would not let them speak to the People.

The Charge of Bastardy laid to the Princes.

*Richard* accuses his Mother of Adultery.

Then the Conspirators held Council among themselves, how they might bring about their Wicked Purposes. Their chief Difficulty, was to Engage the City; and having Gain'd the Lord Mayor, Sir *Edmund Shaw* his Brother, Dr. *John Shaw* a Priest, and Frier *Pinker* Provincial of the *Augustine* Friars, to their Interest, they determin'd, That Doctor *Shaw* should first break the Matter in a Sermon he was to Preach at *Paul's Cross*, and the main Argument he was to use for the Deposing of King *Edward* and the Advancement of his Uncle *Richard*, was resolv'd among them to be the Bastardy of the Two Princes, Sons to *Edward* the Fourth; which disabled them to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Tho' this Charge would bring the Scandal of Adultery on the Queen, yet *Richard* and the Conspirators did not consider much, that the whole Royal Family would be Defam'd by it, in the highest degree: On the contrary, (rather than fail of the Sovereignty to which he aspir'd) the Duke of *Gloucester*, and his Emisfaries, intended to give out, That King *Edward* the Fourth was Himself a Bastard, tho' His Mother was the Parent of the Protector, and in calling Her an Adultress, he profaned the Honour of the very Person that brought him into the World. This Accusation he would have at first only hinted, and spoken mysteriously, that if the People, in abhorrence of such an unnatural Slander, should have been set against the Publisher of it, there might be room to put some other Construction on the Words. *Shaw* was order'd to declare to his Auditory, That King *Edward* had promis'd Marriage to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, by whom he had a Child; and that the Dutcheß of *York* had told him, He was her Husband before God, to prevent His Marrying the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, whose

Children, by King *Edward*, were consequently Bastards. He was not to mention any thing of that King's Illegitimacy, unless he found his Reflection on the Queen's Children would not take. The Doctor was a famous Preacher, and a vast Number of Persons, of all Qualities, us'd to flock to hear him: So they thought they had gone a great way in accomplishing their Designs, when they had got him to their Side. *Shaw* was not only ready to speak what the Conspirators would have him, but turn'd his whole Discourse against the Legitimacy of the Young King and his Brother: He began his Sermon with this Expression, *Spuria Vitilamina non agent Radices altas*, Bastard Slips, shall never take deep Root. He shew'd the Blessings that God bestow'd on the Fruits of the Marriage-Bed, and the Unhappiness of those Children who were Born out of Wedlock. Several Examples of both kinds he us'd to prove the Truth of his Assertion. He took occasion from what he had said, to shew the Reason they had to fear, that the Reign of the present King would be Unfortunate; and enlarg'd very much on the Great things that they might hope for, from the Government of a Prince of the Duke of *York's* illustrious Qualities, the Father of King *Edward* the Fourth, or rather, of the Lord Protector, who was the only Lawful begotten Son of the late Duke of *York*, who was Kill'd at the Battel of *Wakefield*. He then declared, That King *Edward* was never Legally Married to the Queen, being Husband, before God, to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*: besides, neither He, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were thought Legitimate by those of the Duke of *York's* Family, who were most acquainted with the Dutcheß of *York's* Intrigues with several Persons of Her Husband's Court, whom they Resembled in the Face: But my Lord Protector, that very Noble Prince, the Pattern of all Heroick Deeds, represented the very Face and Mind of the Great Duke his Father: He (says the False Preacher) is the perfect Image of his Father; his Features are the same, and the very express Likeness of that Noble Duke. At these Words, 'twas design'd the Protector should have enter'd, as if it had been by chance; and the Conspirators hoped, that the Multitude taking the Doctor's Words, as coming from the immediate Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, would have been induc'd to have Cry'd out, God Save King *Richard*. Which Artifice was prevented, either by the Doctor's making too much haste to come to that Part of his Sermon, or the Lord Protector's Negligence to come in at the Instant when he was saying it; for it was over before he came, and the Priest was enter'd on some other Matter when the Duke appear'd, which, however he left, and Repeated again, abruptly, The Lord Protector, that very Noble Prince, the Pattern of all Heroick Deeds, Represents the very Face and Mind of the Great Duke his Father; his Features are the same, and the plain express Likeness of that Noble Duke. The Protector, Accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, pass thro' the Multitude, as the Priest said this: but the People were so far from Saluting him King, that they were struck with Indignation at the Preacher's Base Flattery and Treason; who, when he had clos'd his Sermon, went Home, Hid himself for Shame, and never after durst shew his Face in the World. Being inform'd how Odious he was become for what he had done, he fell, out of Grief and Remorse, into a Consumption, of which he Died in a short time. He Preached this Notable

Dr. *Shaw's* Sermon against the Queen's Children.

His Devote to Move the Assembly.

Disappointed.



1483. ble Discourse, on a *Sunday* which was to be Preparatory to the Duke of *Buckingham's* Oration, on the *Tuesday* following, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Council of the City of *London*, assembled for that Purpose in the *Guild-Hall*; where that Duke mounting the *Hustings*, and Silence being commanded in the Lord Protector's Name, spoke to this effect, several Lords, who were privy to the Secret, attending him;

The Duke of Buckingham's Oration to the Citizens.

Gentlemen, Out of the Zeal and Sincere Affection we have for your Persons and Interests, we are come to acquaint you with a Matter of High Importance, equally pleasing to God, and profitable to the Commonwealth, and to none more, than to you the Citizens of this Famous and Honourable City. For the very Thing, which we believe you have a long while wanted and wish'd for, what you wou'd have Purchas'd at any Rate, and gone far to fetch, we are come hither to bring, without any Labour, Trouble, Cost, or Peril to you: And what can this be, but your own Safety, the Peace of your Wives and Daughters, the Security of your Goods and Estates, which were all in Danger till now? Who, of you, cou'd call what he had his own, there were so many Snares laid to Deceive you? So many Fines and Forfeitures, Taxes and Impositions, of which there was no End, and often no Necessity; or if there was, it was occasion'd by Riots and Unreasonable Waste, rather than a Just and Lawful Charge, for the Defence or Honour of the State. Your best Citizens were Plunder'd, and their Wealth squander'd by Profuse Favourites: Fifteenths, and the usual Subsidies wou'd not do, but under the plausible Name of Benevolence, your Goods were taken from you by the Commissioners much against your Will, as if by that Name, was understood, That every Man shou'd pay, not what he pleas'd, but what the King wou'd have him; who never was moderate in His Demands, always Exorbitant, turning Forfeitures into Fines, Fines into Ransoms; Small Offences into Misprison of Treason, and Misprison into Treason itself. We need not give you Examples of it, *Burdet's* Case will never be forgot; who for a Word spoken in haste, was cruelly Beheaded. Did not Judge *Markham* Resign his Office, rather than Joyn with his Brethren, in Passing that Illegal Sentence on that Honest Man? Were you not all Witnesses of the Barbarous Treatment one of your own Body, the Worshipful Alderman *Cook*, met with? And your own selves know, too well, how many Instances of this kind I might name among you. King *Edward* gaining the Crown by Conquest, all that were any ways Related to those that were his Enemies, lay under the Charge of Treason: Thus half of the Kingdom became at once Traytors; for half of the Kingdom were either Friends to King *Henry*, or Relations or Friends to some that were so. Tho' Open War with Invaders, is Terrible and Destructive to a Nation, yet Civil Dissentions are much more fatal, and to be dreaded; with which His Reign was more disturb'd, than the Reigns of all his Predecessors: but he is Dead and Gone, and God Forgive his Soul. It cost the People more Blood and Treasure to get the Crown for This, than it had done to Conquer *France* Twice: Half of the Nobility of the Realm lost their

Hol. writes: he was Hang'd at Tyburn.

Lives or Estates in his Quarrel; and when the Dispute was over, the Peace that follow'd was not much safer than the War: Every Rich and Landed Man was in danger; for whom cou'd he Trust that Distrusted his own Brother? whom Spare, that Kill'd his own Brother? or who cou'd perfectly Love him, whom his own Brother cou'd not Love? We shall, in Honour to the Memory of One that was our Sovereign, forbear to Mention, who were the Persons on which he was so lavish of his Favours; only 'tis well known, that those that deserved them most, had least of them. Was not *Shore's* Wife his Chief Minister? Was not there more Court made to her than to all the Lords in *England*; except those that were the Strumpet's Favourites? Who, poor Woman, was her self Chaste and of Good Reputation, till he deluded her to his Lust, and tempted her from her Husband, an Honest Substantial Young Man, whom you all know. Indeed, I am ashamed to say it, the King's Appetite in that Point was insatiable and intollerable: no Woman cou'd escape him, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, Wife or Virgin, all fell Victims to his Lust; by which Means, the most Honourable Houses were Defil'd, and the most Honest Families were Corrupted. You of this Renown'd City suffer'd most: You who deserv'd most from him for your readiness to Serve the House of *York* with your Lives and Fortunes, which tho' he Ill Requited, there is of that House, who, by God's Grace, shall Reward you better. I shall not enlarge on this Subject, you have heard it from One, whom you will hearken to more, as you ought to do; for I am not so vain as to think, what I can say, will have so great Authority with you, as the Words of a Preacher; a Man so Wife and so Pious, that he wou'd not utter a Thing, in the Pulpit especially, which he did not firmly believe 'twas his Duty to Declare. You remember, I doubt not, how he set forth the last *Sunday*, the Right of the most Excellent Prince *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, unto the Crown of this Realm: For, as he prov'd to you, the Children of King *Edward* the Fourth were never Lawfully Begotten, the King leaving his Lawful Wife, the Lady *Lucy* to contract an Illegal Marriage with the Queen: My Noble Lord the Protector's Reverence to the Dutche's his Mother, will not permit me to say any thing further concerning what the worthy Doctor alledg'd of her Familiarity with Others besides her own Husband, for fear of Offending the Duke of *Gloucester* her Son: Tho' for these Causes, the Crown of *England* is devolv'd to the most Excellent Prince, the Lord Protector, as the only Lawfully Begotten Son of the Right Noble Duke of *York*. This, and the Consideration of his many High Qualities, has prevail'd with the Lords and Commons of *England*, of the Northern Counties especially, who have declared they will not have a Bastard Reign over them, to Petition that High and Mighty Prince, to take on him the Sovereign Power for the Good of the Realm, to which he has so Rightful and Lawful a Title: We have reason to fear he will not grant our Request, being a Prince whose Wisdom foresees the Labour both of Mind and Body that attends the Supreme Dignity: Which Office is not a Place for a Child; as that Wise Man observ'd, who said *Va Regno cuius Rex Puer est*, "Wo



1483. "Wo is that Realm that has a Child to their King! Wherefore we have reason to bless God that the Prince whose Right it is to reign over us is of so ripe Age, so great Wisdom and Experience, who tho' he is unwilling to take the Government upon himself, yet the Petition of the Lords and Gentlemen will meet with the more favourable Acceptance, if you the Worshipful Citizens of the Metropolis of the Kingdom will joyn with us in our Request; which for your own Welfare we doubt not but you will. However, I heartily entreat you to do it for the Common Good of the People of *England*, whom you will oblige by Choosing them so good a King, and His Majesty by shewing early your ready Disposition to his Election. In which my most dear Friends, I require you in the Name of my Self and these Lords, to shew us plainly your Minds and Intentions. The Duke stop'd here, expecting the Assembly would have cry'd out, *God Save King Richard*: but all were hush'd and Silent, as if the Auditory was confounded with the Extravagance of the Proposal; at which the Duke was extremely surpriz'd, and taking aside the Mayor, with some others of the Conspirators, said to them softly, *How comes it the People are so still? Sir*, says the Mayor, *It may be they don't understand you well*. The Duke to help the Matter repeated his Speech with a little Variation, and with such Grace and Eloquence, that Never so ill a Subject was handled with so much Oratory. However the Assembly continu'd Silent. Then the Mayor told the Duke, "The Citizens had not been accusom'd to hear any one but the Recorder, and perhaps they would take the Thing better from him who is the Mouth of the City. Upon which the Recorder *Fitz-Williams*, much against his Will spoke to the same Purpose at the Mayor's Command; and yet he manag'd his Speech so well as to be understood to speak the Duke's Sense, and not his own. The People being still as before, the Duke mutter'd to the Lord Mayor, saying, "They are wonderfully Obstinate in their Silence: And turning to the Assembly, he said, "Dear Friends, We came to acquaint you with a Thing which we needed not have done, had it not been for the Affection we bear you. The Lords and Commons could have determin'd the Matter without you, but would gladly have you joyn with us, which is for your Honour and Profit, tho' you do not see it or consider it: We require you therefore to give your Answer one way or another, Whether you are willing, as the Lords are, to have the most Excellent Prince the Lord Protector to be your King or not? The Assembly then began to murmur, and at last some of the Protector's and the Duke's Servants, some of the City Apprentices, and the Rabble that had crouded into the Hall, cry'd out, *King Richard, King Richard!* and threw up their Hats in token of Joy. The Duke perceiv'd easily enough who they were that made the Noise; yet, as if the Acclamation had been General, he took hold of it; saying, "Tis a Goodly and a Joyful Cry to hear every Man with one Voice agree to it, and no body say No; Since therefore, Dear Friends, we see you are all as one Man inclin'd to have this Noble Prince to be your King, we shall Report the Matter so effectually to him, that we doubt not 'twill be much for your Advantage. We require you to Attend us to Morrow with our joyn't Petition to his Grace; as has been already Agreed on between us. Then the Duke and the Lords came down from the Hust-

Richard  
Chosen  
King by  
the Rab-  
ble.

ings and the Assembly broke up, the most part of them with Weeping Eyes and Aching Hearts; tho' they were forc'd to hide their Tears and their Sorrows as much as possible for fear of giving Offence, which had been Dangerous.

The next Day the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Chief of the Common-Council resorted to *Baynard's-Castle*, where the Protector then lay; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, Attended by several Lords and Gentlemen, came thither also. The Duke sent Word to the Protector that a great Company attended to move a Business of the Highest Importance to him, and desir'd Audience of his Grace. The Duke of *Gloucester* made some Difficulty of coming forth, as if he was jealous whether their Errand was good or not.

The Duke of *Buckingham* took this Occasion to shew the Lord Mayor and Citizens how little the Protector was Conscious of their Design; and then he sent another Messenger with so Humble and so Earnest a Request to be Heard, that his Grace came forth; yet with so much affected Diffidence, that he seem'd unwilling to draw near them till he knew their Business. Then the Duke of *Buckingham* very submissively beg'd Pardon for Himself and his Company, and Liberty to propose to him what they had to offer, without which they durst not proceed; tho' 'twas for his Grace's Honour and the Good of the Realm. The Protector gave them Leave to propose what they would, saying, "He believ'd None of 'em meant him any Harm. The Duke then set forth Elegantly and Pathetically "the Grievances of the People, and pray'd him to Redress them by Assuming the Sovereign Authority, which of Right belong'd to him, and which the whole Kingdom with unusual Unanimity desired he would take to himself for the benefit of the Commonwealth, as much as for his Grace's Honour. The Protector seem'd mightily surpriz'd; and Answer'd, "That tho' he knew the Things he allow'd to be true, yet he lov'd King *Edward* and his Children above any Crown whatsoever, and therefore cou'd not Grant their Request. However he pardon'd their Petition, and thank'd them for their Love, but desir'd them to be Obedient to the Prince under whom Himself and they liv'd at that Time, and whom he would Advise to the best of his Capacity, as he had already done to the Satisfaction of all Parties. The Duke of *Buckingham* murmur'd at this Reply, and after having ask'd and obtain'd Pardon a second time for what he was about to say, He declar'd aloud to the Protector, "That they were all Agreed not to have any of King *Edward's* Line to Reign over them: That they were gone too far to go back; for which Reason if his Grace would be pleas'd to take the Crown upon Him, they humbly beseech him to do it; Or if he would give them a resolute Answer to the Contrary, which they should be loath to Hear; They must and would Look out for some Worthy Person that would Accept of their Proposal. At these Words, the Protector began to comply a little, and at last he Spoke thus to them; "Since we perceive that the whole Realm is bent upon it not to have King *Edward's* Children to Govern them of which we are sorry, and knowing that the Crown can belong to no Man so justly as to our Self, the Right Heir, lawfully begotten of the Body of our most Dear Father *Richard* late Duke of *York*; to which Title is now joyn'd your Election

1483.

*Buckingham's*  
Speech to  
him.

His An-  
swer.

He ac-  
cepts of  
the Crown.



1483. " Election the Nobles and Commons of this  
 " Realm, which we, of all Titles Possible, take  
 " for the most Effectual; we are content and  
 " agree favourably to receive your Petition  
 " and Request, and according to the same take  
 " upon us the Royal Estate, Preheminence and  
 " Kingdoms of the Two Noble Realms *Eng-*  
 " *land and France*; The One from this day for-  
 " forward by us and our Heirs, to Rule, Govern  
 " and Defend; The Other by God's Grace and  
 " your good Help to get again, Subdue, and Esta-  
 " blish for ever in due Obedience unto this Realm  
 " of *England*; and we ask of God to Live no  
 " longer than we intend to Procure its Ad-  
 " vancement. At the Close of his Speech there  
 " was a great Shout of *God Save King Richard*.  
 " The Lords went up to the King, and the People  
 " departed every Man talking for or against the  
 " Revolution, as he was inclin'd by Humour or  
 " Interest. 'Twas easie to perceive that however  
 " the thing appear'd Strange to King *Richard*,  
 " 'twas acted by concert with him, and what  
 " was done, was only to preserve Decency and  
 " Order.

# THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD III.

His Diffi-  
cultation.

THE next Day he went to *Westminster*,  
 Sat himself Down in the Court of  
 King's-Bench, made a very Gracious  
 Speech to the Assembly there pre-  
 sent, and promis'd them Halcyon days  
 from the Beginning of his Reign.

To shew his Forgiving Temper, he order'd  
 one *Hog* whom he hated, and who was fled to  
 Sanctuary for fear of him, to be brought be-  
 fore him, took him by the Hand and spoke fa-  
 vourably to him, which the Multitude thought  
 was a Token of his Clemency, and the Wisemen  
 of his Vanity. In his return Home, he saluted  
 every one he met.

He is  
Crown'd.

From this Mock Election in *June* he com-  
 menc'd his Reign, and was crown'd in *July* with  
 the same Provision that was made for the Coro-  
 nation of his Nephew. But to be sure of his  
 Enemies he sent for 5000 Men out of the North,  
 who came up to Town ill Cloath'd and worse  
 Harnefs'd, their Horses poor and their Arms rusty;  
 who being muster'd in *Finsbury-Fields* were the  
 Contempt of the Spectators. The Appearance  
 of these Rude Fellows in Arms, gave Cause to  
 the People to suspect, that as he was conscious  
 of his Guilt, he was apprehensive of its Pu-  
 nishment.

On the 4th of *July* he came to the Tower by  
 Water, with his Wife *Ann* Daughter to *Richard*  
 Earl of *Warwick*; and the next Day he created  
*Thomas Lord Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Sir Tho-*  
*mas Howard* his Son Earl of *Surrey*, *William Lord*  
*Berkley* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Francis Lord Lovell*  
*Viscount Lovell*, and Lord Chamberlain of the  
 Household, and the Lord *Stanley* was set at Li-  
 berty and made Lord Steward of the Household:  
 The King being afraid of the Lord *Strange* who  
 was raising Men in *Lincolnshire*, as was reported.  
 The Archbishop of *York* was releas'd from his  
 Imprisonment, and Bishop *Morton* deliver'd to  
 the Charge of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who  
 engag'd to keep him in Safe Custody at his Man-

nour of *Brecknock*. King *Richard* also created His Son  
 Seventeen Knights of the *Bath*, and his Son *Ed-* created  
*ward* Prince of *Wales*. The same Day he and Prince of  
 his Queen rode through the City of *London* to  
*Westminster*, and the next Day they were both  
 crown'd in the Abbey-Church with extraordinary  
 Pomp. What is most Observable in the Proce-  
 sion is, That the Countess of *Richmond*, Mother  
 to King *Henry* the Seventh, bore up the Queen's  
 Train. After the Ceremony was over, the King  
 dismiss'd all the Lords who attended his Coro-  
 nation except the Lord *Stanley*, whom he retain'd  
 till he heard that the Lord *Strange*, his Son, was  
 Quiet in the Country. He gave the Lords a  
 strict Charge to see their several Counties were  
 well Govern'd and none of his Subjects Wrong'd.  
 He liberally rewarded his Northern Men, who  
 valu'd themselves so much on the King's Favour,  
 that presuming to commit many acts of Injustice  
 and Oppression upon it, he was forc'd to take a  
 Journey into the North to reclaim them. What  
 is ill got is never well kept; which King *Richard*  
 soon shew'd by the Murder of his two Innocent  
 Nephews, the Young King and his Tender Bro-  
 ther; whose Death has however been much  
 doubted of since, whether 'twas in his Time or  
 not; *Perkin Warbeck*, thro' the Malice of some  
 and the Folly of others, having a long time  
 abus'd the World, and impos'd himself upon  
 Princes as well as People, for the Younger of  
 King *Edward* the Fourth's Sons. King *Richard*  
 contriv'd the Destruction of the two Young  
 Princes in a Progress he made to *Gloucester*, to  
 Honour the Town, which gave him the Title  
 of Duke, with a Visit: He imagin'd that while  
 his Nephews liv'd, his Right to the Crown  
 would be call'd in question: wherefore he re-  
 solv'd to rid himself of them, and to that end  
 sent *John Green*, a Creature of his, to *Sir Robert*  
*Brackenbury*, Constable of the Tower with a Let-  
 ter, desiring him one How or other to make a-  
 way with the two Children whom he had in  
 Keeping.



1483. Keeping. *Brackenbury* refus'd to do it, and *Green* return'd to King *Richard*, who then lay at *Warwick*, with the Constable's Answer; at which the King was so displeas'd, that he said to a Page of his the same Night, *Alas! Who is there that a Man can trust? Those that I have brought up my self, those that I thought wou'd be most ready to serve me, even those fail me, and will not do what I command them.* The Page reply'd, Sir, *There lyes a Man on the Pallat in the Outer Chamber, who I am sure will think Nothing too hard that you shall Require him to do.* Meaning Sir *James Tyrrell*, a brave handfom Man, who deserv'd a better Master, and wou'd have merited the Esteem of all Men had his Virtue been as Great as his Valour. He was Ambitious, and with regret saw Sir *Richard Ratcliff* soar above him in his Master's Favour. The King knowing how aspiring he was, imagin'd the Page had hit upon the Person who was for his Purpose, believing *Tyrrell* wou'd do any thing in hopes of further Preferment; So he went out into the Chamber where he found Sir *James* and Sir *Thomas Tyrrell* his Brother on a Pallat Bed, to whom he said merrily, *What are you a-bed so soon, Gentlemen?* And calling Sir *James* to him, told him his Mind and what he wanted of him; whom he found ready to do whatever he commanded him. The next Day therefore he sent him with a Letter to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, requiring him to deliver Sir *James* the Keys of the Tower, to the end that he might accomplish the King's Pleasure in certain things he had given him Commandment about. Sir *Robert* having restor'd the Keys to this Assassin, he resolv'd to murder the two Princes in the ensuing Night. When the Elder, who was call'd King *Edward* the Fifth, was told that his Uncle was crown'd King; He sigh'd and said, *Al! wou'd my Uncle let me have my Life, he might take my Kingdom.* The Person that told him so, comforted him as well as he could, and for a little while the King and his Brother were well us'd; but afterwards they were shut up Close, and one Servant only allow'd to Attend them. Then the Young King apprehending what would be his Fate, gave himself over to Sorrow and Despair; and the Prince his Brother was the Companion of his Grief as well as of his Misfortune. Sir *James Tyrrell* contriv'd to have them murder'd in their Beds, and appointed one *Miles Forrest*, a noted Ruffian, and *John Dighton* his Groom a lusty Fellow, to see Execution done. Those that waited near the Prince's Lodgings were Removed, and Way made for *Forrest* and *Dighton* to enter their Chamber, unperceiv'd of any one, at Midnight. The poor Youths were Asleep in their Beds, whom the two Assassins wrap'd up in the Blankets and Coverlaid of the Bed, clapt the Feather-bed and Pillows upon them, stopt their Mouths and smother'd them to Death. When the Ruffians perceiv'd by their Struggling that they were Dying, and afterwards by their Lying still that they were Dead, they laid their Bodies out Naked upon the Bed, and fetch'd Sir *James Tyrrell* to see them, who ordered the Murderers to Bury them at the Stair-foot deep in the Ground under a Heap of Stones. Then *Tyrrell* Rode to the King, and gave him a full Account of the Murder, with which he was so well pleased, that 'tis said, he Knighted him at that time; tho' he seem'd not to approve of their being Buried in so vile a Corner, they being the Sons of a King: Upon which, Sir *Robert Brackenbury's* Chaplain took their Bodies up, and Buried them privately in a Place, that, by occasion of his Death, never came to light. Sir *James Tyrrell*, when he was afterwards

in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, committed to the Tower for Treason, confess'd the Murder in the manner we have related it: So did *Dighton*, and both the Master and the Man, and *Forrest* the Warder came to miserable Ends, The Murderers thro' the Just Judgment of God, the Avenger of Innocent Blood. *Dighton* and *Forrest*, tho' they were not Executed by the Hangman, died in a most Horrible manner, rotting away by degrees. Sir *James Tyrrell* was Beheaded, and King *Richard* himself, Slain by his Enemies, and his Body ignominiously used by the Rabble. He could never after be at rest; his Guilt haunted him like a Spectre; He was afraid of his own Shadow when he went abroad, his Eyes rowl'd in his Head; his Limbs trembled, and his Hand was always on his Dagger; His Sleep was ever disturb'd by frightful Dreams; he would suddenly Start up, Leap out of his Bed and Run about the Chamber. Nor did he long Enjoy the Fruits of his Bloody Policy; for tho' the Princes were Removed, New Enemies arose from time to time, that kept him in continual Fear thro' the Course of his Short Reign. The First that Conspired against him, was the very Person who had been most instrumental in his Advancement, the D. of *Buckingham*, whose intimacy with him, commenced from the Death of K. *Edward* the Fourth.

We must look a little backward into the beginning of their Confederacy, the better to clear the History of this Duke's Misfortunes. On the Death of King *Edward* he sent a trusty Servant of his to the Duke of *Gloucester*, to offer him his Service, and that he wou'd Attend him with a Thousand Men, whenever he pleas'd to command him. The Duke of *Gloucester* return'd him Thanks, and inform'd the Duke of *Buckingham* with his Secret Designs. At *Northampton*, *Buckingham* met the Duke of *Gloucester*, at the Head of Three Hundred Horse, and joyn'd with him in all his Undertakings; He accompanied him to *London*, and stay'd with him till after the Coronation: He went with him to *Gloucester*, and there he took his Leave of him to return Home; where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to Repent of what he had done; and to think, he had not been sufficiently Rewarded for it by the Usurper. The Reason of his First Discontent, is said to be this: Some time before the Usurper was Crown'd, 'twas agreed between him and the Duke of *Buckingham*, that the latter should have all the Lands belonging to the Duke of *Hereford*, to which he pretended to have a Title, by his Descent from the House of *Lancaster*; his Mother being the Daughter of *Edmund Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, Brother to *John* Duke of *Somerset*, Father to *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry VII.* But this Title having some Relation to that of the Crown, the Usurper would not hear of Restoring him to the Duke of *Hereford's* Estate, and rejected his Petition with Indignation and Threats, when he was in possession of the Sovereignty; which the Duke of *Buckingham* so highly resented, that from that time forward he contriv'd how he might Pull him Down from the Throne upon which he had Set him. We are told, he feign'd himself Sick, and excus'd his Attendance at the Coronation, and that King *Richard* should send him word, If he would not come and Ride, he would make him be Carried.

This Circumstance of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Discontent is not given Credit to, by those who consider the Natures of the Usurper and of the Duke, being both of them the greatest

Sir James Tyrrell undertakes to murder them.

They are murder'd between two Feather-beds.

King Richard's Terrors of Conscience.

The Duke of Buckingham falls out with him.



1483. greatest Dissemblers in the World: The one would not so rashly have provok'd a powerful Enemy, nor the other have given a Jealous Tyrant occasion to suspect his Fidelity: The Truth is, the Duke of *Buckingham* was a high Spirited Man, and envied the Glory of another so much, that when he saw the Crown set upon King *Richard's* Head, he could not endure the Sight, but turn'd his Head away. Others Write, that they continu'd good Friends till after his return Home, and that the Usurper dismiss'd him at *Gloucester* with Rich Gifts and Extraordinary Marks of his Favour and Affection: When he came to *Brecknock*, he convers'd much with Dr. *Moreton*, Bishop of *Ely*, whom he had there in Keeping. This Prelate was a very Wise Politick Person, a Man of Learning and of a Winning Behaviour. He had been always Faithful to King *Henry*; and when he fell in with the Party of King *Edward*, on King *Henry's* Death, he serv'd him as faithfully, and was one of the Lords whom the Usurper seiz'd at the Council in the Tower. The Bishop perceiving the Duke of *Buckingham* was pleas'd with his Company and Discourse, thought he might improve the Favour he had obtain'd of him to the Advantage of the Common-wealth, by getting him to Joyn in a Conspiracy against King *Richard*, towards whom, he found, he was not very well inclin'd; yet he manag'd the Matter so warily, that he rather seem'd to Follow than to Lead him, and brought him by degrees to open his whole Mind to him, and to Engage in Prosecuting a Design which he had form'd, to bring about a Match between *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, Eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, by which Marriage, the Two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* would be United, and an End put to the Long and Bloody Disputes between the Two Factions. He durst not come to the Point presently, but advanced to it step by step, as he saw the Duke of *Buckingham* prepared to hearken to it.

His Discourse  
with the  
Bp. of *Ely*.

When that Lord came to *Brecknock* first, he Prais'd the King, and boasted what Great Things the Nation might expect from such a Prince: The Bishop reply'd; "My Lord, 'Twould be Folly in me to Lye, and if I should Swear the contrary, your Lordship would not, I suppose, believe me; had Things gone as I would have had them, King *Henry's* Son had been King, and not King *Edward*. But when, by God's Providence, he was depriv'd of the Crown, and King *Edward* advanced to the Throne, I was not so mad, as to bring a Dead Man in competition with a Living One: So I became King *Edward's* Faithful Chaplain, and should have been glad that his Son had Succeeded him: However, since God has otherwise order'd it, I shall not kick against the Pricks, nor labour to Set up whom the Almighty has pull'd Down: As for the late Protector, the King that now is —. Here he stopt short, as if he had said too much already, to heighten the Duke's Curiosity to know what he had to say more. The Duke earnestly desired him to proceed, promising him, upon his Honour, That never any Hurt should come of it; and perhaps, it might produce more Good than he was aware of; Saying, he intended to consult him, and to be govern'd by his Advice; for which cause only, he had procur'd of the King to have him in his Custody, where he might reckon himself at Home; otherwise, he had been deliver'd to those that would not

1483. have been so kind to him. The Bishop humbly thank'd him, and said, "Indeed, my Lord, I don't care to talk much of Princes, as a thing which is dangerous, tho' the Words may be innocent; for if they be not taken in Good part, they may be fatal to him that speaks them, the Prince putting what Construction he pleases upon them: I often think of the Fable in *Esop*, when the Lyon Proclaim'd That no Horn'd Beast should stay in the Wood, on pain of Death; One that had a Bunch of Flesh in his Forehead, fled away in haste: The Fox meeting him, ask'd him, Whither so fast? The Beast answer'd, Troth I don't know, nor don't care, provided I was out of the Wood, as the Proclamation commands all Horn'd Beasts to be gone. You Fool, says the Fox, thou mayest stay, the Lyon does not mean thee; it is not a Horn that grows in thy Head; No, quoth the Beast, I know that well enough, but what if he should call it a Horn, where am I then? The Duke Laugh'd at the Tale, and answered, "I warrant you, my Lord, neither the Lyon nor the Boar, shall resent any Thing that is said here, it shall never go any farther I assure you. The Bishop reply'd, "If it did, were the Thing that I was about to say, understood as I meant it, I should deserve Thanks; but taken as I suppose it would be, it might perhaps turn to your Prejudice and mine. This rais'd the Duke's Curiosity still higher; upon which the Bishop proceeded thus: "As for the late Protector, since he is now King, I don't intend to dispute his Title; however, for the good of the Realm he Governs (of which I am a poor Member) I was about to wish, that to the Good Qualities he possesses, it had pleas'd God to have added some of those Excellent Virtues, requisite for the Governing a Kingdom, which are so conspicuous in the Person of your Grace. The End of Sir Thomas Moor's History.

Here Ends Sir Thomas Moor.  
What follows, is taken for Hall  
and Hollinshead's Chronicles.

The Duke wondring why the Bishop made such frequent Pauses, was the more eager to have him speak his Mind freely, and reply'd; "I cannot but take notice of your Stopping so often in the midst of your Discourse, which hinders my making any Judgment of your Opinion of the King, or your Good Will towards me. As for any Good Qualities in me, I pretend to none, and expect no Praise on account of my Merit. I plainly perceive you have some hidden Meaning which you reserve from me, either out of Fear or Shame. You may be bold and free with me who am your Friend; I assure you on my Honour, that I will be as Secret in this Case, as the Deaf and Dumb Person is to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter.

The Bishop grew Bolder on the Duke's Promise of Secrecy, in which he was encouraged, by the Discoveries he made of *Buckingham's* Hatred to the King. He resolv'd therefore to come to the Point, and to propose to the Duke, That either out of Ambition, or his Love to his Country, he should attempt to Destroy the Tyrant.

To this End, he resum'd his former Conversation in this manner: "My singular Good Lord; Since I have been your Grace's Prisoner, I have not known what it is to be de-



1483. "deprived of Liberty; and to avoid Idleness, the Mother and Nurse of Vice, I have spent my Time in Reading. I have Read in some of my Books, That no Man was Born for himself only: He owes a Duty to his Parents that Begat him; to his Relations and Friends for Proximity of Blood and Good Offices; but above all to the Country, whose Air he first breath'd; and this Duty is never to be forgotten: For which Reason, I consider the Present State of this Realm, wherein I was Born, and in these Considerations, I cannot help making Reflections on what a Governour we now have, and what a Ruler we might have. In the present Circumstances of Affairs, the Kingdom must soon decay: Confusion and Destruction will certainly be the sudden end of Disorder and Mis-rule. All my Hope is in your Grace: When I reflect on your Valour, your Justice, Impartiality, your Zeal for the Publick Welfare, your Learning, your Sense and Eloquence, I rejoyce in the Happiness of *England*, that possesses so Good and so Great a Prince, worthy the Highest Dignities: But when I on the other Side consider the Good Qualities of the late Protector (now call'd King) how they are violated and subverted by Tyranny, eclipsed by Blind and Insatiate Ambition, and changed from Mild and Human, to Cruel and Bloody; I cannot forbear declaring openly to you, That He is neither fit to be King of so Noble a Realm, nor so Noble a Realm fit to be Govern'd by such a Tyrant, whose Kingdom, were it larger than it is, could not long continue: God will overthrow those that are thirsty of Blood; he will bring horrible Slaughter upon them: How many Brave and Virtuous Persons were Murder'd to make way for him to the Throne? Did he not accuse his own Mother, an Honourable and Religious Princess, of Adultery? Which, if it had been true, a Dutiful Child would have past it over in silence. Did he not declare his two Brothers and his two Nephews Bastards? And what is still more barbarous, did he not cause those two Poor Innocent Princes, whose Blood cries aloud for Vengeance, to be cruelly Murdered? My Heart melts when I think of their Untimely Fate; and my Soul, with Horror, remembers this Bloody Butcher, this Inhumane Monster. What Man can be sure of his own Life, under the Dominion of a Prince, who spared not his own Blood? Especially, if at any time he is suspicious of his Fidelity to him, and that he is carrying on Ill Designs against him, as every thing will be term'd, that tends to the Good of the Publick: all will be reckon'd Guilty by him that, are Great and Rich. 'Tis enough for Persons to have large Possessions to provoke his Wrath. Now, my Lord, to conclude this Discourse with what I have to say to your Grace; I Conjure you by your Love to God, your Illustrious Line, and your Native Country, to take the Imperial Crown of this Realm upon you, to restore this Kingdom to its ancient Splendour, and deliver it from the Violence of the Oppressor. I dare affirm, if the *Turk* stood in Competition with this Bloody Tyrant, this Killer of Infants, the People of *England* would Prefer him to *Richard*, who now sits in the Throne. How much more then would they Rejoyce to live under the Government of so Excellent a Prince as your Grace? Despise not, neither lose so fair an Occasion of Saving your Self and your Dear

Bishop Moreton speaks openly against K. Richard.

He proposes to the Duke to set up for the Crown.

1483. Country: But if you will not your self accept of the Sovereignty of this Kingdom; if the Toils and Hazards of a Crown, prevail over you more than the Charms of Power, I Intreat you, by the Faith you owe to God, and your Oath to St. *George*, Patron of the Honourable Garter, (of which Order you are a Companion) by your Affection to the Place that gave you Birth, and to the *English* Nation; that you will in your High and Princely Wisdom, think of some Means of Advancing such a Good Governour, as you shall appoint to Rule and Govern them. All the Hopes of the People of *England* are in you, and to you only can they fly for Succour. If you could Set up the House of *Lancaster* once more, or *Mary* the Eldest Daughter of King *Edward* to some Great and Potent Prince, the New King would not long Enjoy his Usurp'd Empire: All Civil War would cease, Domestick Discord would sleep, and Universal Peace and Profit would be the Blessings of this Noble Realm.

When the Bishop had done speaking, the Duke continued Silent for some time: The Bishop chang'd Colour, and was very much Concern'd at it, expecting his Proposal would have been receiv'd with Joy and Greediness.

The Duke perceiving the Fright he was in, said, "Fear nothing, my Lord, I will keep my Word with you; to Morrow we'll Talk more of the Matter, let us now go to Supper."

The Duke the next Day sent for the Bishop, who had not all that while been very Easy, for fear how his last Conversation would be taken.

*Buckingham* repeated almost all the Bishop of *Ely* had said to him, and when he had done, he pull'd off his Hat and made this sort of a Prayer, The Duke of *Buckingham's* Answer to the Bishop of *Ely*.

"O Lord God! Creator of all things; how much is thy Kingdom of *England* and the *English* Nation indebted to thy Goodness? Tho' we are now Oppress'd by an Evil Governour, yet I hope ere long, by Thy Help, to provide such a Ruler, as shall be to Thy Pleasure and the Security of the Common-wealth. He then put on his Hat, and apply'd himself thus to the Bishop; "My Lord of *Ely*, I have always found you Faithful and Affectionate to me, and especially in your last Free Confidence in me: I acknowledge you to be a Sure Friend, a Trusty Counsellor, a Vigilant States-Man, and a True Lover of your Country; for which I return you hearty Thanks now, and shall Recompence you more effectually, if Life and Power serve. Since, when we were last together, you open'd your Mind freely, touching the Duke of *Gloucester*, who has Usurp'd the Crown; and hinted a little, the Advancement of the Two Noble Families of *York* and *Lancaster*; I shall also, with as much freedom, Communicate to you what I have done, and what I intend to do. I declare therefore, that when King *Edward* Died, to whom I thought I was very little obliged, (tho' he and I had Married two Sisters) because he neither Promoted nor Prefer'd me as I thought I deserv'd, by my Birth, and the Relation I had to him. I did not much value his Children's Interest, having their Father's Hard Usage still in my Mind. I call'd an Old Proverb to remembrance, which says, *Wo be to that Kingdom where Children Rule and Women Govern*. I thought it of very Ill Consequence to the People of *England*, to suffer the Young King to Govern, or the Queen his Mother to be Regent; considering that her Brothers and her Children by her First Husband, tho' of no



1483. "no High Descent, would be at the Head  
 "of all Affairs by their Favour with the  
 "Queen, and have more Share in the Govern-  
 "ment than the King's Relations, or any Per-  
 "son of the Highest Quality in the Kingdom.  
 "For this Reason I thought it to be for the  
 "Publick Welfare and my Private Advantage  
 "to Side with the Duke of Gloucester, whom I  
 "took to be as Sincere and Merciful as I now  
 "find him to be False and Cruel. By my means,  
 "as you, my Lord, know well, he was made Pro-  
 "tector of the King and Kingdom. After which,  
 "partly by fair Words and partly by Threats,  
 "he perswaded me and other Lords, as well Spi-  
 "ritual as Temporal, to consent that he  
 "might assume the Crown till the young King  
 "was Four and Twenty Years of Age. I stuck  
 "at it at first, and he produced Instruments wit-  
 "ness'd by Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries,  
 "whose Depositions I then thought to be true,  
 "Testifying that King Edward's Children were  
 "Bastards. When these Testimonials were read  
 "before us, he stood up Bare-headed and said,  
*Well, My Lords, Even as I and you (Sage and Dis-  
 creet Councillors) would that my Nephew should have  
 no Wrong, so I pray you to do me nothing but Right.  
 These Depositions being true, I am the Undoubted Heir  
 to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who  
 by Act of Parliament was adjudged the true Heir to  
 the Crown of this Realm.*

"Upon which, my self and others took him  
 "really for our Rightful Prince and Sovereign  
 "Lord; the Duke of Clarence's Son by reason of  
 "his Father's Attainder could not Inherit. The  
 "Duke was also suspected to be a Bastard.  
 "Thus by my Assistance and Friendship he was  
 "made King: At which time he promis'd me at  
 "Baynard's-Castle, laying his Hand on mine, that  
 "the two young Princes should Live and should be  
 "Provided for to Mine and every One's Satis-  
 "faction: How he perform'd his Promises, we  
 "all know to our Sorrow. When he was in  
 "Possession of the Throne, he forgot his Friends  
 "and the Assurances he had given them: He  
 "deny'd to grant my Petition for Part of the  
 "Earl of Hereford's Lands, which his Brother  
 "wrongfully detain'd from me: He refused me  
 "in such a manner as made the Affront much  
 "more Intollerable. I have born his Ingrati-  
 "tude hitherto with Patience; I have conceal'd  
 "my Repentments I had with him afterwards,  
 "carry'd it outwardly fair, tho' I inwardly re-  
 "pentent that I had been accessory to his Ad-  
 "vancement. But when I was certainly inform'd  
 "of the Death of the two Innocent Princes;  
 "to which (God be my Judge) I never con-  
 "sented; My Blood curdled at his Treason  
 "and Barbarity, I abhor'd the Sight of him,  
 "and his Company much more; and pretending  
 "an Excuse to leave the Court retir'd to  
 "Brecknock. In my Way home, I meditated  
 "how I might Dethrone this Unnatural Uncle.  
 "I thought if I would take the Sovereignty on  
 "my self, Now was the Time. The Temporal  
 "Lords I saw hated the Tyrant: he was odious  
 "alike to the Gentlemen and People of Eng-  
 "land; and had I assum'd the Supream Power,  
 "I thought there was nobody so likely to  
 "carry it as my self. Flattering my Ambition  
 "with those Vain Imaginations, I staid  
 "two Days at Tewkesbury. As I travell'd fur-  
 "ther Homewards, I consider'd that to Pretend  
 "to Seat my self on the Throne as a Conqueror  
 "would not do; which would be to subject  
 "the whole Constitution of the Government,  
 "and entitle the Conqueror to all the No-  
 "blemens Possessions, which would ruin my De-

sign: At last I remember'd that Edmund Duke  
 "of Somerset my Grandfather, was with King  
 "Henry the Sixth in two or three Degrees from  
 "John Duke of Lancaster lawfully Begotten;  
 "my Mother being Duke Edmund's Eldest  
 "Daughter, I look'd on my self as the next  
 "Heir to Henry the Sixth of the House of Lan-  
 "caster: But as I travel'd Homewards, between  
 "Worcester and Bridgenorth I met the Lady Mar-  
 "garet Countess of Richmond, at present Wife to  
 "the Lord Stanley, who is the Rightful and Sole  
 "Heir of John Duke of Somerset, my Grandfa-  
 "ther's Elder Brother, whose Title I had forgot  
 "till I saw her in my Way, and then I remem-  
 "ber'd that both her Claim and her Son the  
 "Earl of Richmond's were Bars to mine, and  
 "forbad my Pretending to the Imperial Crown  
 "of England.

"I had some Discourse with her about her  
 "Son, and then we parted, she for Worcester and  
 "I for Shrewsbury. As I proceeded in my Jour-  
 "ney, I consider'd with my self, whether since  
 "I could not Pretend to the Crown by Descent,  
 "I might not have recourse to the Election of  
 "the Lords and Gentry of the Realm, the  
 "Usurper being generally hated by them: But  
 "then I began to reflect on the Dangers and  
 "Difficulties of the Enterprize; That the late  
 "King's Daughters and Friends, and the Earl  
 "of Richmond's Relations, whose Interest is ve-  
 "ry considerable, would certainly oppose me  
 "to the Utmost: And if the Houses of Lan-  
 "caster and York should joyn against me, I should  
 "soon lose the Vain Power I might obtain:  
 "Wherefore I resolv'd to flatter my self no  
 "more with Chimæra's of my Imaginary Right  
 "to the Royal Diadem, but only to revenge  
 "Mine and the People's Wrongs on the Com-  
 "mon Enemy.

"The Countess of Richmond propos'd in the  
 "Conversation we had on the Road, That her  
 "Son might marry One of King Edward's  
 "Daughters; and she conjur'd me by the Me-  
 "mory of Duke Humphrey my Grandfather, that  
 "I would Procure the King's Favour for her  
 "Son, and get him to Consent to the Match.  
 "I took no notice of her Proposal then; which  
 "when I weigh'd in my Mind, I found of so  
 "great Advantage to the Commonwealth, that  
 "I thought it was an Inspiration of the Holy  
 "Spirit for the Benefit of the Kingdom; and I  
 "came to a Resolution in my self to Spend my  
 "Life and Fortune in endeavouring to accom-  
 "plish so Glorious a Design, to Marry the Prin-  
 "cess Elizabeth to the Earl of Richmond, the  
 "Heir of the House of Lancaster, in whose Quar-  
 "rel my Father and Grandfather lost their Lives  
 "in Battel. If the Mothers of the Princess and  
 "the Earl can come to an Agreement concern-  
 "ing the Marriage, I doubt not but the Proud  
 "Boar, whose Tusks have goar'd so many In-  
 "nocent Persons, shall soon be brought to Con-  
 "fusion. The rightful and Indubitate Heir shall  
 "enjoy the Crown, and Peace be restor'd to  
 "this distracted Kingdom.

The Bishop rejoiced extreamly at this Free  
 Declaration of the Duke: and that he might not  
 slacken his Zeal in so Righteous a Cause, he en-  
 deavour'd to Fire him the more, and hasten  
 him to the Execution of his Designs; My Lord, The Bi-  
 says the Bishop, Since by the Providence of God and  
 your Grace's incomparable Wisdom this Happy Alliance  
 is set on foot, 'tis Convenient or rather Necessary  
 that we should Consult whom to trust in so Important  
 and Perilous an Undertaking. To whom shall we  
 first apply towards effecting it? To whom, reply'd The Duke  
 the Duke, but to the Countess of Richmond; who  
 knows



1483. *knows where her Son is, and how to Send to him.*  
The Bishop answer'd, *If you begin there, I have an Old Friend in her Service one Reginald Bray, a Man of Probity and Judgment, for whom I will send to attend your Grace and receive your Commands, if you think Proper so to do.* The Duke consenting to it, the Bishop wrote to Mr. Bray to come to him to Brecknock; which he did immediately, believing there was something to be done for his Lady's and her Son's Service. The Duke told him what he intended to attempt in favour of the Earl of Richmond, no less than to Seat him in the Royal Throne of England, if he Swore to marry the Lady Elizabeth; and by that Alliance put an End to the long and bloody Dispute between the White Rose and the Red.

In order to this, He said, the Countess must manage the Business with the Queen Dowager and the Princess her Daughter, and when they were engaged, send to her Son in Britain, and get him to Swear he would Perform the Articles, agreed on between his Mother and the Princess Elizabeth in both their Names. Bray gladly undertook to carry this Message to his Mistress, And now they were Embark'd in so great an Affair, the Bishop, who long'd to be at Liberty, desir'd the Duke to let him go to Ely, where the Number of his Friends would secure him against all the Force King Richard could send to destroy him. The Duke being loath to lose so Able and Experienced a Councillor, excus'd his detaining him a little longer; saying, *he should go in a few Days, and so well accompanied that he need fear no Enemy.*

The Bp. leaves the Duke.  
The Bishop impatient of Confinement, stole away from Brecknock to Ely in Disguise, rais'd Money there, and pass'd over into Flanders. The good Prelate thought he had done enough in setting the Duke at Work on so Hazardous a Business, in which it seems he did not care to venture further. Whether he thought he could be more Serviceable to the Earl of Richmond Abroad, or was afraid of his Person at Home; or whatever reason he had to leave the Duke of Buckingham, he does not appear to be Excusable in History: For knowing the Duke was too apt to Open his Mind freely, he might have imagin'd that his Indiscretion would ruin him, and 'twas to Sacrifice a Person of his High Quality, to put him upon an Enterprize he was not fit to Manage, and then forsake him in the Execution of it; at which the Duke was very much concern'd.

The Countess of Richmond sends to the Q. Dowager.  
In the mean time Reginald Bray return'd to his Mistress, inform'd her of what had been concerted between the Duke and the Bishop, for the Advancement of her Son; and the Countess with great Joy intended to play her Part as soon as possible. The first thing she was to do, was to engage the Queen Dowager and the Princess; To which purpose she dispatch'd one Lewis a Welshman who was her Physician, with Instructions to Attend the Queen at Westminster, and break the Matter to her. Lewis's Message was not in the least suspected, because he came as a Doctor, to Advise her about her Health. When he was admitted into her Presence, and every body withdrawn, he gave her to understand what Errand he was sent upon: He set forth the Wrongs She, her Children, and the whole Nation had suffered by the Tyranny of Richard, what Miseries had befalln the Kingdom by the Civil War between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and what Advantages would accrue to her, her Children, and the Commonwealth, by the Uniting the Two Houses in marrying her Daughter Elizabeth, the only true

1483.  
Heir of the House of York, to his Mistress's Son the Only true Heir of the House of Lancaster. The Queen heard him with Attention, agreed to the Proposals, and bad him tell his Lady, That all King Edward's Friends and Dependants should joyn with her for the Earl of Richmond, on Condition he took his Corporal Oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth her Eldest Daughter, or in case she were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her Second Daughter. Dr. Lewis carry'd this pleasing Answer to his Mistress; from whom he went frequently to the Queen as a Physician, and from her to the Countess, till Matters were fully concluded between them. While these Things were transacting by the two Princesses, Reginald Bray was employ'd to engage as many Persons of Quality as he could in the Earl's Interest; accordingly he procur'd Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheyney, Richard Guilford and Thomas Rame Esquires, and others, to Promise their utmost Assistance, taking an Oath of Secrecy and Fidelity of all of them. The Queen Dowager on her Part made the Earl many Friends, and the Business in a short time was so ripe, that 'twas thought proper to send an Account of it to the Earl, and give him Notice to prepare for his Return to England. Christopher Urswick her Chaplain, was first sent, and soon after follow'd by Hugh Conway Esq; with Money to Provide Men and other Necessaries for his Voyage, and a full Account of the Disposition the Nobility and Commonalty were in to receive him favourably. She advis'd him to Land in Wales, that Principality being most inclin'd to him, as well for his Descent being Welsh, as for the great Estate she had there. For fear Mr. Conway should miscarry in his Voyage, Mr. Rame was dispatch'd away with the same Instructions: The former sail'd from Plymouth, the latter from Kent; and tho' they took different Routes, they arriv'd at the Duke of Britain's Court both within an Hour of each other. They communicated the Subject of their Commission to him. For which he render'd Thanks to the Almighty, being such Joyful News as he would not have given light Credit to; but it came so circumstantiated, and by such trusty Messengers, that he did not doubt of the Truth of it. He imparted the Secret to the Duke of Bretagne, informing him what a fair Prospect he had of obtaining the Crown of England, desiring him to Assist him, and Promising to return all his Acts of Generosity and Friendship as soon as it was in his Power. The Duke gave him hopes of Assistance, and accordingly he Lent him Money and Troops for his intended Expedition; tho' Thomas Hutton, King Richard's Ambassador, offer'd large Sums, and earnestly solicited the Duke and his Ministers to put the Earl's Person in Safe Custody. The Earl having receiv'd so good Encouragement in Bretagne, sent Mr. Conway and Mr. Rame back again to give his Friends an account of his Intentions and Preparations, and to desire them to Provide every thing necessary for his Reception.

The Messengers returning, satisfy'd the Queen Dowager by Dr. Lewis of the Earl's Readiness to comply with the Terms she propos'd, and inform'd the Conspirators of the Duke of Bretagne's Promising to lend him Men and Money: Upon which they all repair'd to their several Posts to make Provision for joyning him with sufficient Strength to accomplish their Designs when he Arriv'd. With these, all such as had any Grudge against, or Quarrel with King Richard, fell in, by which means the Party encreased daily, and so many Persons could not act zealously in such an Affair without giving



1483. ing Umbrage of their Intentions to the U-  
surper.

The King  
Summons  
the Duke  
of Buck-  
ingham to  
Court.

King Richard endeavour'd by his Spies to find out the bottom of their Conspiracies, but he had to deal with Men of Equal Cunning and Secrecy, and he cou'd not fix the Matter on any one, tho' he did not doubt but there was a Plot carrying on to Dethrone him and Advance the Earl of Richmond. The Duke of Buckingham's avoiding the Court, made him Jealous that he was in it; and to get him into his Power he made use of his Dissimulation, a Quality that had been very serviceable to him in his Usurpation, and wrote him very Kind obliging Letters to come to London; but the Duke pretending Indisposition excus'd himself. The King enrag'd to find his Artifices unsuccessful, sent him a Letter in a rougher Stile commanding him on his Allegiance to Attend him. The Duke answer'd as roughly,

The  
Duke will  
not come.

He and  
the Con-  
spira-  
tors take  
Arms.

A great  
Flood the  
cause of  
the Duke's  
Over-  
throw.

Buck-  
ingham be-  
tray'd by  
his Ser-  
vant.

That he would not Expose himself to his Mortal Enemy whom he neither Lov'd nor would Serve: He knew this Answer was a Declaration of War, and to lose no time took Arms. The same did Thomas Marquess of Dorset, who had escap'd out of Sanctuary, in Yorkshire. Sir Edward Courtney and Peter Bishop of Exeter his Brother in Devonshire and Cornwall; and Others in other Places. The King hearing of these Insurrections was not at all dishearten'd, but mustering all his Forces march'd against the Duke of Buckingham, the Head and Heart of the Conspirators; whom if he suppress'd he suppos'd the Others would fall of Course, or if not, he might easily reduce them. The Duke rather by the Influence he had over the Welshmen who were his Tenants, than out of an Inclination they had to follow him, got a great Multitude of them together, with whom he march'd through the Forrest of Dean towards Gloucester, intending to pass the Severn there, and thence to proceed into the West to joyn the Courtneys; which if he cou'd have effected, King Richard's Reign had not been so long as it was by a Year. But it happen'd that the River Severn was so swoln by a continual Rain for 10 Days together, that it Over-flow'd all the Neighbouring Country, did abundance of Damage, and 'twas so Remarkable, that for a Hundred Years after, that Inundation was call'd, The Great Water, or Buckingham's Water, by the Inhabitants of those Parts. These Floods as it hinder'd the Duke's passing the Severn to joyn his Friends in Devonshire; so it prevented his Friends on the other Side of the River passing over to him: In which Extremity the Welshmen deserted by Degrees, till at last the Duke had none left about him but his Domestick Servants. Nor Prayers nor Threats cou'd keep them together, so he was forc'd to fly with the rest, and in Despair fled to the House of one Humphrey Banister near Sbrewsbury, designing to hide himself there till he cou'd raise more Forces, or escape thence to the Earl of Richmond in Bretagne. He trusted this Banister as a Man who had so many Obligations to him, that he did not think it cou'd be almost possible for Humane Nature to be so Ungrateful, as to betray a Master who had been so Kind to a Servant as the Duke had been to Banister; having bred him up, provided for him honourably, and put entire Confidence in him on many Occasions. Yet upon King Richard's Proclamation to Apprehend the Duke, with the Promise of a Thousand Pounds Reward to the Man that should Discover him, this faithless Wretch betray'd his Master to John Milton Esq; Sheriff of Shropshire, who surrounded his House with a Party of the County Militia, seiz'd the Duke, and carried him to the King,

who then kept his Court at Salisbury. Banister and his whole Family were destroy'd by the Surprising Judgments of the Almighty. The Usurper refus'd to Pay him the Thousand Pounds promis'd in the Proclamation; Saying, He that would betray so good a Master, would be false to any other. The Duke earnestly desir'd to be admitted to the King's Prefence, but whether he was or not, we cannot determine. Some Writers affirm he was, and that he attempted to Stab him with a Dagger. 'Tis certain he confess'd the whole Conspiracy, and without any further Tryal was Beheaded in the Market-Place at Salisbury, on the 2d of November. Such was the Fate of Henry Stafford, whom most Authors call Edward Duke of Buckingham: He married Katharine the Daughter of Richard Woodville, Sister to Queen Elizabeth Wife to Edward IV. by whom he had Edward Duke of Buckingham, Henry Earl of Wiltshire, and two Daughters; The one married George Lord Hastings, and the other Richard Ratcliffe Lord Fitz-Waters. The Duke of Bucks was Hereditary Constable of England, and his Estate and Revenues were so great, that King Richard had reason to be Jealous of him; for no Subject in England was so Powerful either in the Number of his Tenants and Dependants, or in his vast Riches.

By the dispersing of the Welshmen the Western Army was so discouraged, that every Man shifted for himself. Some fled to Sanctuary, others took Shipping and sail'd to Bretagne to the Earl of Richmond. Among these were Peter Courtney Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtney his Brother, afterwards created Earl of Devonshire by Henry the Seventh, Thomas Marquess Dorset, John Lord Welles, Sir John Bourchier, Sir Edward Woodville the Queen Dowager's Brother, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheyney and his two Brothers, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir William Berkley, Sir William Branden, Thomas Branden Esq; his Brother, Sir Richard Edgecomb, John Hallowell Esq; and Capt. Edward Poynings, a famous Soldier, whom Henry VII. highly preferr'd. King Richard did all that a Wise Prince cou'd think of to prevent their getting off. Knowing what an Addition to the Earl's Power, the Prefence of so many Persons of Quality would make, he set Guards on most of the Ports of England; but those in the West being in the Hands of the Malecontents, they escap'd the Cruel Vengeance which was prepar'd for them. The Usurper fitted out a Fleet to Cruise off the Coasts of Bretagne, and prevent the Earl of Richmond's Landing any Forces in England; but the Earl not hearing of the Duke's Misfortune, set Sail the 12th of October with a Fleet of Forty Ships having 5000 Bretons aboard. They had not been long at Sea before they met with a Storm that scatter'd their Fleet. The Ship in which was the Earl in Person was driven on the Coast of England to the Mouth of the Haven of Pool in Dorsetshire; where finding the Shore was crouded with Troops to oppose his Descent, he forbade any of his Men to land till the whole Navy came up. However, he sent out his Boat with some Officers to demand of the Men, who stood on the Shoar, Whether they were Friends or Enemies? These Traytors instructed by King Richard answer'd, They were Friends posted there by the Duke of Bucks, to receive the Earl of Richmond. The Earl suspecting the Deceit, and perceiving he was alone, the rest of his Fleet not appearing, weigh'd Anchor and return'd to France. He landed in Normandy, where he refresh'd himself and his Men two or three days, and then sent a Gentleman to Charles the Eighth, the French

1483.

Beheaded  
at Salu-  
bury.The Con-  
spirators  
fly to Bre-  
tagne to  
the Earl  
of Rich-  
mond.Who Sails  
to Eng-  
land.Returns  
to France.

French



1483. French King desiring Passports thro' his Territories into Bretagne; which was readily granted by Charles. However the Earl did not stay for the return of his Courier, but trusting to the French King's Generosity continu'd his Journey thro' Normandy to Vannes, where the Duke of Bretagne resided. When he arriv'd there he heard of the Duke of Buckingham's Death, and found the Marquefs Dorset, and the other English Gentlemen who had made their Escape. They all swore Allegiance to him, and he took his Corporal Oath, on the same Day the 25th of December, that he wou'd marry the Princess Elizabeth when he had suppress'd the Usurper Richard, and was in Possession of the Crown.

Some of the Conspirators executed. The Zeal which these Gentlemen shewed in his Cause, and the Consideration of the great Interest they had in England, lessen'd the Earl's Sorrow for the Misfortune of his Friends in their first Attempts against the Tyrant, and encouraged him to refit his Fleet and prepare for a New Voyage to England, where many of his Friends were seiz'd and Executed; as Sir George Brown and Sir Roger Clifford who were Beheaded at London; and Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the King's own Sister the Dutcheß of Exeter, Thomas Rame Esq; and several of his own Servants; the two former were executed at Exon; the latter, whom he condemn'd on bare Suspicion, at London, and other places. The Usurper made a Progress to Devonshire and Cornwall to settle the Peace of those Counties, where the Earl's Party was very Numerous. The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Exeter presented him with a Purse of Gold to obtain his Favour: He receiv'd it graciously, lay in the City one Night, and the next Day went about it to take a View of it: When he came to the Castle, and was inform'd 'twas call'd Rugemont, he seem'd very Melancholy, and said, *I find I shall not Live long.* He thought that Name was Foretold by an Old Prophecy which he had Heard relating to him, That his End wou'd be nigh when he came to Richmond: Which Prediction was fulfill'd at the Battel of Bosworth. In his Western Journey, he found the Gentlemen of those Parts were almost all concern'd in the Conspiracy to depose him and raise the Earl of Richmond to the Throne. All that had made their Escape were Out-law'd, and those that fell into his Hands were put to Death; for he knew not what Mercy and Humanity meant.

1484. In the Beginning of the following Year he Summon'd a Parliament, in which the Earl of Richmond and his Followers were attainted, and the People burthen'd with severe Taxes and Impositions. The Money so collected was wasted on his Creatures, or squander'd away Prodigally on such as knew any thing of his Guilt in the Death of his Nephews, to stop their Mouths. He obliged the Lord Stanley to confine his Wife the Countess of Richmond, so that she shou'd have no means of holding Correspondence with any one to his Prejudice. He order'd William Collingburne of Lydiard in Wilshire to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, for Aiding and Assisting the Earl of Richmond and his Followers, and Writing a Satyrical Dyttich upon him and his Favourites, the Lord Viscount Lovel, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby.

*The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog,  
Rule all England under a Hog.*

Alluding by the Hog to the Usurper's Arms, one of his Supporters being a Wild-Boar. Yet these Executions did not ease him of his Fears: He heard by

his Emisaries abroad, that Dr. Moreton Bishop of Ely and Ursewich, the Countess of Richmond's Chaplain, who liv'd in Flanders, had carried on a close Correspondence with many of the Chief Persons in his Kingdom; and that the Duke of Bretagne still continu'd to Protect and Support the Earl Henry. He saw the Storm that had lately been gathering over him was not dispers'd by the Duke of Buckingham's Death, and the Flight of the Courtneys; the Clouds grew Darker still, and the Tempest that threatned him was such as requir'd all his Arts and all his Power to Provide against. He secur'd his Dominions on the Side of Scotland, by entering into an Alliance with the Scots King, to whose Eldest Son the Duke of Rothsay he married the Lady Anne de la Pool, Daughter to John Duke of Suffolk, by Anne the Usurper's best belov'd Sister. Her Son John he proclaim'd Heir Apparent to the Crown, without having regard to King Edward the Fourth's Daughters: Yet all his Negotiations and Successes Abroad and at Home were Ineffectual, and he perceiv'd that nothing would entirely secure him against the Earl and his Friends Contrivances, unless he cou'd get his Person into his Power. To this Purpose he sent over other Ambassadors to the Duke of Bretagne, with Instructions to apply themselves to Peter Landaise the Duke's Chief Minister and Favourite, and by Immense Sums of Money to endeavour to tempt him to betray the Earl. They were to offer him for the Duke his Master the Clear Profits of all the Earl's Estate in England, and for himself whatever he cou'd ask of them. The Treacherous Breton hearken'd to the Proposals made by Richard's Ambassadors, and promis'd to deliver the Earl of Richmond to them. But the Bishop of Ely who had Intelligence in King Richard and the Duke of Bretagne's Courts, understood what Designs were forming against Earl Henry, of which he sent him Notice by Ursewich; and the Earl giving Credit to his Information, escap'd in Disguise with his Principal Officers into the French King's Dominions. Landaise intended a Day or two after to have seiz'd him, and when he miss'd him sent Couriers into all Parts of the Dutchy in Search of him. He was scarce got into the French Territories, when one of the Parties that were sent out after him came within an Hour's Riding of him, but he had prevented Landaise his Treachery who acted without his Master's Privy. The Duke of Bretagne being at that time dangerously Ill, and leaving all things to his Management. The English Refugees that remain'd in Bretagne expected all to be deliver'd up to the Fury of King Richard, when they heard of the Earl's Escape, and the Reasons of it: And had not the Duke of Bretagne recover'd and took on him the Administration of Affairs, the Traytor Landaise wou'd have seiz'd them, and yielded them up to the Usurper's Ambassadors. The Duke inquiring into the Causes of the Earl's Flight into France, was very much displeas'd with Landaise, and sent for Sir Edward Woodvill and Capt. Poyning, to whom he excus'd the Treachery of his Minister, disowning the Knowledge of it, and gave them a considerable Sum of Money, to conduct them to all the Englishmen who were at Vannes, thro' Bretagne into France to their Master the Earl of Richmond: For which generous Act the Earl sent him Thanks by a Messenger on purpose. Himself went to Loinges on the Loire, where Charles the Eighth, the French King, kept his Court, and from thence accompanied him to Montargis. Charles entertain'd him and his Followers very Magnificently, but was not

1484.

John Earl of Lincoln Proclaim'd Heir apparent.

The Earl of Richmond in Danger in Bretagne.

He Escapes into France.

His Reception there.



1484.

very forward to lend him any Assistance.

While the Earl was in the French Court, John Earl of Oxford repair'd to him with James Blunt Captain of the Castle of Haumes, in which the Lord Oxford had been confin'd several Years, and had engag'd the Governor in the Interest of the Earl of Richmond; with them came Sir John Fortescue, Porter of the Town of Calais. James Blunt had reinforc'd his Garrison, supply'd it with all sorts of Provisions for a vigorous Defence, and left a Trusty Officer to Command there in his Absence. The Arrival of the Earl of Oxford, and the Revolt of the Garrison of Haumes, animated afresh Earl Henry and his Friends, whose Spirits began to sink, seeing the little Hopes they had of Help in France. Their Company encreas'd after this daily: Most of the English Gentlemen who were Students in the University of Paris did Homage to the Earl, among whom was Mr. Richard Fox, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; and as their Numbers grew greater Abroad, their Interest at Home was consequently enlarged.

The Usurper, who by his Spies had a full Account of all their Proceedings, knew that the Hopes of the Party were founded on the Earl's Promise to marry the Princess Elizabeth, which he resolv'd by some Means or other to Prevent; and to that end he did his Utmost to ingratiate himself with her Mother Queen Elizabeth. He sent several Flattering Messages to her in Sanctuary, Promised to advance the Marquess Dorset and all her Relations, and won upon her so much by his fair Speeches, that forgetting the many Affronts he had cast on the Memory of her Husband, on her own Honour and the Legitimacy of her Children, and even the Murder of her dear Sons, she comply'd with him, and promis'd to bring over her Son, and all the late King's Friends from the Party of the Earl of Richmond. She went so far, as to deliver up her Five Daughters into his Hands; whom as soon as King Richard had got in his Custody, he resolv'd to order the Matter so, that he might be in a Condition to take the Eldest of them to be his Wife; which was a sure Way of defeating the Earl of Richmond's Purposes. Queen Elizabeth was so charm'd by his false Promises, that she wrote to her Son the Marquess Dorset to leave Earl Henry and hasten to England, where she had procur'd him a Pardon, and provided all sorts of Honours for him. What Success her Letters had, we shall see in the Course of this History.

We have already observ'd, that King Richard had cast his Eyes upon his Brother Edward the Fourth's Daughter, the Princess Elizabeth: He had been guilty of Treason and Murder, and almost all the Crimes that are to be found in the Infernal Rolls: Incest seem'd only wanting to make him a compleat Monster of Mankind, the Horror of his People, and the Shame of the whole World. As he was Master of the Art of Dissimulation, and had lately put on the Mask of Piety, so he was a little at a loss how to remove his Wife out of the way, to make room for his Niece in his Bed. He began his Lewd Design, by shewing an Aversion to his Wife's Company and Embraces. He complain'd to several Lords of the Council, of her Barrenness; especially to Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, whom he had lately Released out of Prison. He told him of some Private Defects in the Queen, which had render'd her Person disagreeable to him, and hoped the Bishop would tell her of it, who being a Woman of a meek Temper, he thought would take it so much to Heart, that

she would not Live long after it. Dr. Rotherham said to some of his most intimate Friends, *The Queen's Days are but few*; for he perceiv'd by the Usurper's Discourse, that he was weary of her and wanted another Wife, and he knew him so well, that he cou'd not suppose he would scruple to add one Murder more to the many bloody Cruelties he had been guilty of to satisfy his Lust and Ambition. To prepare the Way for her Death, he order'd a Report to be spread among the People, that she was Dead: Which he did with an Intention, that the Rumour coming to her Ears, it might allarm her with fear of her sudden Fate, and those Fears throw her into a Disease which might carry her off. The Queen no sooner heard of what was reported against her, but she believ'd it came originally from her Husband; and thence concluding, that her Hour was drawing nigh, she ran to him in a most Sorrowful and Deplorable Condition, and demanded of him *What she had done to deserve Death?* The Tyrant answer'd her with Fair Words and False Smiles, bidding her be of Good Cheer, for to his knowledge she had no other cause. But whether her Grief, as he design'd it should, struck so to her Heart, that it broke with the Mortal Wound, or he hasten'd her End, as was generally suspected, by Poison, she Died in a few Days afterwards. She was Daughter of the famous Earl of Warwick; and when Richard married her, Widow to Prince Edward, Heir to Henry VI. The Usurper affect'd to shew an extraordinary Sorrow at her Death, and was at the Expence of a Pompous Funeral for her. Notwithstanding all his pretended Mourning, before she was scarce cold in her Grave, he made his Addresses to the Princess Elizabeth, who had his Love in abhorrence, and the whole Kingdom appear'd averse to so Unnatural a Marriage. His Affairs were in such an Ill Posture, that he durst not provoke the Queen and the People further, by putting a Violence on the Princess's Inclinations; so he defer'd his Courtship till he was better Settled in the Throne. The Nobility daily past over into France: The Gentry and Commonalty every where, shew'd an Affection to the Earl of Richmond, as far as they durst do it, without bringing themselves under the Lash of the Tyrant's Laws. He was most jealous of Thomas Lord Stanley, his Brother Sir William Stanley, and Gilbert Talbot. He oblig'd the Lord Stanley to leave his Son George Stanley, Lord Strange, at Court, as an Hostage of his own Fidelity. He commanded the Governor of Calais to Attack the Castle of Haumes: The Earl of Oxford and Captain Blunt immediately hasten'd to the Relief of it, but before they could arrive near it, the Garrison was reduced to the last Extremity, and the Besiegers, on the report of the Earl of Oxford's Approach, offering them to March out with Bag and Baggage, they Surrender'd the Fort, and Joyn'd the Earl, who led them to Paris, where they were Entertain'd by the Earl of Richmond. The Reduction of Haumes, and the small Hopes of Assistance which Earl Henry had in the French Court, made the Usurper so secure, that he recall'd the Squadron of Men of War, which he had order'd to Cruise in the Channel and prevent the Earl's making a Descent in England, and contented himself with commanding the Lords and Gentlemen, who liv'd near the Coasts, to be on their Guard to Defend them.

In the mean time the Earl of Richmond continued his Negotiations in the Court of France for Succours; but Charles VIII. being in his Minority, he was forced to apply to the Regents, or

King Richard persuades the Queen Dowager to leave Sanctuary.

And deliver up her Daughters into his Hands.

He resolves to marry the Eldest.

Grows weary of his Wife.

And she Died soon after it.

1485.



1485. or Ministers of State, who being Divided among themselves, had no Inclination to Unite in his Favour. The chiefest of them was *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, who afterwards was King: But by their Civil Dissentions, the Affair of his Supplies was spun on to so great a length, that the Usurper flatter'd himself 'twould never take effect: For this Reason he grew more Pleasant than before, his Joy increas'd as his Care lessen'd, and lull'd him at last into a Fatal Security.

The Q. Dowager periwades her Son, the Marquis of Dorset to leave the E. of Richmond.

The Queen Dowager, to oblige the King, who lately appear'd very ready to Serve her and her Daughters, continued to Write to her Son the Marquis of *Dorset*, to leave *Earl Henry*. The Marquis fearing the Earl wou'd not succeed in his Enterprize, gave way to his Mother's Perswasions; and King *Richard's* Flattering Promises, left the Earl, and stole away from *Paris* by Night, intending to Escape to *Flanders*: But as soon as the Earl had Notice of his Flight, he apply'd to the *French Court*, for leave to Apprehend him in any Part of his Dominions; for both Himself and his Followers were afraid of his Discovering all their Designs, to their utter Destruction if he got to *England*. Having obtain'd Licence to Seize him, the Earl sent Messengers every way in search of him; and among the rest, *Humphrey Cheyney Esq;* who overtook him near *Champagne*, and by Arguments and Fair Promises prevail'd with him to return. By the Marquis's Disposition to leave him, the Earl began to doubt, that if he delay'd his Expedition to *England* longer, many more of his Friends might grow cool in their Zeal for him; so he earnestly Solicited the *French Court* for Aid, desiring so small a Supply of Men and Money, that *Charles* cou'd not in Honour refuse him; yet for what he Lent him, he would have Hostages, that Satisfaction should be made. The Earl made no Scruple of that, so leaving the Lord Marquis *Dorset* (whom he still mistrusted) and Sir *John Bourchier* as his Pledges at *Paris*, he departed for *Roan*, where the few Men that the *French King* had lent him, and all the *English* that follow'd his Fortunes Rendezvous'd.

The Earl stops him.

K. Richard designs to Marry the Princess Elizabeth.

When he arriv'd there, he was inform'd of the Usurper's Intentions to marry the Princess *Elizabeth* himself, and her Sister, the Princess *Cecilia*, to a Man of Mean Condition. This was Mortifying News to him, for he imagin'd if his Alliance with the House of *York* was by that Means broken, their Friends would all fall off from him: However he resolv'd to push for the Crown, as Heir to the House of *Lancaster*, but then it was necessary for him to encrease his Strength and Interest; wherefore he dispatch'd away a Messenger to Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Man of Great Power in *Wales*, to get him to espouse his Quarrel, by an Offer of Marrying his Sister, a Beautiful Young Lady. The Earl of *Northumberland* had Married another of Sir *Walter's* Sisters, and the Earl of *Richmond's* Agent had Instructions to Address himself also to him, and periwade him to forward the Marriage. The Messenger found the Ways so narrowly watch'd, that he cou'd not proceed on his Journey; and 'twas well for the Earl that he did no more in it; for had any such Treaty been propos'd and known, his Friends, who were so on the Princess *Elizabeth's* account, had all forsaken him. The Messenger being thus disappointed, the Earl receiv'd One out of *England Morgan Kidwellie*, Esq; a Lawyer, who brought him Advice, That Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Gentleman who was as powerful in *Wales* as Sir *Walter Herbert*, and Capt. *John Savage*, a famous Soldier, had made Great Preparations

to Assist him; that *Reginald Bray* had collected large Sums of Money to Pay his Troops, and earnestly Entreated him to hasten his Voyage and direct his Course to *Wales*. The Earl rejoicing at this Good News, order'd all his Forces to Embark and Sail from *Harfleet* in *Normandy* in *August*, with about Two Thousand Men, in a few Ships, just enough to Transport them. After Seven Days Sail, he arriv'd in the Haven of *Milford*, and Landed at a Place call'd *Dall*, from whence he March'd the next Day to *Harford West*, where he was Receiv'd with Joy by the Townsmen. Having Refresh'd his Men, and sent Notice, by Trusty Messengers, to his Mother, the Lord *Stanley*, and *Sigilbert Talbot*, that he intended to direct his March towards *London*, desiring them to meet him on the Way with their Powers, he advanced to *Shrewsbury*, where Sir *Gilbert Talbot* Joyn'd him with the E. of *Shrewsbury's* Tenants, as Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and *Richard Griffith Esq;* had done before, with a Body of *Welsh-Men*; by which his Army became so strong, that he easily Reduced all the Towns to which he came in his March. Sir *Rice ap Thomas* wou'd not come unto him, till he had promised to make him Governour of *Wales*, in case he got the Crown; which the Earl agreed to and perform'd as soon as 'twas in his power, Sir *Rice* having been very Faithful and Serviceable to him.

1485.

The Earl of Richmond Lands in Wales.

His Power increases.

In the mean while, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother Sir *William Stanley* rais'd Men, but did not declare whom they would side with: Sir *William* advanced with his Army into *Staffordshire*, and waited on the Earl of *Richmond* at *Stafford*, attended only by Twenty or Thirty Persons. The Lord *Stanley* lay at *Litchfield* with 5000 Men; yet neither he nor his Brother Joyn'd the Earl. Sir *William* having had a Short Conference with him, return'd to his Forces; and when the Earl approach'd near *Litchfield*, the Lord *Stanley* return'd to *Atherstone*, to prevent King *Richard's* having any Suspicion of him; being afraid that the Tyrant would murder his Son the Lord *Strange*, whom he had in his Custody, if he sided openly with the Earl of *Richmond*.

The Usurper at first despised the Earl's Attempt, hearing he had brought so few Men with him, he did not doubt but Sir *Walter Herbert* would easily Suppress him with the Militia of *Wales*, which he order'd him to raise, but when he heard that Sir *Walter* had suffered him to pass, and so many Gentlemen had Joyn'd him with their Friends and Dependants, that his Army would be as numerous as his own, if the *Lancashire* Men, under the *Stanley's*, declar'd for him, he resolv'd to Oppose him in Person. He commanded *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and other Gentlemen whose Loyalty he suspected to attend him in Arms, and sent for the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower, and others, to bring their whole Strength with them, to enable him to give the Earl Battel before he receiv'd further Assistance. When all his Troops were arriv'd at *Nottingham*, where he kept his Court, he put himself at their Head, and led them to *Leicester*. Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and several others, found means to Desert to the Earl; which tho' it was a great Discouragement to *Richard*, yet it did ease Earl *Henry* of his Discontent, for that the Lord *Stanley* had not Joyn'd him. His Army proceeded from *Litchfield* to *Tamworth*, Himself bringing up the Rear with about Twenty Horse.

King Richard's Proceedings upon it.

As



1485.

The Earl  
of Rich-  
mond loo-  
ses his  
Way.

As he was musing on the Difficulties of his Enterprize, he lagg'd behind his Company, and it growing Dark, they march'd on and entered *Tamworth* before they mist him. His Care was increased, by a Report, that King *Richard* was at hand; whose coming up before the Lord *Stanley* had joyn'd him, threatned his whole Army with Destruction; yet his Men were not discourag'd, they trusted in their own Valour and the Goodness of their Cause, and proceeded with Great Resolution.

The Earl having insensibly lost his Companions, and the High-way to *Tamworth*, turn'd aside to a Little Village Three Miles from *Tamworth*, where he stay'd all Night, not daring to discover himself, or ask a Guide to the Town. His Followers were much surprized at his Absence, and afraid what was become of him. He was also apprehensive of the ill Effects of their missing him, and not a little fearful of falling into the Hands of some of the Usurper's Parties. Early in the Morning he left the Village, and happily arriv'd at the Town, to the unspeakable Joy of his Army: He excus'd his Absence by pretending he had been to consult with some private Friends of his who durst not yet appear for him. He was unwilling his Companions should think him Guilty of such a Blunder as to lose his Way, when he had so many Guides about him, and made that a piece of Policy, which was indeed downright Ignorance: So easie 'tis for Princes to impose upon their People who are ready to judge favourably of all their Actions.

King Ri-  
chard en-  
camps at  
*Bosworth*.

He just shew'd himself to his Soldiers, and then left them again to go to *Atherstone*, where he first saw and saluted the Lord *Stanley*, his Father in Law; He held a Conference with him and Sir *William Stanley* in a little Field, where they consulted how they should give the Tyrant Battel to the best Advantage. In the Evening Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Bryan Sanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, came unto him with all their Friends and Followers from King *Richard* who was advanc'd to *Leicester*, and his Army encamp'd not far off, on a Hill call'd *Arme Beame*, in *Bosworth* Parish. The next Day after King *Richard* arriv'd at *Leicester*, he went to the Camp and drew up his Men in order of Battel on the Plain. He plac'd his Archers in Front under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey* his Son; Himself led the Main Body, with two Wings of Cavalry on each Flank. The Earl leaving the Lord *Stanley* return'd to his Army, and march'd them out of *Tamworth* towards the Enemy, resolving to fight King *Richard*. The Lord *Stanley* also march'd from *Atherstone*, and halted in a place between the two Armies. The Earl sent to him to come and help to set his Men in Order of Battel; but the Lord *Stanley* even now was so cautious, that he excus'd his appearing among the Earl's Followers: He bad him Draw up his Soldiers, He won'd do the same by his, and Joyn him at Supper time. Tho' this Answer vext the Earl of *Richmond* inwardly, he seem'd as well satisfy'd as if he had come, and Chearfully put his Men in Order: His Front was thin, and consisted of Archers, commanded by *John* Earl of *Oxford*; Sir *Gilbert Talbot* led the Right Wing, and Sir *John Savage* the Left, attended by a Troop of Young Fellows well arm'd, Clad in white Coats and Hoods, who made a gallant Figure, terrible to the Enemy. The Earl of *Richmond* accompanied by the Earl of *Pembroke* led the Main Body; his whole Strength did not amount to Six Thousand Men, *Stanley's* Forces which were Seven or Eight Thousand strong excepted: And King *Richard* had twice that Number. In the Order

The Earl  
marches  
to Fight  
him.

we have mention'd, the two Armies advanced towards each other; the Lord *Stanley* moving aside off as the Earl of *Richmond* mov'd; and when the Usurper was come farther into the Plain where he expected the Earl's Approach, he made a Speech to his Army to this Purpose:

My Friends and Fellow-Soldiers,

BY your Valour and Conduct I got and have enjoy'd the Crown in spite of all the Wicked Designs of your and my Enemies. I have govern'd this Nation as a good Prince ought to do for the Benefit of my Subjects, and done nothing without the Advice and Consent of my Counsellors, whose Fidelity and Wisdom I have often prov'd; and your Loyalty to me makes me believe that you have an Opinion of me as I have of my Self, that I am your Rightful and Lawful King. Tho' at my Accession to the Throne I was Guilty of a Wicked Detested Crime, yet my Repentance of it has been so Severe and so Sincere that I hope you will forget it, as I shall never cease to Deplore and Lament it. Considering the Danger we are in at this Time, what a gracious Prince I have been to you, and what good Subjects you have been to me, we are bound by the strictest Bonds of Obligation and Duty mutually to defend one another in so great Peril. To keep what we have got is as glorious as to get it: And as by your Assistance I was advanced to the Throne, so I hope by the same Help to continue in it. I doubt not you have heard of the Traiterous Devices of a an Obscure *Welshman* (whose Father I never knew, and whom I never saw) against our Crown and Dignity. You hear who they are that he depends upon, a Company of Traytors, Thieves, Outlaws and Fugitives; mean Beggary *Bretons*, and Cowardly *Frenchmen*: whose Aim is the Destruction of you, your Wives and Children, as 'tis their Leader's to Disposse's me of the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Let us therefore joyn heartily in our common Defence, Fight like Lions, and fear not to dye like Men: Indeed there is Nothing for you to be afraid of. The Hare never fled faster from before the Hound, nor the Lark from the Kite, nor the Sheep from the Woolf, than these Boasting Adversaries of ours shall quit the Field at the Sight of such brave Soldiers. Nor do I Promise you Victory without Reason: For let us think a little who it is that we have to deal with. And first for the Earl of *Richmond*, Captain of the Rebels, a *Welsh* Boy, of little Courage and less Experience in War; Bred up in the Duke of *Brittain's* Court like a Bird in a Cage, who never saw an Army, and consequently is not Capable to Lead one. The Soldier's Success is owing in a great measure to the Captain's Conduct and Valour. What can his Men hope from him? What from Themselves? a Crew of Vagabonds and Rebels, who will Tremble when they see us advancing with Banners display'd to chastize them. They will either fly before us, or Conscious of Divine Vengeance, for the breach of many Oaths of Allegiance they have Sworn to us, throw down their Arms, and at our Feet implore our Royal Mercy. As for the *Frenchmen* and *Bretons*, our Noble Ancestors have often triumph'd over them. What are They? Boasters, Drunkards, Ravishers, Cowards, The most Effeminate and Lewd Wretches that ever offer'd themselves in Front of Battel. Since such are the Enemies we are to Fight with, Come on, My Friends

1485.  
The Lord  
Stanley's  
wariness.

King Ri-  
chard's  
Speech to  
his Army.



1485. "Friends and Fellow Soldiers, and dauntless try  
"if they dare dispute this Matter with us by  
"dint of Sword. Come on my Captains and  
"Champions, in whose Wisdom and Courage I  
"trust for Me and My People. What is a  
"Handful to a whole Nation? Let me Conjure  
"you all by your Love to your Country, your  
"Duty to your King, and your Affection to your  
"Families, to behave your selves like good Sub-  
"jects and good Soldiers this Day, when I resolve  
"to be Victorious or crown my Death with Im-  
"mortal Fame. Remember, that as I Promise  
"those who do Well Riches and Honours; so  
"I shall severely Punish such as deserve it by  
"their Cowardice or Treachery. And now in  
"the Name of St. George, let us meet our En-  
"emies.

Hollins-  
head.

Whether this Speech was made By him or for  
him, we cannot decide; the Author from whom  
we took it says it was his own, and that it had  
not so good an Effect on the Minds of his Sol-  
diers as he intended it should have. He had  
many Gentlemen, and others in his Army, who  
follow'd him more out of Fear than Affection;  
and wish'd well to his Adversary. The Earl of  
Richmond receiving by his Scouts, That the Usur-  
per's Army was drawn up in Battalia a little  
distance off on the Plain, rode from Rank to  
Rank and Wing to Wing to encourage his Men.  
He was arm'd at all Points, (his Helmet excep-  
ted) and got up on an Eminence to be the bet-  
ter seen by his Soldiers: For tho' he was hand-  
som and well-proportion'd, yet he was short.  
Having kept Silence some time to consider of  
what he was about to say to them, He began  
his Speech thus:

The Earl  
of Rich-  
mond's  
Speech to  
his Army.

"IF ever God appear'd in a Just Cause, and  
"gave a Blessing to their Arms who warr'd  
"for the good of their Country: If ever he  
"aided such as ventur'd their Lives for the  
"Relief of the Innocent, and to Suppress Male-  
"factors and Publick Criminals; We may now,  
"My Friends and Fellow Soldiers, be sure of Vi-  
"ctory over our Proud and Insolent Enemies.  
"Just and Righteous is our Cause, and we can-  
"not be so Wicked as to imagin God will  
"leave us, to assist those that fear neither him  
"nor his Laws, nor have any regard to Ho-  
"nesty or Justice. We have the Laws Divine  
"and Civil on our Side; we fight against a Parri-  
"cide stain'd with his own Blood, a Destroyer  
"of the Nobility, and an Oppressor of the Poor  
"Commons of this Realm; and against a Horrid  
"Band of Murderers, Assassins, Rebels and Usur-  
"pers: For he that Stiles himself King wears  
"the Crown which of Right only belongs to  
"me. His Favourites and Followers seize your  
"Estates, cut down your Woods, ruin and lay  
"waste your Mannours and Mansions, and turn  
"your Wives and Children to Wander in the  
"wide World without Succour and Relief: The  
"Cause of all these Mischiefs, the Cruel Tyrant  
"Richard, rest assur'd that God will this Day  
"give into our Hands to be punish'd according  
"to his Demerits. His Followers wounded by  
"the Stings of their Guilty Consciences, will not  
"dare to look Justice in the Face: And believe  
"not that yon numerous Army are your Ad-  
"versaries; many of them, if not the most  
"part of that Multitude, are forc'd into the Ty-  
"rant's Service, have his Crimes in Abhorrence,  
"and wait only for an Opportunity to joyn us.  
"You have often heard from the Pulpit, That  
"'tis the greatest of Virtues to bring down the  
"Oppressor, and to help those who are in Dis-

1485. tress. Is not the Usurper, Richard Duke of  
"Gloucester, a Violater of God's Laws and Man's?  
"Who can have the least good Thought of one  
"that so injur'd his own Brother's Memory, and  
"murder'd his Nephews? Who can hope for  
"Mercy from him who Delights in Blood? Who  
"trust in him who Mistrusts all Men. Tarquin  
"the Proud, so Infamous in History, whom the  
"Romans banish'd their City for ever, was less  
"Guilty than this Usurper. Nero, who slew his  
"own Mother, and open'd the Womb that bare  
"him to see the place of his Conception, was  
"not more a Monster of Mankind than Richard.  
"In him you have at once a Tarquin and a Nero.  
"Behold there, a Tyrant worse than even him  
"that murder'd his Mother, and set his Impe-  
"rial City in a Flame. One, who has not only  
"slain his own Nephew, his King and Sovereign  
"Lord, bastardiz'd his Noble Brothers, affront-  
"ed his Mother's Honour, but try'd all the Arts  
"his and his Creatures Cunning cou'd invent to  
"defile his own Niece, under the specious Pre-  
"tence of a Marriage, a Princess I have sworn  
"to marry, as you all know and believe. If  
"this Cause is not Just, let God the Giver of  
"all Victory judge and determine. We have  
"(Thanks be to Jesus our Saviour) escap'd  
"the Treasons form'd in Bretagne, and the  
"Snares laid by our subtle Adversaries to de-  
"stroy us; we have pass'd the Seas, travers'd a  
"spacious Country in Safety to search for the  
"Boar, whom we have at last found. Let us  
"not therefore fear to begin the bloody Chace.  
"Let us put our Confidence in the Almighty,  
"and verily believe that this is the Hour we  
"have long'd and pray'd for, which will put  
"an end to the many Miseries we have hither-  
"to endur'd. Think what a glorious Prize is  
"before us. The Wealth and Spoil of the  
"Tyrant and his Followers is yours if we  
"Conquer, and Conquer we must, or Dye; for  
"we are now come so far that there is no Re-  
"treat left us. Let us One and All resolve to  
"end our Labours now by Death or Victory.  
"Let Courage supply want of Number, and  
"as for me, I purpose to Live with Glory here-  
"after, or Perish with Glory here. Come on  
"then, Let us meet these Traytors, Murderers,  
"Usurpers; Let us be Bold and we shall Tri-  
"umph: We are utterly destroy'd if we fly;  
"if we are Victorious there's an end of all our  
"Perils and Dangers. In the Name of God,  
"and St. George, Come on and Prosper.

These Words so encourag'd his Men, that they  
demanded to be led immediately against the Ene-  
my. There was a Morass between the two Ar-  
mies, the Earl left it on his Right hand, by which  
he not only hinder'd King Richard's attacking  
him on that Side, but had the Sun in his Back,  
and it shone full in the Faces of his Enemies.  
The Usurper seeing his Army was approaching,  
order'd his Trumpets to sound and the Archers  
to let fly their Arrows: The Earl's Bowmen  
return'd their Shot, and when that Dreadful  
Storm was over, the Foot joyn'd and came to  
close Fight. 'Twas then that the Lord Stan-  
ley came in to the Earl's Assistance. The Earl  
of Oxford fearing his Men might be surrounded  
by the Multitude of the Enemy, commanded  
none shou'd stir above Ten Foot from the Stan-  
dard: The Soldiers presently clos'd their Ranks  
and ceas'd the Combat, expecting further Or-  
ders. King Richard's Troops being Jealous of  
some Stratagem, stood still to observe them;  
and indeed they did not fight with a very good  
Will at all. The Earl of Oxford led his Men again  
to

The Bar-  
tel of Bos-  
worth.



1485. to the Charge. The Duke of Norfolk, the Usurper's fast Friend, chang'd the Order of his Battel, widen'd his First Line, but clos'd and enlarg'd his Second; and then renew'd the Combat. King Richard hearing the Earl of Richmond was not far off, attended with a few of his Guards only, fought him amidst his Enemies, and having spy'd him, set Spurs to his Horse and ran towards him; The Earl perceived him, and prepar'd to receive him as a Man shou'd his mortal Foe. The King meeting with Sir William Branden the Earl's Standard Bearer in his way, overthrew and slew him. This Knight was Father of Charles Branden Duke of Suffolk, Famous in the Reign of Henry VIII. Richard then fought Sir John Cheyney, dismounted him, and forc'd his Way up to the Earl; who kept him off at Swords Point till Assistance came in, and he was reliev'd by his Followers. At the instant Sir William Stanley, who had been as wary as the Lord Stanley his Brother, joyn'd the Earl with Three Thousand chosen Men, upon which King Richard's Soldiers turn'd their Backs and fled; himself fighting manfully in the midst of his Enemies was Slain. The E. of Oxford made a terrible Slaughter in the Van of the Usurper's Army. The Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Ferrars of Charley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury dy'd on the Spot, together with about a Thousand of their Men. The greatest part of those in the main Body of Richard's Army watching their Opportunity, while the Van was hotly engag'd with the Earl's, left the Field and departed every Man to his Home; having been by Force taken from their Habitations to fight for a Prince whose Government was Odious to them. The Duke of Norfolk was warn'd, by a Dyctich in the Meeter of those Times which was fix'd on the Gate of the House where he Lodg'd, not to venture farther in the Tyrant's Quarrel; for he was betray'd, and all those that engag'd with him wou'd be ruin'd. The Rhimes were these:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too Bold;  
For Dicken, thy Master, is Bought and Sold.

But as John Howard Duke of Norfolk owed his Advancement to the Usurper, who made him a Duke, he thought his own Title to the Honours he held wou'd be Precarious, if Richard cou'd not defend his Crown; so he follow'd his Fortune, and fell a Victim to his Ambition. Sir William Catesby a Judge, who had been a main Instrument of the Usurper's Tyranny, and several other Offenders were Taken, and two Days after Beheaded at Leicester. The Lord Viscount Lovell, Humphry Stafford Esq; and Thomas Stafford his Brother, made their Escapes. Many Gentlemen and Private Soldiers threw down their Arms, submitted to the Earl, and were graciously receiv'd. Among those was Henry Earl of Northumberland, who did not engage in the late Battel, He and his Men standing Neuter; for which he was immediately taken into the Earl of Richmond's Favour and Sworn of his Privy-Council. Thomas Earl of Surrey was sent to the Tower, as having been more zealous than the rest in the Tyrant's Cause: However he was releas'd soon after, and preferr'd to Places of the greatest Trust and Honour. Earl Henry had scarce a Hundred Men Kill'd on his Part, and no Person of Quality besides Sir William Branden. The Engagement lasted in all about two Hours, and happen'd on the 22d day of August. The Usurper there finish'd his Evil Course after he had reign'd two Years, two Months and one Day,

reckoning from the Time of his Coronation, 1485. which was the Day after his Election. Had he liv'd with as much Glory as he dy'd, his Character wou'd have shone bright in the English Annals. But tho' he wanted not Personal Bravery, yet that Quality as shining as it is, was fully'd and obscur'd by his Cruelty, and Thirst of Blood. He might have sav'd his Life had not Despair hurried him on to Death. In the Beginning of the Battel, he perceiv'd, by his Mens fighting with an ill-will and others leaving him, that the Day was Lost. Some of his Creatures advis'd him to Fly, and brought him a swift Horse to carry him off; but knowing how generally he was hated by the whole Kingdom, and that his Crimes were such as deny'd him all hopes of Pardon, he thought the longer he liv'd his Misery wou'd be the longer, and that at last he shou'd dye with Infamy; wherefore he rush'd desperately into the thickest of the Enemy, and met a more glorious Fate than he deserved.

After the Battel was over and the Victory entirely gain'd, the Earl of Richmond fell down on his Knees in the Open Field, thank'd the Almighty for the Blessing he had given to his Arms, Pray'd for the Catholick Church, and his Subjects which now he had the Charge of. He then rode up to an Eminence, and from thence gave his Soldiers Thanks for behaving themselves so well in the late Fight, promising them all Rewards answerable to their Deserts. The Army shouting Clapt their Hands and saluted him King, crying out with one Voice, King Henry, King Henry! And the Lord Stanley taking King Richard's Crown, which was found among the Spoils of the Field, put it on the Earl's Head, who from that Time assum'd the Title and Power of King. We must not omit to inform the Reader of the Lord Strange's Escape. King Richard hearing his Father had rais'd Five Thousand men and was Advancing towards the Earl of Richmond, sent to him to Joyn him, and Swore by God's Death, if he refus'd it, he wou'd order his Son's Head to be cut off before he died. The Lord Stanley answer'd, He had more Sons, and cou'd not Promise to come to him at that Time. The Tyrant as he Swore to do, order'd the Lord Strange to be Beheaded at the Instant when the two Armies were to Engage: But some of his Council abhorring that the Innocent young Gentleman should suffer for his Father's Offence, told the Usurper, Now was a Time to Fight, and not to Execute; advising him to keep him Prisoner till the Battel was over; The Tyrant hearken'd to their Advice, broke his Oath, and commanded the Keepers of his Tents to take him into Custody, till he return'd from the Combat. By this Means the Lord Strange escaped the King's Revenge, equally Bloody and Unjust. The Keepers of his Tents deliver'd him to his Father the Lord Stanley after the Fight; and for saving him, were taken into the New King's Favour, and preferr'd. In the Evening King Henry march'd to Leicester. Where King Richard's Body stript stark Naked was brought in a shameful manner to be Buried. Blanch Sanglier, a Pursuivant at Arms threw it upon a Horse, like a Calf; His Head and Arms hanging on one Side and his Legs on the other, his whole Carcass besmear'd with Dirt and Blood. The Pursuivant rode with it to the Grey-Fryers Church at Leicester, where it was expos'd a Filthy Spectacle to the View of the People, who us'd it Ignominiously, and afterwards 'twas Buried in that Abbey-Church; where King Henry in respect to his Family,

King Richard seeks the Earl of Richmond.

Richard's Bravery.

He is slain and his Army routed.

The Earl of Richmond saluted King by his Army. The Lord Stanley puts the Crown on his Head in the Field.

King Richard's Body Ignominiously us'd.



1485. Family, order'd a Tomb to be erected over his Grave. We shall not trouble the Reader with a long Account of his Person and Manners: He has doubtless by this time seen enough of him, and the Picture shewn at a nearer View wou'd rather Frighten than Divert him. He was short and little, Crooked or Hump-back'd, one Shoulder higher than the other: His Face was little: He had a Cruel Look; and what confess'd the Malice and Deceit of his Heart, He often mus'd, and musing bit his nether Lip: He wore a Dagger always about him, and frequently would draw it up and down the Scabbard: He was Cunning and False, Proud and Valiant; and in a word, by the History Sir Thomas More has left us of him, the greatest Tyrant that ever Sat on the British Throne; where no Tyrant did ever Sit long.

A short Character of King Richard.

The Reigns of King *Edward V.* and his Successor *Richard III.* were so short, that there were few Remarkable Occurrences in their Times: And the most Illustrious Persons, both in War and the Arts and Sciences, will more Properly come under that of *Henry the VIIth.*

IN the First Part of *Richard the III's* Reign, There happen'd such a Flood in *Gloucestershire*, that all the Country was Overflow'd by the *Severn*, several Persons were Drown'd in their Beds, Children in Cradles swam about the Fields, and Beasts were Drown'd even on the Hills: The Waters did not Abate in Ten Days; which hinder'd the Duke of *Buckingham's* Passing that River into *Wales* to joyn the *Welshmen* who were risen against King *Richard*, and occasion'd his Misfortune and Death.

Hol. 743.

*Banister*, who betray'd the Duke of *Buckingham* his Master, was sorely afflicted with God's Secret Judgments: His Eldest Son went Mad, and died raving in a Hog-sty. His Eldest Daughter, who was very Beautiful, was suddenly stricken with a foul Leprosy. His Second Son was taken Lame in his Limbs. His Younger Son was Suffocated in a Puddle of Filthy Water; and himself in an extreme Old Age found Guilty of Murther, but sav'd by his Clergy.

Hol. 744.

*John Duke of Norfolk*,  
Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower,  
The Lord *Ferrars*, and Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, lost their Lives fighting Valiantly for King *Richard* at *Bosworth Battel*.  
Sir *William Branden*, and Sir *John Cheyney*, Signaliz'd themselves in the same Fight, on the Side of the Earl of *Richmond*.

Of Men of Learning, there were some in the Reign of *Richard III.*  
of Note: As,

*John Penketb* an Augustine Frier, of *Warrington* in *Lancashire*, one of *Scotus's* Followers; he Preach'd an Infamous Sermon in Favour of King *Richard*: The same did Dr. *Shaw*, an Eminent Preacher, Sir *Edmund Shaw's* Brother, an Alderman of *London*.  
*John Kent*, or *Cailleie*, Born in *South-Wales*, Rhetorician.  
*George Ripley*, a Carmelite Frier of *Boston*, a Great Mathematician and Poet.  
Dr. *John Spine*, a Carmelite Frier of *Bristol*, &c.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
R I C H A R D I I I .  
In Five B O O K S .

By G E O . B U C K , Esquire.

The A R G U M E N T and C O N T E N T S of B O O K I .

The Linage, Family, Birth, Education, and Tyrocinny of King *RICHARD* the Third.

*The Royal House of Plantagenest, and the beginning of that Name. What Sobriquets were. The Antiquity of Surnames. Richard is created Duke of Gloucester, his Marriage and his Issue: His martial Employments: His Journey into Scotland and Recovery of Berwick: The Death of King Edward the Fourth. The Duke of Gloucester made Lord Protector, and soon after King of England, by importunate Suit of his Barons and of the People, as the next true and lawful Heir. Henry Teudor Earl of Richmond practiseth against the King: He is conveyed into France. The Noble Linage of Sir William Herbert, his Employment: He is made Earl of Pembroke. King Edward the Fourth first, and after King Richard, solicit the Duke of Brittain, and treat with him for the Delivery of the Young Earl of Richmond his Prisoner. The Success of that Business. The Quality and Title of the Beauforts or Somersets. The Linage and Family of the Earl of Richmond. The solemn Coronations of King Richard, and of the Queen his Wife; his first at Westminster, the second at York. Nobles, Knights and Officers made by him. Prince Edward his Son invested in the Principality of Wales, and the Oath of Allegiance made to him. King Richard demandeth the Tribute of France. His Progress to York. His careful Charge given to the Judges and Magistrates. He boldeth a Parliament, wherein the Marriage of the King his Brother with the Lady Grey is declared and adjudged unlawful, their Children to be Illegitimate and not capable of the Crown. The Earl of Richmond and divers others Attainted of Treason. Many good Laws made. The King declared and approved by Parliament to be the only true and lawful Heir of the Crown. The King and Queen Dowager are reconciled. He hath secret Advertisements of Innovations and Practices against him: Createth a Vice-Constable of England. His sundry Treaties with Foreign Princes. Dr. Morton corrupteth the Duke of Buckingham, who becometh discontent, demanding the Earldom of Hereford, with the great Constablesbip of England: He taketh Arms, is defeated and put to Death by Marshal Law.*

*R*ICHARD Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, and King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, the Third of that Name, was the Younger Son of Sir Richard Plantagenet, the (a) fourth Duke of York of that Royal Family, and King of England, designate by King Henry the Sixth, and by the most Noble Senate, and Universal Synod of this Kingdom, the High Court of Parliament. The Mother of this Richard Duke of Gloucester, was the Lady Cecily Daughter of Sir Ralph de Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, by his Wife Joan de Beaufort, the Natural Daughter of John Plantagenet (alias) de Gaunt, Duke of Guiene and Lancaster, King of Castile and Leon, third Son of King Edward the Third; for in that Order

The House  
and Title  
of York.

(a) He was not the fourth Duke of that Family. The first was Edmund of Langley. The second was Edward his Son, whose Brother Richard, Earl of Cambridge, was Beheaded for Treason before Duke Edward dy'd. He left this Richard, who cou'd not be the fourth Duke of York, his Father having never born that Title; But his Uncle Edward being Slain at the Battel of Agincourt, and dying without Issue, King Henry the VIth. created this Richard Duke of York: so he was the third Duke of that Title of this Family.

this



this Duke is best accounted, because *William of Hatfield*, the second Son of King *Edward the Third* died in his Infancy, and this Duke of *York* and King designate, was propagated from two younger Sons of the same King *Edward the Third*, whereby he had both Paternal and Maternal Title to the Crown of *England* and *France*: But his better and nearer Title was the Maternal Title, or that which came to him by his Mother the Lady *Anne de Mortimer*, the Daughter and Heir of *Philippa Plantagenet*, who was the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lyonel Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, and second Son (b) of King *Edward the Third*, according to the Account and Order afore said.

The Lineage of  
Edm. III.

And this Lady *Philippa* was the Wife of Sir *Edmond de Mortimer*, the great and famous Earl of *March*, and that Duke *Richard*, King designate, by his Father *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York* (Sirnam'd also *de Coningsborough*) issued directly and in a Masculine Line from *Edmond Plantagenet*, alias *de Langley*, the first Duke of *York*, and the fifth Son of King *Edward the Third*; who was the most renowned and glorious Progenitor to those Princes of *York* and *Lancaster*, and the first King in a Lineal Descent from that great *Henry* Sirnam'd *Plantagenet*, famous for his great Prowess and many Victories, King of *England* in the Right of his Mother the Empress *Matilda* or *Maud*, Daughter and Heir of King *Henry the First*, and still'd *Anglorum Domina*, sometime Wife of the Emperor *Henry the Fifth*, by which he was also Sirnam'd *Filius Imperatricis*: The French men call'd him *Henry du Court Manteau*, or Court Mantle, because he wore a Cloak shorter than the Fashion was in those Times. By his Father *Galfrido*, or *Geoffry Plantagenet*, he was Earl or Duke of *Anjou* (for then *Dux & Comes*, and *Ducatus & Comitatus*, were Synonymies and Promiscuous words) he was also Earl of *Maine*, of *Torraine*, and Hereditary Seneschal, or High Steward of *France*, and by his Marriage of *Eliaenor* Queen of *France* Repudiate, Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Gascoigne* and of *Guiene*, and Earl of *Poitou*, he was Duke and Earl of those Principalities and Signiories; also by the Empress his Mother Duke of *Normandy*: He was Lord of *Ireland* by Conquest, and confirm'd by Pope *Adrian*. But these were not all his Seigniories and Dominions; for after he was King of *England*, he extended his Empire and Principate in the South to the *Pyrenean* Mountains, (The Confines of *Spain* and *France*) in the North to the *Isles of Orkney*, and in the East and West with the Ocean, as *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Gul. Neubrigenfis*, & *Joannes Sarisburiensis*, grave and credible Authors affirm, who stiled him, *Regum Britannia maximus*; and doubtless he was the greatest King of *Britain* since King *Arthur*.

The Empire of K.  
Henry II.

Girald. in  
Topog. Hi-  
bernicae.  
Sarisbur.  
in Pol.  
Newbrig.  
Lib. 2.

† Or Nick-  
name.

But it is controverted amongst the Antiquaries and Heralds, which Earl of *Anjou* first bare the Sirname and † *Sobriquet* of *Plantagenet*, or *Plantagenet* after the vulgar Orthodox, by what occasion, and from what cause it was taken and born, and from what Time and Age it had beginning: Some would have the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Father of this *Henry*, the first Earl of *Anjou*, which bare it. But we shall find stronger Reasons to derive it from a much more ancient Earl of *Anjou*, and better Causes than can be found in him, if we step but a little back to their Stories, and compare the Men and their Times. *Geoffry Plantagenet* being a Man of

a Gallant and Active Fire, dispos'd to the Courts of Princes, to Jufts, Turnaments, &c. and to the Courtship of fair Ladies those of the Highest Rank, and had so Amorous a Star, That *Philippe le Grosse*, King of *France*, suspected him for too familiar Commerce with his Bed. But it was of better Influence when he atchieved and married the Empress *Matilda*, by which we may very well calculate, he neither had nor would be intent or at leisure for such a mortified and perilous Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. But if we would know the Man, let us look upon the first *Fulke*, Earl of *Anjou*, who liv'd about an Hundred Years before the Norman Conquest of *Eng- land*, and was Son of *Godefray*, or *Geoffry Grifegonell* the first Earl of *Anjou* (according to *du Hail- lon*) Ancestor and Progenitor to the foresaid *Geoffry Plantagenet*, some seven or eight Degrees in the ascending Line, as *Paradin* accounteth, a Man raised upon the Foundation of a great Courage and Strength (two of the best Principles when they have good Seconds, and make too a glorious Man, where they serve his Virtues, not Affections, as in this Prince they did) whose Disposition on the other side being let out into as vast an Ambition and Covetousness, ne'er look'd upon the Unlawfulness of his Desires, how horrid soever (which amongst the many rest) run him upon the shelves of wilful Perjury and Murder; the one for defrauding and spoiling a Church of certain Rights, and the other for contriving the Tragedy of his young Nephew, *Drogo*, Earl of *Brittain*, to make himself Lord of his Country and Principality. The secret Check and Scourge of those Crimes had a long time to work upon his Conscience, and of a great Sinner made a great Penitent; being Old and having much solitary Time and many heavy Thoughts (which naturally attend Old Age, and suggest better Considerations of our former and youthful Sins) he opens the Horror of them, and his afflicted Mind to his Confessor, (as great *Constantine* to *Aegyptus*) who enjoyn'd him to make the same Confession before the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*; which Pilgrimage the Earl perform'd in all lowly and contemptible manner, passing as a Private and Unworthy Person, without Train or Followers, save two of his meanest (which he took rather for Witnesses than) Servants, whose Service was, when they came near *Jerusalem*, the one with a Cord (such as is us'd for the Strangling of Criminals) thrown about his Master's Neck, to draw or lead him to the Holy Sepulcher, whilst the other did accostre and strip him as a condemn'd Person, and with extremity Scourge him until he was prostrate before the Sacred Monument, where he gave Evidence of his unfeign'd Contrition and Sorrow. Amongst other devout Expressions, uttering this, *Mon dieu & Seigneur recoy a Pardon le perjure & homicide & miserable Foulque*; And after this Pilgrimage he liv'd many Years of Prosperity in his Country, honoured of all Men. To justify this, there be many Examples of other Princes and Noble Persons, who liv'd about the Year of our Lord One Thousand, and somewhat before, and in Three or Four Ages after, who underwent the like Pilgrimages imposed under Base and Mechanick Nick-names and Persons, as of a Carpenter, a Smith, a Fisherman, a Mariner, a Shepheard, a Wood-man, a Broom-man, &c. In my Inquiry after that of *Plantagenet*, I met with an Ancient Manuscript, that afforded me a large

Accostre  
in criminal  
and  
condem-  
Paradin.

From this  
Example  
Henry II.  
submitted  
his Body  
to be  
scourged  
by the  
Monks of  
Canterbury  
for the  
Death of  
Tho. Bec-  
ket.

(b) *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, was his Third Son: The Eldest was *Edward* the Black Prince, the Second *William* of *Hatfield*, and the Third *Lyonel*, &c.



Catalogue of many such, by the French call'd *Sobriquets*; from whence I have transcribed these few for a Taste.

## SOBRIQUETS.

After this manner & long after, King Hen. II. the Heir and Successor of this Earl Fulko, was in-join'd by the Pope to go to the Holy-Land and to fight against the Infidels, Hovend, Rival. &c.

Berger, Shepherd.  
Grisegonnelle, Gray-coat.  
Tefte de Estoupe, Head of Tow.  
Arbuste, a Shrub.  
Martell, a Hammer.  
Grandebœuf, Ox-face.  
La Zouch, Branch upon a Stem.  
Houlerte, a Sheep-Hook.  
Hapkin, Hatchet.  
Chapelle, Hood.  
Sans-terre, Lackland.  
Malduit, Ill taught.  
Giffard, Jeurvenas, or Heyfer.  
Fils de Fleau, Son of a Flail.  
Plantagenest, the Plant or Stalk of a Broom.

And, under the Name and Habit of a Broom-man, our Pilgrim perform'd this Penance, and took the *Sobriquet* of *Plantagenest* from wearing a Stalk of Broom, or Plant of *Genest*; this is generally receiv'd, but the Time and Reason neither set down nor rendred by any of our Heralds and Antiquaries, French or English; for the time when he performed this, I observe 'twas about the Year of our Lord One Thousand certainly. But for the particular Reason this Count had to chuse the *Genest* Plant, or Broom-stalk, before any other Vigetable or Thing, I shall lay down that Opinion which is my own, noting for a Circumstance by the way, that the Broom in Hieroglyphical Learning is the Symbol of Humility; and the Poets, particularly *Virgil* the best of Poets, gives it the Epithet of *humilis*, *humilis Genista*; and the Etymologists derive it from *Genu* the Knee, the Part most apply'd, and as it were dedicate to the chief Act of Reverence, Kneeling; to which the Natural Philosophers say, there is so Mutual a Correspondency, and so Natural a Sympathy between *Genu* and *Genista*, that of all other Plants or Vegetables, it is most comfortable and Medicinable to the Pains and Diseases of the Knees. *Pliny* a great Master amongst them saith, *Genista tusca, cum, &c. Genua dolentia* 24. cap. 9. sanat.

Leon. Eufebius.

Plin. lib. 24. cap. 9. sanat.

Strabo, lib. 16.

Du Hailon.

But the most considerable Reason is, as I conceive it, from the use he was constrain'd to make of the Twigs of Broom when he came to be scourged at Jerusalem, the Place necessitating the use of them to that purpose, being (as *Strabo* relates) a Stony, Sandy and Barren Soil, only natural and grateful to the *Genest*, as the Watry and Moist to the Birch, Willow and Withy, of which there could be none there for that reason. And from hence it must most conjecturally take the beginning of that Honour, which afterward his Princely and Noble Posterities continued for their Sirname, who became Dukes and Princes in sundry places, and some of them Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland; and (as the People of that Age verily believ'd by their observation) were the more Prosperous and Happy for his sake.

For the continuance of the Name, some (who pretend to see further and better in the Dark than others as clear sighted) would have it taken of late time, and not used by the Kings and

Princes of England, of the *Angeume* Race. But there are many Proofs to be adduced against them: Let us look into Mr. *Brook's* Genealogies of England, we shall find nothing more obvious and frequent in the Deductions of those Princes of the House of *Anjou*, than the Addition and Sirname of *Plantagenet*; *Edm. Plantagenet*, *Geo. Plantagenet*, *John Plantagenet*, *Edw. Plantagenet*, *Lyonell Plantagenet*, *Humphrey Plantagenet*, &c. In the French Historians and Antiquaries, *Ion de Tillet*, *Girard du Haillon*, *Claude Paradin*, & *lean Baron de la Hay*, we shall often meet with *Geoffry Plantagenet*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *Richard Plantagenet*, and diverse the like, all of the first Age, when the *Angeume* Princes first became English, and some before. Mr. *Cambden* also in his *Immortal Britannia*, mentioneth some very ancient; as *Richard Plantagenet*, *John Plantagenet*, &c. And witnesseth, that the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet* used to wear a Broom-stalk in his Bonnet, as many Nobles of the House of *Anjou* did, and took it for their chief Sirname. It might be added, that these Earls of *Anjou* were descended out of the Great House of Saxony in Germany, which hath brought forth many Kings, Emperors and Dukes; and that they were of Kindred and Alliance to the ancient Kings of France, and sundry other Princes. But I will close here for the High Nobility of King *Richard*, as the good old Poet did for another Heroical Person,

Deus est utroque Parente. Ovid.

Deus i. Rex a King.

By either Parent Born a God.

and come to the other Matters of his Private Story; And first for his Birth and Native Place, which was in the Castle of *Fosbringay*, or as some write, the Castle of *Birkhamstead*, both Castles and Honours of the Duke his Father, about the Year of our Lord 1450, which I discover by the Calculation of the Birth, Reign, and Death of King *Edward* his Brother, who was Born about 1441, or 1442, and Reigned Two and Twenty Years, Died at the Age of One and Forty, Anno 1483. The Dutcheff of *York*, their Mother, had Five Children betwixt them, so that *Richard* could not be less than Seven or Eight Years younger than King *Edward*, and he surviv'd him not fully Three Years.

This *Richard Plantagenet*, and the other Children of *Richard Duke of York*, were Brought up in *Yorkshire* and *Northamptonshire*, but lived for the most part in the Castle of *Midelham* in *Yorkshire*, until the Duke their Father, and his Son *Edmund Plantagenet* Earl of *Rutland*, were Slain in the Battel of *Wakefield*, Ann. (c) Dom. 1461, upon which the Dutcheff of *York*, their Mother, (having cause to fear the Faction of *Lancaster*, which was now grown very exulting and strong, and of a Mortal Enmity to the House of *York*) secretly convey'd her Two younger Sons, *George* and *Richard Plantagenet* (who was then about some Ten Years old) into the Low-Countries, to their Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheff of *Burgundy*, Wife of *Charles Duke of Burgundy* and *Brabant* and Earl of *Flanders*. They continued at *Utrich*, the Chief City then in *Holland*, where they had Princely and Liberal Education, until *Edward Earl of March* their Eldest Brother had reveng'd his Father's Death, and taken the Kingdom and Crown (as his Right) from *Henry VI*.

(c) He was Slain the 30th of December, 1460, as by *Thius History of Froissart* is to be seen in *Hollinshead*, pag. 108c.

when



when he call'd Home his Two Brothers, and enters them into the Practice of Arms, to season their Forwardness, and Honour of Knighthood, which he had bestow'd upon them; and soon after invests George in the Duchy of Clarence and Earldom of Richmond, which Earldom he the rather bestow'd upon him, to darken the young Earl of Richmond Henry Tudor. Richard had the Dukedom of Gloucester and Earldom of Carlisle, as I have read in an old Manuscript Story, which Creation the Heralds don't allow: But whether he was Comes thereof after the ancient Roman understanding, that is Governour; or Comes, or Count, after the common taking it by us English, or others, that is, for a special Titular Lord, I will not take upon me to determine, but affirm I have read him Comes Carliolensis.

And after the Great Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, Richard de Neville, was reconciled to the King's Favour, (d) George Duke of Clarence was married to the Lady Isabel, or Elizabeth, the Elder Daughter of that Earl, and Richard Duke of Gloucester to the Lady Anne; which Ladies, by their Mother the Lady Anne de Beauchamp, Daughter and Heir of Sir Richard de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, were Heirs of that Earldom. But Anne, altho' the younger Sister, was the better Woman, having been a little before married to Edward Plantagenet Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, only Son of King Henry the Sixth, and was now his Princess and Dowager, by whom Duke Richard had a Son call'd Edward, created Prince of Wales when his Father came to the Crown.

The Employment of this Duke was for the most part in the North, as the Country of his Birth, so more naturally affected by him; according to the Poet:

— Natale solum dulcedine cunctos Mulcet. Ovid.  
Sooth'd with Sweet Charms, all love their Native Soil.

And there lay his Appanage and Patrimony, with a Great Estate of the Dutches's Wife, of which the Seignior of Penrith, vulg'd Perith, in Cumberland was part, where he much resided, and Built or Repair'd most of the Castles, all that Northern Side generally honouring and affecting his Deportment, being Magnificent (to apply Sir Thomas Moore) something above his Ability, which he express'd most in his Hospitality. And surely, if Men are taken to the life best from their Actions, we shall find him in the Circle of a Character (not so commaculate and mix'd, as Passionate and Purblind Pens have dash'd it) whilst we squint not at those Virtues in him, which make up other Princes absolute: His Wisdom and Courage had not then their Nicknames and Calumny as now, but drew the Eyes and Acknowledgment of the whole Kingdom towards him; and his Brother had a sound Experience of his Fidelity and Constancy in divers Hazardous Congresses and Battels, through which he had faithfully follow'd his Fortune, and return'd all his Undertakings successful: As

at Barnet, where he entred so far and boldly into the Enemies Army, that Two of his Esquires, Thomas Parr and John Milwater being nearest to him were slain; yet by his own Valour he quit himself, and put most part of the Enemies to flight, the rest to the Sword. With the like Valour he behaved himself at the Battel of Exon, Doncaster, St. Albans, Blore-beath, Northampton, Mortimer's Cross, and Tewkesbury. And it was then confest a very considerable Service to the State, his taking of the Famous Pirate Thomas Nevill, alias Faulconbridge, Earl of Kent, (e) with whom comply'd Sir Richard de Nevill Earl of Warwick, a near Kinsman to the Earl of Kent his Natural Father, which held him up in the better Esteem, and whetted him to any Attempt. For this hanghty Earl, who had drawn him from the House of York (to which he had done Valiant Service not long before) to the Party of Henry the Sixth and his Lancastrian Faction; and fearing what Forces and Aid King Edward might have from beyond Sea, provides a warlike Fleet for the Narrow Seas, of which this Faulconbridge was appointed Admiral, with Commission to Take or Sink all Ships he met, either of the King's Friends or Subjects, who did not underact it, but made many Depredations on the Coasts, and put many to the Sword becoming an Enemy the more considerable, King Edward finding (as the Case stood then with him) his Attempts by Sea would be of too weak a proof to surprise him, which the Duke of Gloucester contrived by an Advertisement he had of his private stealth into several of the Parts, sometimes where he had recourse to some Abettors of that Faction, and coming to Shore at Southampton, by a ready Ambush seiz'd and apprehended him, from whence he was convey'd to London, so to Middleham Castle, and after he had told some Tales, put to Death (f). And while he continued in the Northern Parts, he Govern'd those Countries with great Wisdom and Justice; preserving the Concord and Amity between the Scots and English, tho' the Breaches were not to be made up with any Strength and Continuance, the Borders living out of the Mutual Spoils and Common Rapines, ever prompt for any Cause that might beget Brauls and Feuds. And in the last Year of the Reign of the King his Brother, the Quarrels grew so outrageous and hostile, that nothing could compose them, but the Sword and Open War, arising from an unjust detaining the Tribute, as Polidore writeth.

King Edward took it very ill at the Hands of James IV. King of Scotland, that he refused to pay the Tribute whereunto he was bound by Covenant; and therefore resolv'd by Arms to compel him to it: But King Edward being distracted with a Jealous Care and Watching of France, neglected that Business of Scotland, and in the mean time Alexander Duke of Albany, Brother to King James, pretending earnest Business in France, makes England in his way, and instigates King Edward to put on Arms against his Brother, promising to return shortly out of France, and raise a Power in Scotland for his Aid: Here-

(d) This is so erroneous, that the Earl of Warwick was at Open Variance with the King, and had prevailed on the Duke of Clarence, who was Poor, by Offers of this Match to forsake King Edward's Interest, and joyn with the Earl against his own Brother; upon which the Duke went over with him to Calais, married his Daughter, returned with him to England and expell'd his Brother the Kingdom. Habington's Edward IV. p. 48.

(e) This Thomas was never Earl of Kent, but Bastard Son of William Nevill Earl of Kent, who was Lord Faulconbridge before King Edw. IV. created him Earl of Kent.

(f) This Story is told quite another way by Habington. Faulconbridge came to London with his Forces, Attacked the City, was forc'd to retire, got into Sandwich with 900 Men, fortify'd the Town, and yielded it at last on Terms of Pardon, brought by this Duke of Gloucester, which were violated, and Nevill being apprehended at Southampton, was Executed, tho' he pleaded That his Name was particularly insert'd in the Sandwich Pardon. The Duke of Gloucester did not apprehend him. Hab. 109.



1482. upon the King resolv'd it, and sent the Duke of Gloucester with a good Army into Scotland, who march'd Master of the Field near to Berwick, having a little before sent Sir Thomas Stanley to Besiege it, and soon after took it himself. But the Duke of Albany failed him, and had underhand struck up a Peace with his Brother of Scotland; yet Richard of Gloucester accomplish'd the Expedition very honourably and happily: Thus Polidore.

Anno 2.  
Edw. 4.

But to Enlarge what he reporteth desertively, and abridgeth; King Edward, notwithstanding that Negligence (noted by him) levied Strong Forces (the King of Scotland being as vigilant in that Business) and made the Duke of Gloucester his General, under whom went Sir Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Stanley, after Earl of Derby, the Lord Lovell, the Lord Grey of Groby, the Lord Scroope of Bolton, the Lord Fitzbugh, Sir William Parr of Rose, a Noble and Valiant Gentleman, Father of the Lord Parr of Rose, Kendal, and Fitzbugh, and Grandfather to Sir William Parr Earl of Essex and Marquess of Northampton, Sir Edward Woodville Lord Rivers Brother to the Queen Elizabeth, with many other of Eminency and Noble Quality.

Chron.  
Croy.

The Duke march'd first with his Army to the Borders and Frontiers of Scotland, giving the Overthrow to such as resisted; then made up to the Strong Town of Berwick, which at that Instant the King of Scotland possess'd by the Surrender of Henry VI. and had the like Success with those Troops of the Enemies he met and found about the Town. After a short Siege, the Besieged upon Summons and Parley, finding themselves too weak to make good the Opposition, were easily perswaded to be quiet, and safely rendring the Town and Castle upon very slender Conditions, as is recorded in the Chronicle of Croyland. Having placed a Governour and Garrison in the Town, he continued his March towards Edenborough, with a Purpose to Besiege and Sack it, but was met in the Half way by Ambassadors from thence, who, after a Favourable Audience and Access craved, in the Name of their King and Nation implore a League, or at least a Truce between the Kingdoms, offering so Fair Conditions for it, that the General, after a Deliberate Consultation, granted to Suspend or Intermit all Hostile Proceedings, with a Fair Entertainment to their Persons, and a Publick Edict throughout the Army, That no English should offer any Violence or Offence to any Scot or their Goods; and by this Provident Truce, that Ruddy Storm, which seem'd terrible to impend, was diverted and made a Calm Preface to the Famous League, afterwards concluded by him when he was King and James the Fourth of Scotland. But whilst these Employments staid him there, News arriv'd of King Edward's Death, and was mutter'd very doubtfully by some who had confidence and ground to suppose it hasten'd by Treachery. The Nobles at London, and in the South Parts speedily call the Duke Home by their Private Letters and Free Approbation, to assume the Protection of the Kingdom, and Two Princes committed unto him by the King. Rex Edwardus IV. Filios suos Richardo Duci Glocestrie, in tutelam moriens tradidit: as Polidore testifieth.

vid. lib. 4.  
The Duke  
of Glou-  
cester  
made Ld.  
Protector.

The Army and Affairs of those Parts dispos'd, he came to York, where he made a few Days stay to pay some Religious Offices and Ceremonies to the Manes and Exequies of the Deceased King, so hasten'd to London, having in

his Train (besides his own ordinary Retinue) Six Hundred Voluntary Gentlemen of the North Parts, brave Horsemen and gallantly mounted; upon the Way he dispatch'd certain Segual Messengers to the Young King (who was then at Ludlow-Castle in Wales) to provide for his Honourable Conduct to London, where he arriv'd not long after the Lord Protector, and was Magnificently Receiv'd and Lodg'd at the Bishop's Palace: His Brother the Duke of York was then with the Queen Mother in the Palace at Westminster, who out of a pretended Motherly Care (rather indeed her Policy) would not let him stir from her to see the King, who had desired his Company, but instantly takes Sanctuary with him in the Abbey. The Lord Protector solicites her by some Noblemen to send or bring him to the King; which she peremptorily stood against, until Cardinal Bourchier Archbishop of Canterbury was made the Messenger; who so gravely and effectually perswaded with her, that she delivered him the Duke: After some Days respite in London-House, the King, according to Ancient Custom, was to remove Court to the Tower of London, the Castle Royal and Chief House of Safety in the Kingdom, until the more weighty Affairs of the State, and such Troubles (if any hapen'd) as often intercedes the alterations of Reigns, were well dispatch'd and compos'd (some threatening Evils of that kind being discover'd and extinguish'd before the Protector came to London); and until all things proper to his Coronation were in Preparation and Readiness, the Lord Protector still being near unto him with all Duty and Care, and did him Homage, as Honourable Philippe de Comines, le Duc de Gloucester avoit fait homage à son Neveu Comme à son Roy & souverain Seigneur; but this Testimony, being avouch'd by one who loved not the Protector, may leave more credit; who says, When the Young King approach'd towards London, the Lord Protector, his Uncle, rode bare-headed before him; and in passing along, said with a Loud Voice to the People, Behold your Prince and Sovereign; to which the Prior of Croyland, who lived in those Days, reporteth Richardus, Protector nihil reverentie, quod capite nudato, genua flexo aliove quolibet corporis habitu in subdito exegit, Regi Nepoti suo facere disulit aut recusavit: And why should these Services and his Constancy be judg'd less real to the Son than to the Father, his Care and Providence looking pregnantly through all Turns that concern'd him and his State; and therefore timely removed such of Danger as were vehemently suspected for their Ambition and Insolent Assuming Power and Authority not proper to them, and so stood Ill Affected to their Prince, and Turbulent Maligners of the Government. And thus his Strict Justice to some, begat the Envy of others, as it fell out in the time of King Edward, between those of the Blood Royal (with whom the ancient Barons sided) and the Regnists, who being stubborn, haughty, and incompatible of the others Nearness to the King, stir'd up Competitions and Turbulencies among the Nobles, and became so insolent and publick in their Pride and Outrages towards the People, that they forc'd their Murmurs at length to bring forth Mutiny against them: But finding the King's Inclination gentle on that side, they so temper'd it, as they durst extend their Malice to the Prince of the Blood and Chief Nobility; many times by Slanders and False Suggestions, privately incensing the King against them, who suffer'd their Insinuations too far, whilst his Credulity stood abused, and his Fa-  
vout

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Phil. de  
Comines  
in Lud. 11.

Sir Thomas  
Moore.

Chronica  
Abou.  
Croy.

The In-  
fancy of  
the  
Queen's  
Kindred.

Lord E.  
Sings.

Sir Thom.  
Moore.



1483. your often alienated from those, whose Innocence could understand no cause for it. The Engines of those Intrusions and Supplantations were the Greys, the Woodvills, and their Kinsmen, who held a Strong Belief, to have better'd their Power with the Young King their Kinsman, and then they might have acted their Rodomontades and Injuries in a higher strain, remov'd the Prince of the Blood, and set up what Limits they pleas'd to their Faction and Power during the Minority of the King, and after too, whilst the Queen Mother could Usurp or hold any Superintendency upon the Sovereignty, or her Son. These things, and the Mischiefs that seem'd to superimpend the State, equally pois'd and consulted by the Lord Protector, and others of the Principal Nobility, it was resolv'd, to give a timely Remedy or Period to them; all which Sir Thomas Moor acknowledgeth, and confesseth the Nobles of the Kingdom had reason to suspect and fear the Queen's Kindred would put their Power more forward when their Kinsman came to be King, than in his Father's time, altho' then their Insolencies were intolerable. And this Author further acknowledgeth, there had been a long Grudge and Heart-burning between the King and Queen's Kindred in the time of K. Edward; which the King, altho' he were partial for the Queen's Faction, was earnest to reconcile, but could not: And after he was dead, the Lord Grey, Marquess Dorset, the Lord Richard Grey, and the Lord Rivers, made full account to sway the Young King: and having learn'd it was best Fishing in a Troubled Stream, threw all occasions of Dissentions amongst the Great Men of this Kingdom, that so, whilst the other Nobles were busie in their own Quarrels, they might take an opportunity to Assault and Supplant where they hated. And for provision towards the Design, the Marquess had secretly gain'd a Great quantity of the King's Treasure out of the Tower, and the Woodvills made Good Preparations of Arms; of which, some were met with by the Way, as they were convey'd close pack'd in Carts. It was therefore high time for the Protector and Ancient Nobility to look circumspectly about them, and fasten on all occasions that might prevent such growing Treacheries, which could be no way but by taking off their Heads. Which being resolv'd, the Marquess of Dorset, the Lord Richard Grey their Uncle, Sir Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers, and some other of that Kindred and Faction were Apprehended, and at Pomfret Executed: (only the Marquess, by some Private Notice given him, fled and took Sanctuary). At the same time the Lord Hastings (who much favour'd the Queen and her Party, especially the Marquess, therefore the more to be suspected dangerous) was Arrested for High Treason, and in the Tower upon the Green had his Head chopt off; an Act of more strange and severe Appearance than the other, having the esteem of a Good Subject, and generally suppos'd much Affectionate to the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham. And Sir Thomas Moor reporteth, that the Protector was most unwilling to have lost him, but that he saw him joyning with their Enemies, and so his life had ill requited Them and their Purpose: this was a Dilemma; but what that Purpose was, and what they had in Agitation at that instant, is not directly said, only from other places of the Story. And those which follow Sir Thomas Moor, it may be conceiv'd, they doubted him for his Affectation of the Sovereignty, and some Practice against the King and his Brother, for those be the Charges they press upon him, altho' 'tis neither Said nor

Made Good by any Direct and Just Proof. But admit he was now grown Jealous of him, and sent Sir William Catesby, a Man in great credit with the Lord Hastings, to sound what Opinion he held of that Title and Claim he might lay to the Crown, who (presuming upon Catesby's Gratitude and Trust that had been advanced by him) without Circumstance, and even with Indignation express'd an utter Mislike thereof, and engag'd Himself, his Uttermost Power and Ability against it, peremptorily adding, "He had rather see the Death and Destruction of the Protector and Duke of Buckingham, than the Young King depriv'd of the Crown: Which Reply, Catesby (being more just to his Employment than honour to his Point) returns the Protector, who laid hold upon the next Occasion to seize his Head, which is the greatest and bloodiest Crime that brings any Proof against him; and yet not so clear, but that there may be some other State Mystery or Fraud suspected in it. Let us leave it upon that account, and but consider how much more we forgive the Fames of H. I. E. III. H. IV. E. IV. H. VII. because they had their Happy Stars and Success; and then, *Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur*, there is Applause goes with the Act and Actor. *Julius Caesar*, was, and ever will be reputed a Wise and a Great Captain, altho' his Emulation cost an infinite quantity of Excellent Humane Blood, and his Nephew Oct. *Augustus* never ceas'd Proscribing Banishing and Massacring, until he had dispatch'd all his Proud Emulators: *Julius Caesar* thought it, *Crimen sacrum vel crimen Regale*; or, *Crimen sacrum Ambitio*: Whose Rule was,

*Si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia  
Violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

If Right for ought may e'er be violate,  
It must be only for a Sovereign State.

Drawing it from that Rule (tho' *Apoorypha*) in *Euripides*,

Εἴπεις γὰρ ἀδικεῖν καὶ τυραννίδος ἀεὶ  
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν τ' ἀλλὰ δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεῖαν.

*Eurip. in  
Phceniss.*

*Si injuste agere oportet, pro tyrannide (aut Regno)  
pulcherrimum est injuste agere, in altis pietatem colere  
expedit.*

And *Antonius Caracalla*, alledged the Text to justify the Killing of his Brother *Geta* his Colleague in the Empire. *Polynices*, the Brother of *Eteocles*, was of the same Religion, and said, A Kingdom could not be bought at too high a Rate, put in Friends, Kindred, Wife and Riches: *Via Axiom Po- ad potentiam est tollere Emulos & premere Adversa- lites*, which the great Master of Axioms allowed, hath been countenanced by many great Examples of State-reason, and Policy in all times, even since the *Ogygian* Age. For an old Observation, and general in all foreign Countries saith,

Regnum furto  
Et fraude ademptum antiquum est specimen imperii. *Senec. in  
Trag.*

By Fraud or Theft to seize a Crown,  
Is the old Game, long since to Princes known.

So King *Atrous*, by his own Experience could say;

— Ut



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*Ut nemo doceat fraudis & sceleris  
viam, Regnum docebit.*

Dominion teaches every Wicked Art.

*Artes im-  
perii.*

But what those Ages call'd Valour, Wisdom and Policy, in those great Scholars of State, who with Credit practis'd their *Artes Imperii*, and Rules of Empire, comes not under the License or Warrant of our Christian Times; yet we may speak thus much for *Richard* (to those who cry him so deep an Homicide) that he had either more Conscience or less Cruelty than they attribute to him, that by the same Act of Power could not secure himself of others he had as just cause to fear; especially *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Nephew *Richmond*, and the subtle Doctor *Morton*, who was extremely his Enemy, and the Chief Instrument that secretly mov'd against him. And altho' the King had no certain notice which way his Engins wrought, yet he knew enough to suspect him for, and to remove him from the Council-table unto the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Man he had reason to suppose nearest to his Trust, though his Expectation leaned on a broken Reed there; for the Duke was now secretly in his Heart defected from the King, and become Male-content: *Morton* but touch'd his Pulse, and knew how the Distemper lay, which he irritated into such Sparklings as gave him Notice where his Constitution was most apt and prepared, yea, so subtly mastered it, that he had leave to steal from *Brecknock* Castle to *Ely*, so for good store of Coin found safe passage into *France* whither his desires vehemently carried him, in hope to fashion the Earl of *Richmond* to his Plot; and under pretence of a *Lancastrian* Title, to stir him to take up Arms and invade *England*, with the Assurance of many mighty Friends here, which would make the Design of an easie and quick dispatch; nor forgot he how much Artificial and Eloquent Perswasions add to the Blaze of Ambition, knowing the Earl's Temper like other Mens in that, and observing him with a kind of pleasure listen, he gave such a studied gloss and superlatation to the Text, that the Earl was now so full of Encouragement and Hope for the Invasion, that their purposes spread as well into *England* as in *France*. The Protector having also certain Intelligence of some particular Designs dispos'd himself in his Actions more closely, and knew what Friends and Confederates had engag'd themselves to *Richmond*, who yet kept a Face of Love and Fidelity towards him, as did the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Countess of *Richmond*, who appear'd in this Instant an earnest Suitor to reconcile her Son into favour; and that the King would be pleas'd to bestow on him any of King *Edward* the Fourth's Daughters. But this took not the Vigilancy of his Eye from him and his Party, the Cause being of Greater Danger and Apprehension now, than in King *Edward*'s time; for the Earl had drawn unto him many of the *English* Nobility and Gentry; and some Foreign Princes had in favour to him promis'd their Aids. But in the time of King *Edward*, his Title and He was so little understood by his Blood of *Lancaster*, and the better judging-sort of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, King *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, *Francis* the Second Duke of *Brittain*, and other Foreign Princes look'd very slightly upon it. And yet, as *John Harding* observ'd, the King might be Jealous of him, being given out for an Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and Nephew to *Henry* the Sixth: With this he consider'd, that some Foreign Princes

stood not well-affected to him; or that some at home, envying his House and Posterity, would catch at any Spark to trouble his Peace and kindle a Sedition; therefore he had good reason to think, that as his Liberty might make these Beginnings more popular, so their Ends more dangerous and ingrateful (the Vulgar tasting all things by the Ear, and judging by the Noise) which he sought early to prevent.

For *Philip Comines* reports, When he first came to know this Earl, he was then a Prisoner in *Brittain*, and told him, He had been either in Prison, or under Strict Command from Five Years old, which is not unlikely; for I find him but young when he was committed to the Custody of Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Rayland*-Castle in *Monmouthshire*, where he continued not long; for *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was Uncle unto him (being then in *France*, whither he had fled after the Overthrow of the *Lancastrians* at *Tewksbury*) (as *John Stow*) having advertisement that his Nephew was under Sir *William Herbert*'s Custody, with whom he had Alliance and Friendship, came secretly out of *France* into *Wales*, and at *Rayland*-Castle found only the Lady *Herbert*, her Husband being with the King; in whose Absence, the Earl practis'd so cunningly with her, that he got his Nephew from thence, and convey'd him to his own Castle of *Pembroke*, (the Young Earl's Native Place) presuming upon the Strength of it, and the Peoples Affection, but over-wean'd in his Opinion and Hope: For so soon as the King receiv'd notice of the Escape, Sir *William Herbert* was commanded to levy his Forces and make towards them, a Man of a Wise and Valiant Disposition, descended from *Herbertus*, who was Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Kings, *William Rufus* and *Henry Beaulerk*, and was created Earl of *Pembroke* afterward: From this Noble *Herbertus* are descended the *Herberts*, Earls of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, and many other *Welsh* Gentlemen of that Sirname and Family.

The Two Earls being inform'd of his Approaches and Strength, distrusting their own, fled by Night, and posted to the Port of *Timby*, where they kept close until a fit Opportunity offer'd them Transportation for *France*, intending to see the Court there, where the Earl of *Pembroke* had not long before receiv'd a very favourable Entertainment. But a violent Storm diverted their Course, and run them upon the Coasts of *Little Brittain*, which fell out as a Sad Disaster, and Cross to them and their Design for a long time after, the Duke of *Brittain* being no Friend to it; but at the Port of *St. Maloes* they must Land. What Success they met with in this Flight (and other Noble Englishmen which follow'd the Unlucky Party of *Henry VI.* being constrain'd when he was overthrown by *Edward IV.* to fly) will fall into our Discourse hereafter: There is this Memorial in the Stories of *Brittain*.

*Plusieurs du Seigneurs d'Angleterre qui tenoyent la partie du Roy H. VI. sen firent par mer hors du Royaulme & entr' autres le Conte du Pembroke faisant sauter un jeune Prince de Angleterre nomme Henry Conte du Richmond.*

Whilst these Ears made some stay in *St. Maloes* to refresh themselves, *Francis* the Second Duke of *Brittain* had notice of their Landing, who sent as speedily a Command to the Governour to Arrest them both into Safe Custody; an Act, as it appear'd, both strange and injurious, being Subjects to a Prince with whom the Duke had League. But for a better Gloss, he had found a considerable

The flight of *Richmond* with his Uncle *Pembroke*. The Earl of *Richmond* born in *Pembroke*-Castle.

This Flight of theirs was in An. 11 Ed. IV. *John Stow*.

Earl of *Richmond* Prisoner in *Brittain*.



1485. The last D. of Britain, who was Earl of Richmond, and possessed of the Earldom, was John de Montfort, who flourished Anno Dom. 1400. and had Sons, but not Earls of Richmond, as Robert Glouc. writeth, and now this Francis I. renew'd the Claim which was about 30 Years after John de Montfort Duke of Britain. Jac. Nyerus in Annal. Hand. lib. 17.

1485. rable Clause to detain the Earl of Richmond until he had receiv'd Satisfaction of him for Usurping and Holding the Title and Estate of Richmond, belonging to the ancient Dukes of Britain, (whose Heir and Successor he was) though disfeised by the space of Thirty Years, now he would expect either Restitution or Compensation for it; and the better to assure himself, he conveys them with a good Guard to the Castle of Vannes, where himself often resided, continuing a more cautious and strict Eye upon the Earl of Richmond, as Nephew to Henry VI. and he that laid Claim to the Title and Crown of England by the Blood of Lancaster: For which he made their Imprisonment more honourable, as Philip Comines saith, *Le Duc les traitte doucement pour Prisonniers*. And Jean Froissard calls it, *Prison Courtoise*; for the Duke had well considered what Expectation and Use he might raise by them, and knew the News could not be distasteful to the King of England, whose Throne had been threatned so much by the Earl of Richmond's Liberty; and therefore, from hence he hop'd an answerable Benefit, and to contract the King in a Firm Amity and Acknowledgment unto him; nay, which is further, (if we may believe Jac. Nyerus) he thought by this occasion to bear the Reins so hard upon King Edward, as that he should not dare to make any Breach with him, propter Henricum Richmondiae Comitum non audebat Anglus ab amicitia Britanni discedere.

King Edward treateth for the delivery of Richmond.

Ennius apud Cic. in Offic.

Quem metuunt oderunt,  
Quem oderunt, perisse expetunt.

Whom Men Fear they Hate,  
And whom they Hate they seek to Ruin.

King Edward IV. sends for Richmond.

And doubtless in his Heart he was favourable to any Chance that might have Ruin'd or Infested England, and could have wish'd the Earl of Richmond and his Title under his Protection. King Edward seasonably prevented this, that such Attempts, tho' at first they appear'd but like the Prophet's Cloud, might not spread after into a Spacious Storm. And to prevent all underhand Contracts with the Duke of Britain, dispatch'd Letters unto him, further interpreted by a Rich Present, and Richer Promises. The Duke receives both with as Honourable Complement, protesting none could be more ready to do the King of England's Commands than he. But where he treated for the Delivery of

1483. the Earls, he hop'd to be lawfully excused, being an Act would cast a Stain and Scandal, not only upon his Credit and Honour, but upon all Princely and Hospitable Privileges; and could appear no less than a mere Impiety, to thrust such distressed Persons as fled to their Protection, into the Arms of their Enemies; and it was his Opinion, if any Malice or Violence should be acted upon them, the Guilt must reflect on him. But that the King might believe he was forward to come as near his Desires, as in honour could be, he engag'd himself to keep so careful and vigilant a Watch upon 'em, that they should have no more Power to Endanger him, than if they were in strict Prison. This being return'd, tho' not agreeable to the King's Hope and Wishes, yet bearing such a Caution of Honour and Wisdom, he remain'd satisfied; and so it paused for the space of Eight Years, (as I conjecture) for the King made this Demand in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, 1472. all which time he was very intent to preserve the League with good Sums of Money and costly Presents. In the Twentieth of his Reign, 1480, he receiv'd Intelligence, that the Earl of Richmond had stir'd up Fresh Embers and New Friends in the French Court to blow them; and that the French King had dealt, by the Solicitation of the Earl of Pembroke, and others, privately to get the Earl of Richmond, and offer'd Great Sums to the Duke of Britain. This gave new Disturbance, and the King must now, by the best means he could, renew his former Sute to the Duke of Britain; for which Employment he intrusts Doctor Stillington Bishop of Bath, his Secretary, a Man of a Wise, Learned and Eloquent Endeavour, of good Acquaintance and Credit with the Duke of Britain, who gave him an Honourable and Respective Entertainment. The Bishop (after he had prepared him by the Earnest of a very Rich Present) tenders the Sum of his Employment, not forgetting what he was now to Act and what to Promise on the King's Part: And (for a more glorious Insinuation) tells him how the King had elected him into the Noble Society of St. George's Order (as the most honourable Intimation he could give of his Love) to qualify all Exceptions too and Jealousies, assures him, the King had no Intent to the Earl of Richmond, but what was answerable to his own Worth, and Quality of the King's Kinsman; having declared a Propensity and Purpose to bestow one of his Daughters upon him. The Duke well mollified and perswaded, deliver'd the Earl by a strong Guard to the Bishop at St. Maloes Port: a Change of much Passion and Amazement to him, whose Sufferings took hold upon the affable Disposition of the Noble Peir de Landois Treasurer to the Duke, who had the Earl in Charge and Conduct, to St. Malo. He urges the Cause from him of his so altered and present Condition, with Protestation of all the Aid he could: The Earl thus fairly and happily provok'd (and perceiving the sparkles of his Sorrow had hapt into a tender Bosom) freely expos'd himself, and with such an overcoming Countenance of Tears and Sighs, fram'd his own Story, and press'd Landois, that it so wrought upon his Temper, he perswaded the Earl to put on clearer hopes, assures him there should some means be found to shift the Tempest; thereupon writes a sad Relation to the Duke, to move his Compassion and Favour, and knowing the Baron Chandais, (a Great Man in credit with him) well affected to the Earl by along and reciprocal Affection, he repair'd to his House near St. Maloe, and prevail'd with him to use his Power



1483. wer with the Duke for returning the Earl; who posted to *Vannes*, where the Court was then, and took the Duke at such an Advantage, by suggesting his Credulity abused, and cunningly drawn into this Contract by the King, that there was a Post dispatch'd to stay the Earl. In that interim, *Landois* had not been idle, to find a way to let the Earl Escape into the Abby Church of *St. Malo*, where he claim'd the Benefit of the Holy Asyle, which was easily contriv'd, by Corrupting his Keepers. But the Duke to stand clear of the King's Suspicion, sent over *Maurice Brumell* to satisfy him, that the Earl according to promise was sent to *St. Malo*, there deliver'd to his Servants deputed, whose negligence let him escape; and that he had demanded him of the Convent, who deny'd to render him without Security and Caution; and that he should be continued a Prisoner in *Vannes* with as much Courtesy as formerly. Now being it was fall'n into those Strict and Peremptory Terms, and within the Contumacy of such Lawless Persons, where he could not use Power, he yet faithfully protested no suit from the French King, or any other, should draw him from his former Promise: All which he religiously perform'd, whilst King *Edward* liv'd, the space of Twelve Years, (after

*Philip de Comines*) in which circle of time, it may with admiration be observ'd, thro' what Changes and Interchanges of Hazards, Dangers and Difficulties he was preserv'd. Soon after King *Edward's* Decease, King *Richard* renew'd and continu'd the Treaty by Sir *Thomas Hutton* of *Yorkshire*, receiving the same Satisfaction in answer, but was fail'd in the performance, and so dishonourably, that it then appear'd the Duke had kept in with *Edward*, more for Fear than for Love or Honour (the Name of *Edward* and the Earl of *March*, being, indeed, accounted terrible, where his Victorious Sword was drawn) which Breach of the Duke was not left unpunish'd (at least as that Age then guess'd) by a Divine Revenge; for having married *Margaret*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Francis I.* *Duke of Mountford* *Duke of Brittain*, she dying without Issue, he married *Margaret* Daughter of *Gaston de Foix* King of *Navarre*, by whom he had One Daughter *Anne*, married to the French King *Charles VIII.* Thus Duke *Francis* died without Issue Male, and the Dutchy being swallow'd up and drown'd in the Lillies or Crapands of *France*, and with his Family of *Brittain* irrecoverably lost and absorbed. Thus much for the Jealousie and Fears of these Two Kings †.

But

† The Style, Condition and Authority of Duke *Richard*, while he was only Protector, and his acknowledged Obedience to his Nephew King *Edward V.* will appear by this Letter taken out of the Original Journal Book. And the formal Manner of his taking the Kingdom from his said Nephew, will be plainly seen by some Instructions given to certain Commissioners sent to the Lord *Dynham* Lord Deputy of *Calais*, from the same Journal. The Duke's Letter was as followeth.

"*Richard* Duc of *Gloucester*, Brother and Uncle of *Kinges*, Protector and Defensor, gret *Chambreleyn*, Constable and Admiral of *England*: To our right wellbelov'd *Robert Pemberton* Squier, Greeting. And on the King our Soverayn Lords behalve, we charge you that Incontinent, upon the sight hereof, yee do entre into the Lordships of *Wenmyngton*, and al other the Lands and Tenements to the same appertenyng, within the Countees of *Bedford* and *Northampton*; of which we by these presentes graunt and committe unto you the Rule and Keeping, and the Reffett of the said Lordships, Lands and Tenements, during Our pleaseur: And wol therefore that ye so take upon you, and see that al the Goods and Cattalles now being within the same, be put in suerte in our Behoove; and to make unto us a true Inventory of the same in goodely hast: Discharging, in the *Kinges* Name and ours, alth' Officers of the same: And that this be not fail'd, as ye wol have our good Lordship. Yeven under our Signet at the Cittee of *London*, the XIX day of *May*, anno primo Regis *Edwardi Quinti*.

The Instructions are as follow.

These be the Articles of Instructions given to the *L. Mounjoie*, Maister *John Cook* Archdekin of *Lincoln*, and Sir *Tho. Thwaytes* Kt. answering to the Lettre of the Lord *Dynham*, late direct unto the *Kinges* Grace, as then Protector of *England*. Which Lettre resteth in four principal Poyntes.

"The first Article remembred the Othe which they of *Calais*, perteynyng to any of the thre Jurisdiccions; that Incontinent upon the knowlege of the Deth of King *Edward III.* (whom God assoil) comen unto them, made holy together upon a Book, to be true unto King *Edward V.* his Son, as to their Liege Lord, and to kepe the Town, Castell and Marches of *Calais* trusty to him: And to suffer no Man with Power to entre into the same, except the *Kinges* Person, or the *Hastings* then being the *Kinges* Lieutenant, and not without due Payment to be made to the Souldiers and other Officers of al that to them shal be found due, for the save keeping of the said Town and Marches.

"As to that Article, it shal move beside, that howbeit suche othe of Ligeaunce was made sone upon the Deth of the said King *Edward III.* to his Sone, not only at *Calais*, but also in divers places in *England* by many gret Aftates and Personages, being than ignorant of the verraye sure and true Title, which our Soverayn Lord that now is King *Richard* the III. hath and had the same tyme to the Crowne of *England*; that Othe notwithstanding now every good true *English* man is bound, upon knowlege had of the said verraye true Title, to depart from the first Othe so ignorantly gyven to him, to whom it apperteyneth not, and thereupon to make his Othe of newe, and owe his Service and Fidelite to him, that good Lawe, Reason, and the concorde assent of the Lordes and Commons of the Royallme have ordeigned to reigne upon the People, which is our said Soverayn Lord King *Richard III.* brother to the said King *Edward III.* late deceased, whom God Pardon: Whose sure and true Title is evidently shewed and declared in a Bill of Petition, which the Lordes Spirituels and Temporels, and the Commons of the Land solemnely porrected unto the *Kinges* Highness at *London* the XXVI day of *Juyn*. Whereupon the *Kinges* said Highness notably assisted by wel nere al the Lordes Spirituel and Temporell of this Royallme, went the same day unto the Palais at *Westminster*; and ther in such Roial Honourable apparelled within the gret Hal ther toke Possession, and declared his Mind, that the same day he wold begin to reygne upon his People. And from thence rode solemnly to the Cathedral Church of *London*; and was received ther with Procession, with gret Congratulation and acclamacion of al the People in every place, and by the weye that the King was in that day. The Copie of the which Bill the King wil to be sent unto *Calais*, and ther to be redd and understood togredre with these presentes: Desiring right effectuoullie al maner persones of the said three Jurisdiccions, what aftate, degre or condition they be of; and also them of *Gusnes* and *Hammes*, to make their Feithes and Othes to him, as to their Soverayn Lorde; like as the Lordes Spirituels and Temporels, and many other Noblemen in gret numb're, being in *England*, frely and of goode hert, have done, for ther partes: And that the said Towne of *Calais*, al Castells and Fortresses, being within the said Marches, they wil saufly kepe unto the behoove of our said Lord King *Richard* the III. and them not deliver to any Person, but by his Commandement onely, &c. J. S.

These Resolutions of dethroning *K. Edward V.* and of making *Richard* King were very suddenly taken, or else the Players of this Game carryed on their Business very secretly to amuse the People. For the Day of *Edward's* Coronation was set, which was to be the 21st Day of *June*. And all solemn Preparation was making for that Purpose, til near the said Day King *Edward* with the Advice and Order of his Uncle *Richard* the Protector, appoints and summoneth the Gentlemen that were to be knighted at his Coronation, sending to each of them a Letter to this Tenor, viz.

"To Ours *Gilbert* Elq; Trusty and Welbelov'd, We Grete you well. And by the Advice of our dearest Uncle, the Duke of *Gloucester* Protector of this Our Royallme during our young Age, and the Lords of our Councel, we write unto you at this time, Willing and ne the less charging you, to prepare and furnish your self to receive the Noble Order of Knighthood at our Coronation: Which by Gods Grace we intend shal be Solempniz'd the one and twentieth Day of this present Month at our Palace of *Westminster*; Commanding you to be here at our Tower of *London* four Days afore our said Coronation, to have Communication with our Commissioners concerning the Matter: not failing hereof in any Wise, as ye intend to please us, and as ye will answer, Yeven the 5 Day of *June*.

Sembable



1483. *Semblable Letters were writ to* John Speke, ——— Beaumont, Edward Courtney, Will. Carraunt, Tho. Arundel, 1483.  
 Will. Bolney, Alex. Cressenger, John Clopton, Hen. Haydon, John Wynkfeld, Christoph. Willoughby, Ph. Colthorp,  
 Beddyingfeld, Tho. Lewknor, Will. Barkley, John Stanley, ——— Grevyle, Will. Birmygham, Tho. But-  
 teler, of Beawsey, John Beron, Will. Trowbeck, ——— Mylbourn, the Lord Dormund, the Lord Stourton,  
 Cornwal Lord of Burford, Nevyle, Son and Heir of the Lord Bergaveny, John Breny of Stamford, the Lord Grey of Ru-  
 thyn, John Gefford, Will. Cheney of Shepey, Rob. Whyte of South-Warneborow, Gervace Clifton of Oddifake,  
 Nic. Lile, Will. Barkely of Beverfton, Henry Vernon, Nic. Mountgomery, and twelve more, one whereof was Henry  
 Solet Alderman of London. J. S.

But now to the progress of our Story, where the Barons and Commons with one General Dislike, and an Universal Negative Voice, refused the Sons of King Edward, not for any Ill Will or Malice, but for their Disabilities and Incapacities; the Opinions of those Times too held them not Legitimate, and the Queen Elizabeth Gray, or Woodvill, no lawful Wife, nor yet a Woman worthy to be the King's Wife, by reason of her extream unequal Quality. For these and other Causes, the Barons and Prelates unanimously cast their Election upon the Protector, as the most worthiest, and nearest, by the experience of his own Deservings, and the strength of his Alliance, importuning the Duke of Buckingham to become their Speaker, who accompanied with many of the Chief Lords, and other Grave and Learned Persons, having Audience granted in the Great Chamber at Baynard's Castle, (then York-House) thus address'd him to the Lord Protector:

Ep. Morton, Sir T. Moor, Hol-  
 linghead, Grafton,  
 Som, Hall, Virgil, &c.  
 Parliam.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Protector in the behalf of the 3 Estates.

The common publish'd Stories have Elizabeth Lucy, but that is false.

**S**IR, May it please your Grace to be inform'd, that after much Grave Consultation amongst the Noble Barons, and other Worthy Persons of this Realm, it stands concluded and resolv'd, That the Sons of King Edward shall not reign; for who is not sensible, how Miserable a Fortune, and Dangerous Estate that Kingdom must be in, where a Child is King, according to the Wise Man, *Ve tibi terra cuius Rex est Puer*. But here, Sir, there is Exception of further consequence against them, That they were not born in lawful Marriage, the King having then another Wife living, Dame Elizabeth Butler: Besides the great Dishonour and Reproach he receiv'd by disparaging his Royal Blood, with a Woman so far unmeet for his Bed. These Considerations have resolutely turn'd all their Eyes and Election towards your Grace, as only worthy of it, by your singular Virtues, and that Interest in the Crowns of England and of France, with the Rights and Titles, by the High Authority of Parliament, entail'd to the Royal Blood and Issue of Richard Duke of York, whose lawful begotten Son and Heir you are; which, by a Just Course of Inheritance and the Common Laws of this Land, is divid'd and come to you. And unwilling that any Inferiour Blood should have the Dominion of this Land, are fully determin'd to make your Grace King; to which, with all Willingness and Alacrity, the Lords and People of the Northern Parts concur. And the Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, have all allow'd, and gladly embraced this general Choice of your Grace; and are come hither to beseech you to accept their Just Election, of which they have chosen me their unworthy Advocate and Speaker. I must therefore again crave leave, in the behalf of all, to desire your Grace will be pleas'd, in your Noble and Gracious Zeal to the Good of this Realm, to cast your Eyes upon the growing Distresses and Decay of our Estate, and to set your happy Hand to the redress thereof; for which, we can con-

ceive no Abler Remedy, than by your undertaking the Crown and Government, which we doubt not shall accrew to the Laud of God, the Profit of this Land, and your Grace's Happiness.

This Speech of the Duke is recorded by Dr. Morton, Sir Thomas Moor, and other Chronicles and Historians, to which the Protector gave this Reply:

**M**Y most Noble Lords, and my most Loving Friends, and Dear Country-men, The Answer of the Lord Protector to the 3 Estates.  
 Albeit I must confess, your Request most respectful and favourable, and the Points and Necessities alludg'd and urg'd true and certain, yet for the Entire Love and Reverend Respect I owe to my Brother deceased and to his Children, my Princely Couzens, you must give me leave, more to regard mine Honour and Fame in other Realms; for where the Truth and Certain Proceedings herein are not known, it may be thought an Ambition in me to seek what you voluntarily proffer, which would charge so deep a Reproach and Stain upon my Honour and Sincerity, that I would not bear for the World's Diadem: Besides, you must not think me ignorant (for I have well observ'd it) there is more difficulty in the Government of a Kingdom, than Pleasure; especially to that Prince who would use his Authority and Office as he ought. I must therefore desire, that this (and my unfeigned Protestations) may assure you, the Crown was never my Aim, nor suits my Desire with yours, in this; yet I shall think my self much beholding unto you all in this Election of me, and that Hearty Love I find you bear me, and here protest, that for your sakes it shall be all one, whether I be your King or no; for I will serve my Nephew faithfully and carefully, with my best Counsels and Endeavours, to defend and preserve him and his Kingdom; nor shall there want readiness in me, to attempt the Recovery of that Hereditary Right in France, which belongs to the King's of England, tho' of late negligently and unhappily lost.

There the Protector became silent, and thought it not safe in his Discretion or Policy, to open all the Disgusts he had of the Sovereignty, for that would have been Matter of Exprobration of the Barons, and touch'd too near the Quick, tho' he had well observ'd, by sundry Experiences of the Leading Times, and Modern too, the inconstant ebbing and flowing of their Dispositions, how variable and apt they were to take up any occasion of Change, pursuing their Kings (if once stirr'd) so implacably, that many times they never left without Death or Deposing. Examples he had in the Reigns of King Edward his Brother, and Henry VI. not long before that in the time of Richard II. and his Grandfather Edward II. more anciently the Extream Troubles and Distress of King John, and Henry III. all by the Barons, being dreadful Warnings and insolent Monuments of their Haughtiness and



1483. Levity; and this was *Alta mente repostum* with the Wife Prince.

But the Duke of *Buckingham*, thinking the Protector set too slight a Consideration upon so Great a Concernment, and the Affection tender'd by himself and the Nobility (and over-hearing something he privately spake to the Lord Mayor and Recorder, tending to his dislike) for an Epilogue or Close to his former Oration, he thus freely adds.

The bold and round Conclusion of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

"SIR, I must now, by the Priviledge of this Employment, and in the Behalf of those and my Country, add so much Freedom unto my Duty, as to tell your Grace, It is immovably resolv'd by the Barons and People, That the Children of King *Edward* shall not Reign over them. Your Grace hath heard some Causes; nor need I intimate, how these Estates have entred and proceeded so offensively to other Men, and so dangerously to themselves, as is now too late to recal or retire. And therefore, they have fixt this Election upon you, whom they think most able and careful for their Safety: But, if neither the General Good, the Earnest Petitions of the Nobility and Commonalty, can move you, we most humbly desire your Answer and Leave to Elect some other that may be worthy of the Imperial Charge; in which (we hope) we shall not incur your Displeasure, considering the Desperate Necessity of our Welfare and Kingdom urges it. And this is our last Suit and Petition to your Grace.

The Protector touch'd by this round and brave Farewel, which made him very sensible: For (as Sir *Thomas Moor* discreetly confesseth) the Protector was so much moved with these Words, that otherwise of likelihood he wou'd never have inclined to their Suit: And faith, That when he saw there was no remedy, but that he must either at that Instant take the Crown, or both he and his Heirs irrecoverably let it pass to another; peradventure, one that might prove an Enemy to him and his, especially if *Richmond* slept in; betwixt whom and this Prince, the Hatred was equally extream: Therefore it behoved the Protector to collect himself; and fixing his Consideration upon the effect of that Necessity they last urged, gave this Reply:

The Protector's Reply to the Duke's last Suit. "MY most Noble good Lords, and most loving and faithful Friends, the better sense of your Loves and most Eminent Inconveniences insinuated by your Noble Speaker, hath made me more serious to apprehend the Benefit of your Proffer and Election. And I must confess, in the Meditation thereof, I find an Alteration in my self, not without some Distraction when I consider all the Realm so bent against the Sons of King *Edward*. And therefore being certain, there is no Man to whom the Crown by Just Title can be so due as to our self, the rightful Son and Heir of our most Dear and Princely Father, *Richard Duke of York*; to which Title of Blood and Nature, your Favours have joyn'd this of Election, wherein we hold our self to be most strong and safe: And having the lawful Power of both, why shou'd I endure my profess'd Enemy to Usurp my Right, and become a Vassal to my Envious Subject? The necessity of these Causes (as admitting no other Remedy) urges me to accept your Offer; and according to your Request, and our own Right, we here assume the Regal Preheminence of the

Two Kingdoms, *England* and *France*, from this Day forward, by us and our Heirs, to Govern and Defend the one, and by God's Grace and your Good Aids, to Recover and Establish the other to the ancient Allegiance of *England*; desiring of God to live no longer than we intend and endeavour the Advancement and flourishing Estate of this Kingdom.

At which they all cry'd, *God save King Richard*: And thus he became King. But yet his Detractors stick not to Slander and Accuse all that was said or done in these Proceedings of State for mere Dissimulation; by which Justice, they may as well censure (*At sit Reverentia dictum*) all the Barons, worthy and Grave Commons, which had there Votes therein, which wou'd fall a most impudent and intolerable Scandal upon all the High Court of Parliament; for in short time after, all that was alledg'd and acted in that Treaty and Colloquy was approved and ratified by the Court of Parliament, so that their Cavils only discover an Extream Malice and Envy. For it was not possible, therefore not credible, he cou'd upon such an instant (as it were) by any Practice, attain to that Power and Credit, with all the Barons, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, to procure and persuade them from the Sons of King *Edward*, so unanimously to become his Subjects, and put the Crown upon his Head with such Solemnity and Publick Ceremonies. Whilst these Matters had their current, the Northern Gentlemen and his Southern Friends joyn'd in a Bill Supplicatory to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, earnestly expressing their Desires for the Election of the Lord Protector, with the former Causes urg'd: Also That the Blood of the Young Earl of *Warwick* was Attainted, and his Title Confiscate by Act of Parliament. This Bill was deliver'd to the Lords, assembled in the Great Hall at *Westminster*, the Lord Protector sitting in the Chair of Marble amongst them, upon the 26th of *June*, some Six or Seven Days after he was Proclaim'd: The Tenour of the Bill was thus written in the Chronicle of the Abbey of *Croyland*:

117. *Abb. Croyland.*

*Protector eodem die, quo Regimen sub Titulo Regii Nominis sibi vendicavit (viz.) 26<sup>o</sup> die Junii, Anno Dom. 1483. se apud Magnam Aulam Westmonasterii in Cathedram Marmoream Immisit & tum mox omnibus proceribus tam Laicis quam Ecclesiasticis & ceteris assidentibus, assistantibus &c. ostendebatur rotulus quidam, in quo per modum supplicationis in nomine procerum & Populi Borealis exhibitum sunt, Primum, quod Filii Regis Edwardi erant Bastardi, supponendo, illum pracontraxisse matrimonium cum quadam Domina Elianora Boteler, antequam Reginam Elizabetham duxisset in Uxorem: Deinde quod Sanguis alterius Fratris (Georgii Scilicet Clarentiae Ducis) fuisset Attinctus. Ita quod nullus certus incorruptus Sanguis Linealis ex parte Richardi Ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, nisi in Persona Richardi Protectoris, Ducis Glocestriae, & jam eidem Duci supplicabant, ut jus suum in Regno Angliae sibi assumeret & Coronam acciperet.*

In English thus:

"THE Protector, that same Day, wherein he took upon him the Government, under the Royal Name and Title, being the 26th of *June* 1483. seated himself in the Marble Chair in the Great Hall of *Westminster*; after which, all the Lords, as well Temporal as Spiritual, and others sitting, or standing by, &c. a certain Writing was produc'd, wherein, " by



1483. "by way of Humble Petition, in the Name of the Gentry and Northern People, was represented, First, That the Sons of King Edward were Bastards upon account of his having entered before into a Contract of Marriage with the Lady Eleanor Boteler, before his Marriage with Queen Elizabeth: And next, That the Blood of the other Brother, George Duke of Clarence, was Attainted. Infomuch, that none being to be found that was undoubtedly of a Lawful and Lineal Descent from Richard Duke of York, besides Richard the Protector, Duke of Gloucester, they therefore Humbly Petition'd the said Duke to take to himself his Right unto the Kingdom of England, and to Accept of the Crown.

Camden.

But the Barons were all accorded before this Bill came, (b) both Sides moving with an equal and contented forwardness; and in July next following 1483. was Crown'd and Receiv'd with as general Magnificence and Acclamations, as any King in England many Years before. For as a Grave Man writeth, (i) *Fuit dignissimus Regno, &c. non inter malos sed bonos principes Commemorandus*; That he was most worthy to Reign, and to be numbred amongst the Good, not Bad Princes. The Queen his Wife was Crown'd with him, and with no less State and Greatness; Accompanied him from the Tower to Westminster, having in their Train (besides the Nobility of the South Parts) Four Thousand Gentlemen of the North (k). Upon the 19th of June 1483. in the 25th Year of Lewis the French King, he was named King of England, the Morrow Proclaim'd, and Rode with Great Solemnity from London to Westminster, where in the Seat Royal, he gave the Judges of the Land a Strict and Religious Charge for the Just Executing of the Laws; then departed towards the Abbey, being met at the Church Door with Procession, and the Scepter of King Edward deliver'd to him by the Abbot; so ascended to St. Edward's Shrine, where he offer'd; the Monks in the mean time singing *Te Deum*: From thence he return'd to the Palace, where he Lodg'd until his Coronation.

Monstrolet, Comines, Anglici scriptores.

Upon the 4th of July he went to the Tower by Water with the Queen his Wife, and the next Day \* Created Edward his only Son, (about Ten Years old) Prince of Wales: † He Invested Sir John Howard, (who was made Lord Howard and Knight of the Garter, 17 Edw. IV.) in the Dukedom of Norfolk, in a favourable Admission of the Right of the Lady Margaret his

Mother, Daughter of Sir Thomas Mowbray, D. of Norfolk, and an Heir General of the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk and Earls of Surrey, descended from the Lord Thomas Plantagenet of Brotherton, a Younger Son of King Edward I. and Earl of Norfolk, This King also made him Marshal and Admiral of England; he was as rightfully Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, Lord Bruce, as Lord Howard, as I have seen him filed by Royal Warrant in a Commission for Treaty of Truce with Scotland.

1483. Stile of the Duke of Norfolk. In retulis in Domo convers.

His Eldest Son, Sir Thomas Howard, was at the same time Created Earl of Surrey, and made Knight of the Garter; Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was made Constable of England for term of Life, but he claim'd the Office by Inheritance.

Sir Thomas Moor writes, That Sir Thomas Howard executed the Office of Constable that Day; William Lord Berkley was Created Earl of Nottingham, Francis Lovel Viscount Lovel, and Chamberlain to the King; the Lord Stanley restor'd to Liberty and made Steward of the Household (l), Thomas Rotherham, Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, having been committed for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen Widow, receiv'd to Grace, and many Knights Adubb'd of the Old Order, and some of the New, or Habit of the Bath, whose Names I have set down, to shew what regard was had of their Family, and in those Times accused of so much Malignity.

Sir Edmund De la Pool, Son to the Duke of Suffolk.

George Gray, Son to the Earl of Kent.

William Zouch, Son to the Lord Zouch.

Henry Nevil, Son to the Lord Abergavenny.

Christopher Willowby. Thomas Arundel.

Henry Babington. Gervoise of Clifton.

Henry Bainton. Edmund Beddingfield.

Thomas Bullen. Thomas Leukenor.

William Say. John Browne.

William Enderby. William Berkley.

Thomas of Vernon. i. another William

William Barkley. Berkley.

The 5th Day of July he Rode from the Tower His Coro. through the City in Pomp, with his Son the nation. Prince of Wales, Three Dukes, and Nine Earls, Twenty Two Viscounts and Simple Barons, Eighty Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen not to be number'd; besides Great Officers of the Crown which had Special Service to do. But the Duke of Buckingham carried the Splendour

(b) The Barons and Commons were so far from Choosing him, that they were afraid he wou'd not Crown his Nephew. This part of his History is all wrong. Vid. Sir Thomas Moor's Hist. of Edward V. and Richard III.

(i) Compare this Quotation out of Camden with what that Author says of K. Richard in his Brit. sub Tit. Leicestershire; speaking of Bosworth. Here Henry Earl of Richmond encounter'd King Richard III. who had by most Wicked Means Urs'd the Kingdom: He overcame and slew the Usurper, and freed England by his Valour from the Rule of a Tyrant. Besides, he does not tell us where Camden speaks so well of him.

(k) These Four thousand Gentlemen of the North, were (as Hall and Grafton relate it) 5000 Fellows evil appare'd and worse harness, whom he sent for out of the North. They were mustred in Finsbury, and were the Contempt of the Bebolders.

\* His Creation was not before September following, at York; as appears afterwards by the Chronicle of Croyland, and the Notes there. F. S.

† This Title this young Prince enjoy'd but a small time: For as he was Created about the 8th of Septemb. he was dead before the 21st of July the next Year, as may be collected from a Warrant of K. Richard to Nicholas Leventhorp, Receiver of the Dutchy of Lancaster, order'd thereby to pay to John Dawney, late Treasurer of Pomfret 139l. 10s. due to him for divers Provisions and Emptions by him made for the expence (as the Warrant ran) of our most Dear Son, whom God pardon. Which last Words bespeak him now dead. This bare Date July the 21. Anno 2do. But before his Death, the King his Father heaped up all the Honour he cou'd upon him: He made the Lord Prime, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for Three Years; confirm'd his Title of Earl of Arum anew to him; constituted Great Officers in his Household, whereof I find William Herbert was his Secretary, for which he had XL Mark assign'd him for his Salary yearly out of the Honour of Pomfret, F. S.

He was (if we may give credit to the King his Father's Patents to Create him Prince of Wales) of great hopes for his Excellent Parts and Disposition. The Words are, *Cujus optima indoles, ac praeclara, quibus pro sua aetate Modulo singulariter praeclatum est, natura Docet ingentem atq; favente Deo indubitatam probitatis spem nobis portendunt.* i. e. Whose Excellent Wit and Remarkable Endowments of Nature, wherewith, his Young Age consider'd, he is singularly furnish'd, do portend to us great and undoubted hopes by the favour of God, that he will make a Good Man. K. Rich. Journal penes me. J. S.

(l) For fear of the Lord Strange, his Son, who as 'twas said, was raising Forces in the North.

of



1483. of that Day's Bravery, his Habit and Caparisons of Blew Velvet, Embroider'd with Golden Naves of Carts burning, the Trappings supported by Foot-men, habited costly and suitable. On the Morrow, being the 6th of July, all the Prelates, Miter'd in their Pontificalibus, receiv'd him at Westminster-Hall towards the Chapel; the Bishop of Rochester bare the Cross before him, the Cardinal and the Earl of Huntingdon follow'd with a pair of Gilt Spurs, and the Earl of Bedford with St. Edward's Staff for a Relick. After the Procession, the Earl of Northumberland bears a Pointless Sword naked, the Lord Stanley the Mace of the Constableship (but waited not for Constable) the Earl of Kent bare the Second Sword naked with a Point upon the Right hand of the King, the Viscount Lovel another Sword on the King's Left Hand with a Point. Next came the Duke of Suffolk with a Scepter, the Earl of Lincoln with the Ball and Cross, then the Earl of Surrey with the Sword of State in a rich Scabbard in Place of the Constable of England, the Duke of Norfolk on his Right hand with the Crown: After him immediately, the King in a Sur-coat and Robe of Purple, the Canopy born by the Barons of the Five Ports, the King between the Bishop of Bath and Durham, the D. of Buckingham bearing up his Train, and serv'd with a White Staff for Seneshal or High-Steward of England.

In the Front of the Queen's Train, the Earl of Huntingdon bare the Scepter, Viscount Lisle the Rod with the Dove, the Earl of Wiltshire her Crown, and next to him follow'd the Queen herself (in Robes like the King) between Two Bishops, the Canopy born by Barons of the Ports, upon her Head a Coronet set with Precious Stones; the Lady Margaret Somerset, Countess of Richmond, carried up her Train, follow'd by the Dutcheffs of Suffolk, with many Countesses and other Ladies. In this manner the whole Procession pass'd through the Palace, and entred the West Door of the Abby, the King and Queen taking their Seats of State, stay'd until divers Holy Hymns were sung, then ascended to the High Altar shifting their Robes, and putting on other open and voided in sundry Places for their Anointing; which done, they took other Robes of Cloth of Gold, so return'd to their Seats, where the Cardinal of Canterbury and the other Bishops Crowned them, the Prelate putting the Scepter in the Left Hand of the King, the Ball and Cross in his Right, and the Queen's Scepter in her Right Hand, and the Rod with the Dove in her Left; on each Hand of the King stood a Duke, before him the Earl of Surrey with the Sword as aforesaid; on each Hand of the Queen stood a Bishop, by them a Lady kneeling, the Cardinal said Mass, and gave the Pax; then the King and Queen descending, were both hous'd with one Host parted between them at the High Altar: This done, they Offer'd at St. Edward's Shrine, where the King laid down St. Edward's Crown and put on another, so return'd to Westminster-Hall in the same State they came, there disperfed, and retired themselves for a Season. In which Interim, came the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England, mounted upon a brave Horse, trapp'd with Cloth of Gold down to the Ground, to submove the Press of People and void the Hall. About Four of the Clock, the King and the Queen sat to Dinner, the King at the Middle Table of the Hall, and the Queen on his Left Hand; on each side a Countess attending her, holding a Cloth of Plaifance (or rather of \* Essuyance) for her Cup: On the King's Right Hand sat the Archbishop of Can-

terbury, and all the Ladies were plac'd on one side of a Long Table in the middle of the Hall against them, at another Table the Lord Chancellor and all the Nobles; at a Table next to the Cup-board, the Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen.

Behind the Barons of the Kingdom sat the Barons of the Ports; there were other Tables for Persons Quality. After all were seated, came the Lord Marshal again, the Earl of Surrey Constable (*Pro illa vice tantum*) the Lord Stanley, Lord Steward, Sir William Hopton, Treasurer of the Household, and Sir Thomas Piercy, Controulers; they serv'd the King's Board with one Dish of Gold and another of Silver. The Queen was serv'd all in Gilt Vessels, and the Cardinal Archbishop in Silver Dishes.

As soon as the Second Course was served in, Sir Robert Dimock, the King's Champion, makes Proclamation, That whosoever would say, King Richard the Third was not lawfully King, he would Fight with him at all Gutterance, and for Gage thereof threw down his Gauntlet; then all the People cry'd, King Richard, God save King Richard; and this he acted in three several parts of the Hall; then an Officer of the Cellar brought him a Gilded Bowl with Wine, which he drank, and carried the Cup away as his ancient Fee: After that, the Heralds cry'd Largeß thrice, and return'd to the Scaffold. Lastly came the Mayor of London with the Sheriffs, with a Voider, serving the King and Queen with Sweet Wines, who had each of them a Cover'd Cup of Gold for their Reward: By which time the Day began to give way to the Night, the King and Queen departing to their Lodgings.

And this is a Brief and True Relation of his Coronation, testified by all the Best Writers and Chroniclers of our Stories, publick and allow'd, which may confute the Boldness of that Slander, that says, He was not rightfully, and authentically Crown'd, but obscurely and indirectly crept in at the Window. But all Times have De-tractors, and all Courts their Parasites; and many that have admired Princes to their Graves, even there have turn'd from them, with Ingratitude and Murmur. Soon after this the King dismissed, and sent Home all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, with a straight Charge and Direction to them, the Judges of Oyer and Terminer, with all other Magistrates and Officers in general and particular, for the Equitable and Just Government of their Jurisdictions and Circuits: And it is observ'd, those Times were under as happy an Expectation of Law and Justice, as those, either before or after more flatter'd; which John Hide (a Learned Man, and Doctor of Physick) implies in a Manuscript Poesy of his.

— Solio juris rectique Minister,  
Ille sedens alto, tali sermone profatur;  
Moses Concilio soceri persuasus Jethro,  
Solut quod Populi nequirit componere lites,  
Constituit populi praefectos atq; Tribunos;  
Sic cum me praecelsa premant fastigia Regni,  
Ardua magnarum teneatis munera rerum;  
Et primum, a vobis pravos secludite motus  
Aquis Justitiae trutinis appendite causas;  
Ob paupertatem miseros ne spernite cives,  
Nec vota in cassum fundat Pupillus in auras,  
Deniq; largitio, ne vos Corrumpat iniqua, &c.

Then seated on his Throne he thus begun,  
As Moses was by Jethro's Counsel won,  
Alone

\* Towel  
or Nap-  
kin that  
wait on  
the Cup.



1483.

Alone unable to sustain the weight  
Of Publick Rule, and judge in each Debate,  
To choose a Court of Elders for the State.  
So I, elected to the Pond'rous Crown,  
On you lay half the Uneasy Burthen down.  
First then, Let Vicious Passions be suppress'd,  
And banish Love and Hatred from your Breast.  
In equal Scales impartial Justice weigh,  
Nor to the Poor oppress'd Relief delay;  
Let not defrauded Orphans Sue in vain,  
Nor be Debauch'd with Baits of proffer'd  
(Gain.

All things thus in a Happy Prefage and Good Order, the King, with the Queen, departed from London, and makes Windsor the first Gist in his Progress for some few Days: From thence to his Mannor of Woodstock, then to the University of Oxford, where the Muses Crown'd their Brows with fragrant Wreaths for his Entertainment. Next he visited the Circular City of Gloucester, and gave the Citizens (for the Love and Loyalty they express'd, in Holding the Castle and Town so constantly against Queen Margaret and the Forces of Henry the Sixth, for him and his Brother the King) large Priviledges and Immunities.

And here the Duke of Buckingham takes his leave for Brecknock, constantly disposed and affected in all outward appearance. The King making small stay any where, (save at Coventry) until he came to the goodly and ancient City of York, the Scope and Goale of his Progress, which receiv'd him with all Honour and Festivity, and was there the second time Crown'd by Dr. Rothem, Archbishop of that See, in the Cathedral Church, and his Son invested in the Principality of Wales, as the Prior of Croyland reporteth; *Eodem die quo Richardus Coronatus est Rex in Ecclesia Metropolitana Eboracensi, mox Filium Edwardum in Principatum Wallie cum insignis virga aurea &c. exevxit. & Pomposa & sumptuosa festa & convivium ibi fecit* ||.

Chro. M. And indeed, it was a Day of Great State; for  
Sim Quar. (as Polidore saith) There was then Three Princes  
equal. D. in York wearing Crowns, the King, Queen and  
Re. Corson, Prince; in acclamation whereof, there was Stage  
and Rob. Plays, Tournaments, and other Triumphal Sports,  
Fulian. as Sir Thomas Moor relates. At this time the  
Richard the Ba- King knighted Richard of Gloucester his Base Son,  
hard of the Duke who was after Captain of Calais, and many Gentle-  
of Gloucester. men of those Parts \*. But (albeit this was an  
Capt. of Calais. Intermission, as it were, of all Busie and Serious

Agitations) yet the King, still where he travell'd had a Just Regard to the Administration and Execution of Justice and the more Facinorous Malefactors: And surely these respective Inclinations of his had their Solemn Affections and Desires naturaliz'd in him, witness'd by the Scope and Integrity of those Just Laws which after follow'd.

The Progress thus spent, he returns to London; and having consulted some Matters of State, declares his first Resolution for the Tribute detain'd by France, which he had formerly by a Friendly Message demanded, but now sends Stout Menaces and Threats for it. The French would not have it call'd a Tribute, but a Pension, as Philip de Comines insinuates, though it had been rais'd and paid to King Edward IV. in lieu of the Dutchy and Countries of Aquitaine, Normandy, Poitou and Maine, &c. whereof the French had seiz'd the Crown of England, which King Edward IV. forc'd Lewis to acknowledge, and to covenant and agree, That he, his Heirs and Successors, should pay unto the Crown of England, the Sum of Fifty Thousand Crowns, with caution and security to be paid in the City of London; or after Jean Tillet and John Maiernus, Seventy Five Thousand Crowns to be paid into the Tower; with which the French King also granted, in the name of Annual Pension, Sixteen

1483.

Thousand Pounds to some Noblemen and others of special credit with the King. As to Sir Thomas Gray, Marquess of Dorset, William Lord Hastings, Chamberlain to the King, Doctor Thomas Rotbram, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Chancellor of England; John Lord Howard, Sir John Cheyney, Master of the Horse; Sir Thomas Mountgomery, Mr Challoner, and to the Master of the Rolls: The chiefeft of these had Two Thousand Crowns a piece per Ann. Besides which Pensions, he gave Rich Presents, and sent Rewards to such Lords as stood most for this accord. Euguerant de Monstroulet avoucheth, That the Lord Howard and the Master of the Horse, were the chiefeft of the Mediators in it: his reason is, that they were the Men most in favour with King Edward. Jean Tillet, with Philip de Comines tells us, The Lord Howard in less than Two Years, had the value of Twenty Four Thousand Crowns in Plate, Coin and Jewels, over and above his Annual Pension; the Lord Hastings at one time to the value of Two Thousand Marks in Plate, besides his Pension. And if their own Stories speak truth, Richard de Nevil, the Great Earl of War-

John Mai-  
ernus, Jean  
Tillet. Du  
Tillet saith  
That this  
Tribute  
or Pension  
7,000  
Crowns  
or Escu's  
of chacum  
Escu val-  
lant. trois  
soulis.

|| i. e. That same Day wherein Richard was crown'd King in the Metropolitan Church of York, he advanced his Son Edward to the Principality of Wales, with the Ensigns of the Goldeu Rod, &c. and there celebrated most splendid and sumptuous Feasts.

† In order to this Solemnity, the King sent from York the last Day of August, to Piers Curteis, Keeper of his Wardrobe; in these Words:

By the KING.

" We wol and charge you to deliver to the Bringers hereof for Us the Parcels following, that is to say, First One Doublet of Purple Sattin, lined with Holland Cloth, and enterlined with Buske. One Doublet of Tawny Sattin, lined in likewise: Two short Gowns of Cremysyn Cloth of Gold, the one with Droppis, and that other with Netts, lined with green Velvet. One Cloak with a Cape of Violet ingrained; the Bow lined with black Velvet. One Stomacher of purple Sattin; one Stomacher of Tawny Sattin. One Gown of green Velvet, lined with tawny Sattin. One yard and three Quarters Corse of Sike [Silk] meddled with Gold, and as much black Corse of Silk, for Our Spurs. Two Yards and an half and three Nayls of white Cloth of Gold for a Crynelze for a Borde; five yards of black Velvet for a lining of a Gown of green Sattin: One Plakard made of part of the said two yards and one half and two Nayls of white Cloth of Gold lined with Buckram. Three pair of Spurs short, al gilt; two pair of Spurs long white, parcel gilt. Two yards of black Buckram, for amending of the lining of divers Trappers. One Banner of Sarcenet of our Lady; one Banner of the Trinity: One Banner of St. George. One Banner of St. Edward: One of St. Cuthbert: One of Our own Arms, al Sarcenet. Three Coats of Arms beaten with fine Gold, for Our own Person. Five Coat Armouris for Heraulds, lined with Buckram: Forty Trumpet Banners of Sarcenet: Seven hundred and forty Pensils of Buckram. Three hundred and fifty Pensils of Tarter: Four Standards of Sarcenet with Boars: Thirteen thousand Quinyians of Fustian with Boars. And these Our Letters, &c. J. S.

\* He knighted also Gaufridus de Sasiola, Ambassador from the Queen of Spain, being present at this Solemnity; by putting a Collar of Gold about his Neck, and striking three times upon his Shoulders with his (the King's) Sword, and agreeable Words added, and by other Marks of Honour according to the English Custom. In testimony whereof the King gave him his Letters Patents, dated at his Court at York, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the King's Court being present, in the Act of the said Prince Edward's Creation, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, which was the 8th Day of September, 1483. J. S.

wick,



1483. *wick*, had of the Kings of *France* much more than any other *English* Nobleman, which the Chronicle of *Brittain* seconds. And doubtless, King *Richard* had still compell'd him to continue it, had not Eruptions of State and Tumultuary Practices fatally deterr'd his Sword: For as Kings have vaster Limits, they have higher Bounds than others. If our Vulgar Paths be rugged, theirs are slippery, and all their Mighty Resolutions and Ambitions have their Fate and Circle; hither they must, and no further; yet as envious as Fortune shew'd her self, he brought King *Lewis* to Terms of Fair Promises and Mediation for time of Payment, as *Comines* obscurely implies.

1484.  
The Q.  
Mother &  
K. Richard  
reconcil'd.

This Year the King kept a very Magnificent Chistmas at *Westminster*, and was reconciled to the Queen Dowager, who left Sanctuary,\* and to congratulate the King's Favour, sent her Five Daughters to Court, where they were receiv'd with all Princely Kindness.

The Parli-  
ament of  
Rich. 3.

On the Three and Twentieth Day of *January*, in the First Year of his Reign, he summon'd a Parliament to be holden at *Westminster*, in which (after the enacting of many Good Laws) the Marriages of King *Edward* were debated, that with the Lady *Gray* adjudg'd unlawful, and her Children illegitimate, there being proof of a former Contract and Marriage with the Lady *Eleanor Talbot*, Daughter of the Old Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Relict of the Lord *Butler* of *Sudeley*, then and long after living, and all that had been inferr'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, or contain'd in the Bill supplicatory, demonstrated, was again consulted, and Judgment given against that Marriage, and Incapacity of the Children also of the Earl of *Warwick* and his Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth Plantagenet*, all decreed and confirm'd by Act of Parliament; so that here to tax so general an Assent, were to say there was not one Honest nor Just Man in that High Court, and

what greater Scandal to the whole Kingdom?

There was likewise notice taken of the Earl of *Richmond's* Pretence to the Crown, by a Title deriv'd from the House of *Lancaster*, who was at that time in *France*, labouring to engage the King and the Duke of *Brittain* in the Quarrel. Oh! the infinite Windings and Perplex'd Sleeps we labour through, to get that we must bid Goodnight to To morrow; and yet the True and Rightful *Lancaster* had no Finger in it, for this Earl was not then granted to be of the House of *Lancaster*, until the Pope by his Bull had given him that Stile, and himself (after he was King) by his Prerogative assum'd it. In this Parliament he was attainted of High Treason, and with him *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas* Marquess of *Dorset*, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Lionel* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Peirce* Bishop of *Exeter*, the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, *Thomas* Morton Bishop of *Ely*, *Thomas* Naudick, by the stile of *Thomas* Naudick of *Cambridge*, Conjuror, *William* Knevet of *Buckingham* smear'd with the same Pitch, *George* Brown of *Beechworth*, *Thomas* Lukenor of *Tratton*, *John* Guilford, *John* Fogg, *Edward* Poinings, *Thomas* Fieries of *Cherstonceur*, *Nicholas* Gainsford, *William* Clifford, *John* Dorrell, with others of *Kent* || and the West Countrey. There was further enacted for the approbation and confirming the True and Lawful Title of King *Richard*, this Clause or Sentence:

"It is declared, pronounced, decreed, confirm'd and establish'd by the Authority of this present Parliament, That King *Richard* III. is the true and undoubted King of this Realm, as well by Right of Consanguinity and Heritage, as by Lawful Election and Coronation, &c. And in a place of the Roll of this Parliament, † there are Arguments to be gathered, that the Two Sons of *K. Edward* were living in the time of this Parliament, which was at

1484.

The  
Friends &  
Confeder-  
ates of  
the Earl  
of Richm.

(4) The  
Sons of K.  
Edward  
living in  
Jan. and  
Feb. after  
the Death  
of their  
Father.

\* This cannot be true, for she was certainly in Sanctuary in *March* following with five of her Daughters, viz. *Elizabeth*, *Cecil*, *Anne*, *Katharine* and *Bridget*: Nor could this Queen, which was now undervalued by the Name of *Dame Jane Gray*, be persuaded to leave the Sanctuary by any Entreaty hitherto. Inasmuch, that the King, on the First Day of *March*, in the presence of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, solemnly swore upon the Gospels, "That if she would come to him out of the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, he would provide for her and for her Daughters, as his Kinswomen; and that they should be in no danger of their Lives; and that he would allow her 700 Mark a Year; and her Daughters 200 Mark apiece for their Portions in Marriage, and would take care to marry them to Gentlemen. And to this his Oath he set his Sign Manual, as may be seen more at large in certain Notes in the Third Book. For he had left this Queen in a very bare condition, having possess'd himself (and that by Act of Parliament) of all her Castles, Seignuories, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Farms, Fee-Farms, Franchises, Liberties and other Hereditaments, made over to her at any time, either by Confirmation, State or Act of Parliament, all from the 1st day of *May* last, to be utterly void, annull'd and of no strength nor effect in Law; Thus roughly had King *Richard* dealt with her. And this was done by an Act of Parliament that sat after *Christmas*, when this Author relates she left the Sanctuary, and the king was reconciled to her. J. S.

|| This Inturrection of the Gentry in *Kent* was strong, so that soon after it was over, King *Richard* himself hasten'd thither in Person; and a severe Proclamation was set forth for the Taking of those concerned in it; and Who, and of what Quality they were, and what the Rewards were of such as should take them, the ensuing Proclamation will discover.

"The King, our sovereign Lord, remembering that many and divers of his True Subjects of this his County of *Kent*, have now late been abused and blinded by Sir *John* Gilford, Sir *Thomas* Lowkenor, Sir *William* Hawte Knyts, *Edward* Poyngs, *Richard* Gilford, *William* Cheney, *Thomas* Penys, *Will.* Brandon, *John* Wingfeld, *Anth.* Kene, *Nic.* Gaynsford, *John* Isley, *Rauf* Tikhill, *Anthony* Browne, *John* Pympe, *Rob.* Brent, *Long* Roger, *Richard* Potter, *Richard* Fisher, *Sir* Markus Eussen Priest, and others the King's Rebels and Traitors, which imagin'd and utterly conspyred the Destruction of the kyng the Sovereign Lords most Royal Person, the Subversion of his Royallme, and the Common-welfare of the same: And many of his said Subjects of this his County of *Kent*, when they knew and understood their said conspyred Treasons, left and forsook them, and as his true Subjects thence have well and truly behaved themselves. For the which the kynges Grace standeth, and wol be to them good and gracious sovereign Lord; and willet and desyreth al his said true Subjects to put them in their effectual Devoirs to take his said Rebels and Traitors; and graunteth that he or they chat shal hap to take the said Sir *John* Gilford, &c. *Renold* Pimroe, &c. shal have for each of them 300 Mark, or 40 l. of Land. And for ever each of the other after named 100 l. or Ten Mark of Land; and great Thanks of the Kynges Grace; and over this, the kynges wolle it be known, that if any Person harbour, lodge, comfort, succour or kepe within his House, or otherwise ayd or receive wytingly any of the said Traitors, and disclose them not, nor bring them to the Kyng in al good hast possyble after thys Proclamation, that then he or they so harbouring, ayding, comforting, succouring or lodging them, or any of them hereafter to be taken and reputed as the Kynges Rebels and Traitors. And also, that no Man presume, after this Proclamation, to keep any Goods or Cattals of the said Traitors; but them utter and shew to the Kynges Commissioners, in this hys said County of *Kent*, assign'd and appoynted. And they that so truly wil shew it shal be wel rewarded, and they that do the contrary shal be punished according to the Law. J. S.

† The Author would have done much towards the Credit of what he drives at in his History, to have specified this place of the Roll, and the Words thereof, whence such Arguments might be gathered. For all History relates the Murthers to be committed before this time. J. S.



1483. the least Nine Months after the Death of their Father, and six Months after King Richard; which will import thus much, That if King Richard then, lawfully and quietly possess'd of the Crown, suffer'd them to live so long, there is no reason why he shou'd after make them away, for their Lives cou'd not rectify their Blood or Titles, nor their Deaths advantage him; neither can Bastards be dangerous or prejudicial to the True and Titular Lord, or Lawful Proprietary, be he Prince or Subject; witness Foreign Countries, and England it self, which holds Bastards incapable of Heritage, Honour or Offices. In the Month of February, towards the end of this Parliament, the King in his Providence to establish the Regal Fortune and Succession in the Prince his Son, and to fasten the Affection of the Nobility and the People unto him with the Crown, procures them to meet him in the Palace at Westminster, and there (*Interiori Conaculo*, as mine Author saith) tendred by the Duke of Norfolk unto them, an Oath of Fealty and Allegiance in writing, to be taken to the Prince of Wales; which they took and subscrib'd most willingly: The Occasion of this, was his Jealousy of that New League struck up between the Earl of Richmond and the Duke of Buckingham, who was now discover'd more apparently, and the rest of the Engagement. To oppose and suppress them therefore, and stifle the Confederacy before it should grow more threatening; the King makes a Commission by Letters Patents, in the Name of the Vice-Constable of England, unto Sir Ralph Ashton; a Copy whereof (the President being unusual, and the Office great) I have transcrib'd *verbatim* from the Records in the Chapel of the \* Converts.

Vice Constable of England.

\* That is, the Chapel of the Rolls.

### Vice-Constabulario Angliæ Constituto.

Patents de anno 1 Ric. 3. part. 1. mem. 2.

**R**EX dilecto & fideli suo, Rudolpho Ashton Militi, salutem. Sciatis, quod nos de fidelitate, circumspicione, & probitate, vestra plenius confidentes, assignavimus deputavimus & ordinavimus vos hac Vice Constabularium nostrum Angliæ, ac Commissionarium nostrum, dantes & concedentes vobis tenore presentium potestatem & auctoritatem generalem, & mandatum speciale, ad audiendum & examinandum ac procedendum, contra quascunque personas de crimine læsa nostræ regis majestatis suspectas & culpabiles tam per viam examinationis testium quam aliter prout vobis melius visum fuerit ex officio vestro; nec non in causis illis judicialiter & sententialiter juxta casus exigentiam & Delinquentium demerita omni strepitu & futura Judicii appellatione quacunque remota, quandocunque vobis videbitur procedendum, judicandum & finali executione de mandandum cum omnibus etiam clausulis, verbis, & terminis specialibus ad executionem istius mandati & auctoritatis nostræ de jure vel consuetudine requisitis, quæ etiam omnia hic expressa habemus, assumpto vobiscum aliquo tabellione fide digno, qui singula conscribat una cum aliis quæ in præmissis vel circa ea necessaria videbuntur seu qualitercunque requisita; mandantes & firmiter vobis injungentes, quod aliis quibuscunque prætermisiss circa prædicta quoties & quando opus fuerit intendatis, causasque antedictas audiat, examinetis, & in eisdem procedatis ac eas judicetis & finali executione ut præfertur demandetis. Damus etiam omnibus & singulis quorum interest in hac parte tenore presentium firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis in præmissis faciendis pareant, assistant & auxilientur in omnibus diligenter, in cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Covent. 34. Die Octobris, Anno Regni Primo; per ipsum Regem ore tenus.

In English thus.

### To the Vice-Constable of England Constituted.

1483. **T**HE King to his beloved and faithful Ralph Ashton Kt. greeting. Know, that We fully confiding in your Fidelity, Wisdom, and Integrity, have assign'd, deputed, and ordain'd you at this time our Vice-Constable of England, and our Commissioner, Giving and Committing to you by the tenor of these Presents, Power and Authority general, and our special Command to Hear, Examine and Proceed against all Persons whatsoever, suspected or guilty of the Crime of High-Treason against Us, either by way of Examination of Witnesses, or otherways, as shall seem to you most expedient and suitable to your Office: As also in these Causes, judicially and sententially, according to the Exigency of the Case and Demerit of the Delinquent, without all Noise or Appeal, when you shall think fit, to Proceed, Determine and Commit to Final Execution, with all Clauses, Words, and special Terms by Law or Custom required to the Execution of that Our Command and Authority, as if here particularly express'd; taking unto your Assistance some Publick Notary of known Fidelity, who may commit to Writing all these things, with what else shall in or about the Premises seem necessary, or any manner of way requisite; Commanding and strictly Injoining you, That all other Affairs whatever being laid aside, you apply your selves to the foresaid, how often, and at what time it shall be necessary; and that the above-named Causes you Hear, Examine, and in the same Proceed and them Determine and commit to final Execution as said is. We also by the tenor of these Presents strictly command all and every one in this Part whom it may concern, to obey you in performing the Premises, and that they assist and diligently help you in all Things, In Confirmation, &c. Witness the King at Covent. the 24th Day of October, and First Year of his Reign; Taken from the Mouth of the King himself.

What Success this Commission, and new Office had, I find not reported; but it might come too late, or the new Officer forget what he was to execute, for the Faction lost none they could Corrupt or Win; yet surely, the Institution of it was very Politick and Important, as a plain Image and Pourtrait of the Office and Authority of the Great or High Constable of England, which, in the Execution of a Wise and Valiant Person, is of a high and great use.

Having made mention of these Offices, it shall not be a Parergue, between these Acts, to inter-add the rest of this King's Officers, both Chief and Others; at the least, such as were of Honour or Dignity: I have before named the High-Constable, the Great Marshal, High Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, the rest were Sir John Wood the Elder, Lord Treasurer the First Year, and Sir John Touchet, Lord Audley during the rest of his Reign: Dr. Russel Bishop of Lincoln had the Great Seal, Thomas Barrow was Master of the Rolls, (which Place Henry the Seventh continued to him, and made him a Privy Counsellor) John Kendal was Principal Secretary, Sir William Hopson Treasurer of the

Other Officers of K. Richard 3.

Vol. I.

Y y y

Household,



1483. Household, Sir Thomas Peirce Controulor, after him Sir John Buck, John Gunthorp Keeper of the Privy Seal, Sir William Hussey Chief Justice, Thomas Tremaine and Roger Townsend the King's Serjeants, Morgan Kidwel Attorney General, Nicholas Fitz-William Recorder of London.

Treaties and Foreign Princes, I have seen a Memorial of for League one for Intercourse and Commerce, between and Commerce him and (m) Philip Duke of Burgundy, and the with Flanders, who in the Record are call'd In the Memoirs of Flanders: These Princes and States had Determin the Affairs, which I find they dispatch'd with Approbation of the Princes their Masters.

In Rolls There was also a Commission about these Anno 1 R. 3. Times, to Hear and Redress the Complaints made to the King, by the Subjects of the King of France and of Denmark, which was well expedited.

1484. Anno Regni 2. That Treaty of Peace and League with Scotland, (began before) was continued, and finish'd by Commissioners sent from James IV. King of Scotland, and by other Commissioners Delegate for the King of England; those for Scotland were Coli Earl of Argyle, Chancellor of Scotland, N. Bishop of Aberdeen, the Ld. Lisle, the Lord Dromonde of Stobhall, Mr. Archibald Qubittlaw, Archdeacon of Lodion and Secretary to the King, Lion King at Arms, and Duncan of Dundas; they came to Nottingham in September, Anno Dom. 1484, and were honourably receiv'd in the Great Chamber of the Castle, the King sitting under his Royal Cloth of State; Mr. Archibald Qubittlaw, stepping before the rest, address'd a very Eloquent Oration unto him in Latin, which reflected upon the Praise of Martial Men and Art Military, including much to the Honour and Praise of King Richard. This Treaty aim'd partly at a Truce and Peace, partly at a Marriage between James the Prince of Scotland and the Lady Anne, Daughter of John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, and Niece to King Richard.

Commissioners for the King of England, were John Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Bishop of St. Asaph, John Duke of Norfolk, Henry Earl of Northumberland, Mr. John Gunthorp Custos privati Signilli, Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord Stanley, Sir N. Ld. Strange, Sir N. Lord Powis, Sir Henry Lord Fitzburgh, Sir Humphry Lord Dacres, Mr. Thomas Barrow Master of the Rolls, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and Richard Salkeld: The other for the Treaty of Alliance and Marriage, were Thomas Archbishop of York, John Bishop of Lincoln, John Bishop of Worcester, John Duke of Norfolk, William Earl of Nottingham, John Sutton,

Lord Dudley, N. Lord Scroope of Upsal, Sir William Hussey, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and William Catesby: But the Success of that, and many other Good Intentments, were interposed by the Inconstancy and Contraste of the Times. The Lady Anne de la Poole, upon the breach thereof, (resolving to accept no other Motion) forthwith took a Religious Habit in the Monastery of Sion (n).

There was another Treaty of Peace and Truce in this Second Year, between him and the Duke of Brittain, or at the least given out for Peace, yet was indeed but a Part and Pretext of the Treaty: For the main Negotiations on the King's side, was, how to get the Earl of Richmond out of his Custody into his own, or be as well secur'd of him there as his Brother King Edward was: And for this Treaty, the chief Negotiators were the Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Thomas Hutton for the King, the Bishop of Leon and others for the Duke. The Treaty began Anno Dom. 1484. and was finish'd and ratified in the Year following; but the Duke violated his Part immediately, by giving Aid to the King's Enemies.

In the same Year there were Letters made (which are yet extant in the Treasury of the Exchequer) that moved a Peace and Truce between King Richard and Charles VIII. King of France; wherein it must be understood, the Tribute before mention'd was Articled.

Also in this Year, and the Year before, there was a private Treaty, which we must not pass by, for the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with King Richard himself: What the Success of it was, and how far it proceeded, will more aptly present it self in another place.

We are now to take notice of the Duke of Buckingham's Revolt, for this was the Preparative and Fourrier of the rest: And to give it the more taking Feature and specious Pretence, it must be given out, That the Cause was the Reformation of an Ill Government and Tyranny, under which Species (for Treason is ever fairly palliated, and seldom wants the form of some Plea, tho' at the Bar) they must take up Arms against the King. And here (as some Rivers deriv'd from the Sea, cannot suddenly lose their taste of saltness) they discover'd their ancient Taint and Inconstancy, which the Prince wisely suspected from the first. For the Duke of Buckingham (how Affably soever he trim'd his Countenance) it shoud seem departed Malecontent from Court, yet made not that general publick pretended Cause of the King's Crimes all his Quarrel, but challeng'd him by some private Grudges, \* as denying to give or restore to him the Earldom of Hereford and Constableship of England

1484.

The Lady Anne de la Poole a Nun.

Treaty with the Duke of Brittain.

Ib. in Scac.

Treaty with the King of France.

Treaty of Marriage of King Richard with the Lady Elizabeth.

Revolt of the Duke of Buck.

The Duke of Buck. first riseth in Rebellion. The Quarrel of the Duke of Buckingham against the King.

(m) This cannot be true, for Philip D. of Burgundy died in June 1467. according to Comines, and his Son, Charles Ten Years after him. To Charles succeeded Anne his Daughter, married to Maximilian Arch-Duke of Austria, who in right of his Wife was stiled Duke of Burgundy till the Year 1485, when he was chosen King of the Romans, and 'twas 1492. before his Son the Arch-Duke Philip succeeded him in the Sovereignty of the Netherlands, as Duke of Burgundy, Eight Years after King Richard's Death. — Phil. de Com.

(n) Thin, in his Account of all the Dukes in England since the Conquest, says Anne de la Poole was by King Richard's procurement, married to the Duke of Rothsay, the Scots King's eldest Son. — Hol. p. 1236.

\* King Richard had extremely obliged this Duke, to keep him fast to him; so that he had little reason to be malecontent. While he was Duke of Gloucester and Protector of the Realm, and of the Person of his Nephew Edward V. he procured for the Duke almost all the Government and Authority of Wales, and other bordering Counties: For he had the Office of Constable of all the King's Castles, and the Office of Steward of the said Castles and divers Manours, Royalties, Lands, Lordships, &c. in the Counties of Salop, Hereford, Somerset, Dorset and Wilts: To have without making Account or rendering any thing to the King. To him also Edward V. granted the whole Oversight and Government of his Subjects in those Counties, and a Power and Authority for the security of his Person and Kingdom, and Conservation of Peace in those Parts, to call them together, and to Array and Arm them. To the said Duke the King also gave the Office of Chief Justice and Chamberlain in South and North Wales for term of Life. He constituted him Constable of the Castle and County of Carmarthen, of the Castle and County of Cardigan, of the Castle of Aberystwith in Cardigan, the Castle of Denevey in South Wales, the Castle and Town of Tynbych in the County of Pembroke, the Castle and Lordship of Kilgarrum in South Wales, and the Castle and Town of Llanstephan there; the Lordship of Wallwyns Castle in the County of Pembroke: the Castle and Lordship of West-Haverford in South Wales. He also gave, granted and constituted



1483.

stituted the said Duke to be Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Lordship and Manour of *Usk*, the Castle and Manour of *Carlion*, the Castle, Lordship and Manour of *Dynos*; the Castle and half of the Lordship and Manour of *Emyas Laz*; the Castle Lordship and Manour of *Belth*; and the Castles, Manours and Lordships of *Clifford*, of *Ragener*, of *Melenueh*, of *Montgomery*, of *Dynbigh*, of *Elbel*, of *Nerberch*, of *Wigmore*, of *Holt*, of *Bransfeld*, with a great number more in *Wales* and the Marches of *Wales*, which were in the Hands and Possession of the Earl of *Pembroke* before.

Again by another Patent, the King constituted the said *Henry Duke of Bucks*, Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Manour and Town of *Monmouth*; and all Castles, Towns, Lordships, Manours, Lands, Tenements, which were parcel of the Duchy of *Lancaster* in *South Wales*. He was also constituted Keeper or Chief Forester of the Forest and Chase of *Hodenake*, with all the Profits, Commodities, &c. And to put in all manner of Officers, Bailiffs, &c. Still further there was another Grant to him from *Edward of Gomerlands* in *Wales*, and to have the Rule, Government and Oversight of them and the present Officers turn'd out to admit the Duke.

Besides all these large Grants from *Edm. V. Richard* when he came to reign added, most royally, further Favours to him; for he had made him, First of all Great Chamberlain of *England*, June 28. afterwards he made him Steward of the Honour of *Tutbury*, in the County of *Derby* and *Stafford*; also of the Castle, Town and Lordship and Manour of *Newcastle under Tyne*; the Lordships and Manours of *Worswerth* and *Asbourn*, and all the Castles, Lordships and Manours, &c. in the same County, parcel of the Duchy of *Lancaster*: Also the Office of Constable of the Castle of *Tutbury*, Master Forester of the Chase of *Nedewood* and of *Duffeld Firib*; and the same Duke to be Supervisor of the Honour aforesaid, and of the same Castles, Manours, Lordships, Towns, Lands and Tenements, Forests, Chaces, Parks and Warrens in the County aforesaid, with the Appurtenances, parcel of the said Duchy: Also Master of the Game of the same Forests, Chaces, Parks and Warrens aforesaid; also Chief and Great Steward of the Honours aforesaid, and other Premises, for the term of the said Duke's Life, with the Fees, &c. anciently due and accustomed thereto; and an 100 *l.* of lawful Money for the term of his Life, out of the Revenues aforesaid, by the Hand of the Receiver. Also, the Office of the Steward of the Lordship of the *High Peak*, and to be Master of the Forest, and Surveyor of the Forest there. And also to be Constable of the Castle of *Donington* in the County of *Leicester*, and Steward of the same Castle, Lordship and Manour, parcel of the said Honour of *Tutbury*. And also to have Power and Authority, during his Life, to make from time to time, all Bailiffs, Foresters, Parkers and other Officers and Ministers.

To the same Duke, *K. Richard* granted also the Office of Constable of all the Castles, and of Steward of all the Castles, Lordships, Manours, Lands, &c. in the Counties of *Salop* and *Hereford*, which were then vacant, and which hereafter should be vacant; and also the Supervisorthip of all the King's Subjects there.

To the same Duke was also a Grant by Letters Patents to be Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Manour and Town of *Uske* in the March of *Wales*; and of all other Castles, Lordships, Manours, Towns, Lands, &c. which were Parcels of the Earldom of *March* in *North Wales*, *South Wales*, and *March of Wales*: And also to be Keeper or Chief Forester of the Forest and Chase of *Tremeke*, and all other Forests and Chaces, parcel of the Earldom aforesaid in *North Wales*, *South Wales*, and *March of Wales*, for term of Life. And again, to the same Duke, the Office of Chief Justice and Chamberlain in *South* and *North Wales*, for term of Life; giving further Power and Authority to make, exercise and execute all and singular things belonging to those Offices.

Further, by another Patent *K. Richard* granted to *Henry D. of Bucks*, the Offices of Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Manours and Towns of *Monmouth* and *Kidwelly* in *South Wales*; and of all other Castles, Lordships, Towns in *North* and *South Wales*, and *Marches of Wales*, Parcel of the Duchy of *Lancaster*; and the Office of Master Forester and Master of the Game within all the Forests, &c.

And lastly, he had granted him the Stewardship of the Town of *Chesterfield*; and of the Manour and Lordship of *Scarsdale* in the County of *Derby*, for term of Life. *J. S. Journ. of K. Rich. III.*

The Title of the Earldom of *Hereford*, and Constableship of *England*.

*England* (for they went together a long time) which he alledg'd belong'd to the Partage that fell to his Great Grand-mother the Lady *Anne* Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *Woodstock*, created by King *Richard II.* Duke of *Gloucester* and Earl of *Buckingham*, and of his Wife *Elienor*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Humphry de Bobun* Earl of *Hereford* and Constable of *England*: Which Claim, had he considerately look'd upon, could not rightly revolve to him, but rather was for the King's Part; for *Humphry de Bobun* Earl of *Hereford*, of *Essex* and *Northampton*, Lord of *Brecknock* and Constable of *England* (in the time of King *Edward III.* and the last Earl of the Family of the *Bobuns*) had by the Lady *Jane* his Wife, Daughter of *Richard Fitz-Allan* Earl of *Arundel*, two Daughters and Heirs *Elienor* and *Mary*: *Elienor* was married to the same *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *de Woodstock*, youngest Son of King *Edward* the Third, Duke of *Gloucester* and Earl of *Buckingham*; *Mary*, the second Daughter, was married to *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaster*, and after King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry* the Fourth, and the Earldom of *Hereford* fell to his Wife; in favour whereof, he was created D. of *Hereford* by *K. Rich. II.* and the Earldom (now a Duchy) and the Rights thereof remain'd in the King, and in the King's Heirs and Successors until the Death of *K. Hen. VI.* who died without Issue, and then all the Estate of *Lancaster* (especially that of the Royal Family of *Lancaster*) escheated to King *Edward IV.* and from him it came to King *Richard*, as Heir to his Brother and all his Ancestors. But the D. of *Buckingham* pretended Title to that Earldom by his said Grandmother *Anne*, who was one of the Daughters and Heirs of the aforesaid Lady *Elienor* (Wife of *Thomas de Woodstock* Duke of *Gloucester*) and the Wife of *Edmond Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, and Grandfather to this *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, who the rather presum'd

to make this Claim, because the Issue of the other Sister *Mary* being extinct, he took himself also to be her Heir.

But King *Richard* relishing something in this, near the Disposition and Inclination of *Bullingbrook*, answer'd, "That the Earldom of *Hereford* was of the Inheritance of *Henry IV.* who was also King of *England* (tho' by Tort and Usurpation) and will you, my Lord of *Buckingham*, claim to be Heir of *Henry* the Fourth? You may then haply assume his Spirits, and lay claim to the Crown by the same Titles.

This was as bitter as short, and doubly ill taken; First, because it came with a Repulse: Next, because it seem'd to proceed from a Suspicion, and as a tax of his Loyalty, and begets another pretence of Exception in the Duke's Bosom, which he call'd a breach of Promise in the King, for not joyning the Prince his Son in Marriage with the Lady *Anne Stafford* his Daughter: But all those Colours were but to give Complexion to the Face of his Defection; the true Cause was well divined and found out by the King, his Ambition and Aim to be Sovereign, rais'd by an overweening of that Royal Blood he supposed to be in his Descent from the said *Thomas de Woodstock*, &c. Son of a King; and yet he was not resolutely determin'd to make his Claim to the Crown this way, nor to attempt the Kingdom by Arms, until those Embers which (as it were) lay but luke-warm in his Thoughts, were quicken'd and reviv'd by the Animation of *Dr. Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, then a Privy Counsellor, tho' he stood in some Umbrage and Disgrace in the Court with the King, for his Practices against him, and was at this time in the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham* as a Prisoner; (n) more expressly, for that being a Privy Counsellor, he had given secret Advertisment to the Earl of *Richmond* of what pass'd in the secret Counsels of the King; to this Advantage

1483.

Dedulus.

*Morton* Bp. of *Ely*. (n) A great Mistake, he was never a Privy Counsellor. to *K. Rich.* he was seiz'd before *Rich.* Election the very day the *Ld Hastings* was murder'd, and kept in the *Tower* till the D. of *Bucks* had him sent to *Brecknock*. Hol.—



1483. vantage he applies that which he had wittily drawn from the Duke's Discontent and Passionate Discourses at times past. By which, perceiving the Glance of his Ambition, and that deriv'd from the great Opinion of his Royal Blood, he pregnantly tickles and feeds that Humour, until he had sooth'd him past his own Strength or Retirement; for his secret Drift was, to apt and prepare the Duke to a Rebellion at any hand, tho' not to set his own Title on foot, yet lays open the Advantage of the present times to it, proposing flat Usurpation and Tyranny against the King Regnant, and the strong likelihood of his Deposing. This lifts the Duke something higher in his own Opinion. But coming to Paule, and perceiving *Richmond* was the Man they had aim'd at for this Great Blow (who had condition'd by Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, (for the Countess of *Richmond*, had by the Means of Dr. *Lewis*, conciliated the Friendship of the Queen Mother to that Alliance, and to draw as many of the House of *York* into the Action as were at her Devotion) that many Potent Lords and some Foreign Princes had promised their Aids.) He began to retreat, and conceive he had taken the wrong Path to his Journey's end, for his Title and Claim must be nothing, if those of *York* and *Lancaster* were united: And that the Earl (who stood between him and his Aims) was not only resolute to attempt, but strongly aided for it, himself not able, upon such an Instant, to raise a Power able to Encounter, much less give Check unto his violent Ambition, therefore concludes all against himself, and that it would fall out far better to side with the Times; a Consideration which doubtless would highly stir a Spirit where so much Greatness of Opinion and Ambition was. And the Doctor discerning this Disgust, and that he was startled in his Hope and Resolution, to recover him an entire Man, and not let him stand by an idle Spectator in so meritorious an Action, he opens a private way of Honour and Satisfaction, suggesting him the first and greatest Man the Kingdom was to know next the King: And finding his particular Distastes to King *Richard*, of quickest Sense and Argument to him, he freshly urges (and as it were) refrigates each Particle, to the greatness of his Spirit and Discontent. The Duke replies not much at that time, but

1483. busy in his Thoughts leaves him, and presently fashions a Visit to the Countess of *Richmond*, (a Lady of a politick and contriving Bosom) to know the credit of his Intelligence, which she insinuates, with Arguments so full of Circumstance and Honour, besides her Son's Indearment to him, their nearness of Blood, affirming the Duke's Mother a *Somerfet*, the reciprocal Affinity between her Father and his, and then the Bravery and Religion in the Cause that the Duke now forsakes himself, and fully gives up his Resolution and Promise to her: Thus prepar'd he finds out the Lord *Stanley*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and his Brother the Bishop of *Exeter*, Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *John Wells*, *Robert Willoughby*, *Edward Woodvil*, *Thomas Arundel*, who had severally rais'd Forces, and intended their Rendezvous near *Gloucester*, so to march for *Dorsetshire*, there to receive the Earl and the Duke with his *Welshmen*: But the King was early in his Preparation, to prevent them before they could unite, or the Earl of *Richmond* arrive there, else they had fastned a most dangerous Blow upon him\*. And at this full stop, in these Progresses, methinks, we may observe, how uncertainly in our strongest Valuations we are our own; and that our greatest Confidences and humane Policies, are but heavy Weights hung at trembling Wires, while our Expectations are apt to be flatter'd and outgo themselves, but are overtaken in their Success and Fates, as was this Great Man's; for their Forces neither met by Sea nor Land, the *English* being scatter'd by a sudden and huge Inundation that so dangerously overflow'd all Passages, they cou'd not joyn nor pass the River *Severne*, while the suddenness and strangeness of it struck the Souldiers with such Alteration, that most part of them forsook the Duke and left him to himself: The Earl of *Richmond* was as unfortunately met at Sea by a great Tempest, upon the Coasts of *England*.

The King took the Advantage this Accident offer'd, and pursu'd the Duke, not only with a Galloping Army, but with Edicts and Prescriptions that promised a Thousand Pounds in Money (whereunto some Writers add, so much Lands as was worth One Hundred Pounds per Ann.) to any one that should bring in the Duke, who was betray'd and brought to the King, then at *Salisbury*, by || *Humphry Banister*, of an eternal

\* The King was now in the Month of *Octob.* at *Lincoln*, providing to go to meet the Duke his Rebel, and with such strength as he surely confided in. He was greatly incens'd against the Duke for so bad a Requital of the extraordinary Gifts and Honours he had bestow'd upon him, which made him stile the Duke, *The most untrue Creature living*, in a Postscript under his own Hand, to a Letter to the Bp. of *Lincoln* his Chancellor, now absent and sick; ordering him by some fit Officers of the Chancery, to send him the Great Seal, which he should have occasion to use. The Original is still preserv'd in the Tower, and friendly shew'd me by Mr. *Geo. Holmes*, Deputy Keeper of the Records. It ran to this tenor.

By the K I N G.

" Right Reverend Padre in God, and Right trusty and welbelov'd, We grete you wele, and in our hertiest wyse thank you for the manyfold Presentes that your Servantes in your behalve have presented unto us at this our being here: which we assure you we toke and accepted with good hert: and so we have cawse. And wheras We by Goddes Grace intend briefly to avaunce us towards our Rebel and Traitor the Duc of *Buckingham*, to resiste and withstand his malicious purpose, as lately by our other Letters We certifyed you our mynde more at large: For which Cause it behoveth us to have our grete Sele here, We being enfourmed, that for suche Infirmities and Disceases as ye susteyne ne may in your person to your ease conveniently come unto us with the same: Wherefore we wil, and natheless charge you that forthwith upon the sight of thies, yee saufly do the same our grete Sele to be sent unto us; and such of thoffice of our Chauncery as by your Wisedome shal be thought necessary, receiving these our Letters for youre sufficient Discharge in that behalve. Yeven undre our Signet at our Cite of *Lincolne* the xii. day of *Octobre*.

Then follows the King's Postscript under his own Hand, viz.

" We wolde most gladly ye came your self, yf that ye may, and yf ye may not, we pray you not to fayle, but to accomplish the in al dyllygence our sayde commaundemente, to sende our Seale incontinent upon the syght hereof, as we truste you with such as ye truste, and the Officers parteyning, to attende with hyt; praying you to ascerteyn us of your Newes ther. Here loved be God, is al wel, and trewly determyned, and for to resiste the Malys of him, that had best Cawse to be trew, the Duc of *Bolyngham* the most untrew Creature lyvyng. Whom with Gods Grace we shal not be long til that we wyll be in that parties, and subdew his Malys. Wee assure you there was never falsre Traitor purvayde for, as this Derrerr *Gloucester* shal shew you. J. S.

|| This Note of *Buck*, is scarce agreeable with the Kings Gift to this *Rauf Banister*, (for so was his Christian Name, and not *Humphrey*) and with the King's Commendation of his Service in his Letters Patents For he gave him the Manour and Lordship of *Ealding* in *Kent*, late belonging to the D. of *Buckingham*. So the Letters ran, *Richard, &c.* " to al and singular the Officers, &c. Wit ye, that in consideration of the true and faithful Service, which our well belov'd Servant *Rauf Banister* Esq; now late hath done unto us, for and about the taking and bringing of our said great Rebel into our Hands, we have given unto the said *Rauf* and to his Heirs male the said Manour for ever. K. Rich. Journ. J. S.

Brand



1484. Brand) having liv'd by this Man's Service, and now thought treacherously to subsist by his Ruin. The Duke being examin'd, freely confess'd all, and for it lost his Head in the Field according to Marshal Law used by Armies, in Nov. Ann. Dom. 1484. Ann. 2 Rich. III.

The Duke executed by Marshal Law.

And here, if we view him in the Figure of his Ambition or Fate, we shall find Dr. Morton his *Caput Argol*, or the malignant Planet of his Fortune; who, as Sir Thomas Moor confesseth and affirmeth, by his Politick Drifts and Pride,

advanced himself and brought the Duke to this Ruin. The rest fled, some into Sanctuaries, others into *Brittain* to the Earl of *Richmond*, and some into *Flanders*, all their Plots being now how to be safe.

And thus far King *Richard*, in the Voyage of his Affairs, had a promising Gale; we will therefore here cast Anchor a while, and clasp up this First Book with the Relation of his Better Fortunes.

## BOOK II.

### The ARGUMENT of the Second Book of the LIFE and REIGN of RICHARD III.

The Earl of Richmond practiseth with Foreign Princes, and with the English Nobles for Assistance and Forces to make his First and Second Invasions of England; he came first to Poole with Ill Success, secondly to Milford cum bonis avibus. What Bastards are, and whereof they are capable, who be of the House of Lancaster; how Lancaster and Beaufort, or Somerset differ. Bastards of Kings must not take the Surnames of the King or Kingdom. The Honourable Privilege of the Name of Plantagenet. Prince Edward and Queen Anne, John de la Poole proclaim'd Heir of the Kingdom by Richard the Third. Bastards of John Duke of Lancaster made Legitimate and Capable of Offices, Honour and of Heritage by Richard II. and the Parliament. What the Legitimation of the Pope is. Arms and Names of Princes Bastards. The Nobility of King Henry VII. He assid not much in the Titles of York and Lancaster. The Pope giveth to him the Title, De jure Belli, & de Domo Lancastria. The greatness of the Title of York; of Counsel and Counsellors. The Prerogative of the King in Judgments and Controversies. The Earl of Richmond landeth at Milford Haven; his Entertainment there and in Wales: His Aptness for divers Wives: He marcheth to Bosworth: King Richard and he Fight; Richard is overcome and slain, also the Duke of Norfolk by the Earl of Oxford (ut Creditur). The Earl of Richmond is straight Crown'd King in the Field: The fatal Error of King Richard: King's lov'd Combat: The Titles of King Henry VII. Kings go not now to Wars: Cruelties committed upon the Body of King Richard: He was attainted of Treason, tho' against the Laws of Nature and of Royal Majesty, with many of his Followers and Servants: The Earl of Surrey how released out of Prison; his Genealogy from Hewardus Walter de Buck, and his Progeny.

WE left King Richard the Third in the growth of a flourishing and promising Estate, and his Fate now, in the rise of a peaceful and prosperous Reign, of a calm and hopeful Prefage: But Fortune, that lends her Smiles as Exactors do Money, to undo the Debtor, soon call'd for the Principal and Interest from this Prince, to whom she was merely Novercal, and he might well call her, with the expert Heroes in Euripides, *Fortuna diurna*, i. e. Fortune of a Day's life; for in her best Mood, she is most slippery in her Favours and tedious in her Mischiefs, as was aptly consider'd by a grave Man; *Vale. Max. Fortuna adversas res cupido animo inducit, secundas parco*; She is a Mother but a little while, a Step-Dame a long time, and for ever to some; here then we are aggressing into the Turbulent and Luſtful Times, which were towards the end and period of his Life and Reign; the Formal and final Causes happening from the Invasions attempted by the Earl of Richmond. I will begin the Second Book there, and may say Inva-

sions, because he twice invaded the Kingdom, tho' by Error or Ignorance of our Vulgar Historians they are confounded and made one, which corruptly maims the Story, and conceals and pretermits some very remarkable Agitations; particularly, the true Cause of the Duke of Buckingham's Ill Success and Defeat is misunderstood, or not at all known. To come to it therefore more certainly, we must take notice of the First Preparation by the Earl of Richmond, who was resolv'd to advance his Claim that way, and unbofoms himself to the Duke of *Brittain*, his Possibility and Advantage by Friends, if he could raise but sufficient Strength to set him safely in *England*. The Duke gives him all good Wishes to his Undertaking, but opposes (against all Arguments of drawing him in) first, his Amity and League with *England*, which in Honour and Justice he was not to violate: Then his Wants by the long Civil and Cruel Wars with his Barons, that had so exhausted his Coſſers, as durst he dispense with the former Cause, yet that might render him excused,

Eurip. in Hera.

Vale. Max. 1. 7.



1484. excused, being unable to furnish him, at least in so short a time as his Expedition required; beyond which Answer, for the present, the Earl thought not fit to press him. But having a prompt and strong Affiance in his good Fortune, makes up to some of the Duke's most honourable and powerful Friends, to lay Siege that way to him by private Advantages; for by his ingenious Demeanour he had won the Inclinations of many Great Ones, being Master of a pleasant acute Wit, which was well supply'd in him by the strain of all Courtly Acts; to those he had the help of the French Tongue, which he spoke excellently well; and, to give the more plausible Access and Influence, he was (as *Philip de Comines*, who knew him, testifies) a very Compleat and well Featured Gentleman which makes the Rule certain, and well animating;

*Gratior est pulchro veniens e Corpore virtus.*

The Beauties of the Mind more gracious are,  
When as the Bodies Features are more fair.

In the number of those Eminent Persons he had gain'd during his Fair Imprisonment, more fortunately he had apply'd himself unto the Lady Margaret Dutcheſs of Brittain, Daughter of *Gaston de Foix* (a Great Man in the Western Parts of France, whose Ancestors were well affected to the English) and Madam *De Bervier* the Dutcheſs, so far countenanced him in his Design, that she became an earnest Suitor unto the Duke her Husband, and prevailed both for his Liberty and Aid; for Caution and Pledge herein, he was only to kneel at the High Altar, before the blessed Sacrament, in the Cathedral Church of *St. Vannes*, there to make his Religious Vow, justly and truly to observe what Restitution he privately had promised to the Duke and Dutcheſs; which Protestation made, he had three Ships well rigg'd and furnish'd with Men, Arms and Victuals, as my Author relates.

*Au Conte de Richmond furent aux despens du duc trois grosses Navires de Britannia, charges de gens de Armes, &c. & qui se misent in mer.*

But, by the favour of this British Writer, the Earl staid many Days at *St. Malo*, to receive and send Intelligence, and made it the beginning of October 1484, before he came to *St. Poole* in Dorset, where he lay some time at Anchor, to send his Boats a Shore as Explorers or Spies, for discovery of the Coasts, where the King's Army or his Friends lay, who return'd without any particular Satisfaction, but that there was many arm'd Men about the Country. The Earl (who in all things was circumspect, and cautiously timerous) resolv'd immediately to loose from thence; but the Night following, a terrible Tempest constrain'd them with all haste to weigh Anchor and make into the Maine, the Storm and Darknes of the Night severing and dispersing their Ships, some to the Coasts of Brittain, but the Earl himself to the Coasts of Normandy. And this was the success of his First Invasion, which, though it bore an inauspicate Face, it proved of a friendly Event: For had he landed about *Poole*, or but stay'd till the King's Ships had come in, that lay waiting not far off, he had been a lost Man every way; the King being not only active to meet their Contrivements, but had some advantage upon them, by the close Intelligence of a Friend, and knew that the Forces of the Duke of Buckingham, with the Earl of Devon and others, were to meet near Gloucester, and march in their full and united

1484. Strength to'ards the Sea-coasts of Dorset, there to receive the Earl: But the King encounter'd with the Duke of Buckingham's Army, Beat him, and cut of his Head, before any of the rest could come at him, daily putting the Ordinary Bands of these West Countries in a ready Posture for Guard of their Coasts; and that if the Earl of Richmond or any of his French Forces came ashore, they were to be Entertain'd courteously by them, pretending themselves of the Duke of Buckingham's Army, who had Routed the King's Party, and were sent thither to receive and conduct the Earl with his Men to London. This was the projected End: But 'tis of remarkable Note, to look into the various Paths of this Earl's Fortune, and how they brought him to his Journey's End, when they appear'd most doubtful and threatening, not only gave him Advantage by the good Success of his Enterprises, but made the most adverse Accidents serve as prosperous unto them; for was it not happy the Storm at *Poole* drove him from the Coasts of England, and no less fortunate, that the Duke of Buckingham was defeated, whereas, had the Duke atcheived that Day, the Earl of Richmond not being there, (who was to be present in Person, and General of the Field) we may with reason conjecture his Emulation and Policy would have accumulated the Honour and Fortune of the Conquest to his own pretended Title: such Spirits like the Sea, where they intrude or win, making their Advantage their Right, and not easily surrender, so much is the Engagements of Ambition, too strong for all Ties of Faith and Right.

The Example is observable in the Earl of Richmond himself; who altho' he knew the Children of the Duke of Clarence and others, had better Right to the Crown, yet once possess'd would not resign, no not to his own Son whilst he could hold it; nor did he want his Presidents, as all Men know, who know any thing. And to take all Relations in our way that may be level with our Story, betwixt this and his Second Invasion, some other Passages offer themselves, as an Interim, and not impertinent to supply the Reader's Observation.

The Death of the King's dear and only Son (at least Legitimate) who died in the Castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, in the Month of April, Anno Dom. 1484. gave such a passionate Charge upon the Nature and Affections of the King and Queen (being then in the Castle of Nottingham) that as mine Author saith, *Subitis doloribus insanire videbantur.*

The Death of Edward Prince of Wales, Son of Richard 3. Chron. Croyland. Ibidem.

Yet the King being a Man of an equal Moderation to his Courage, puts it into the Scale of his other worldly Encounters; and as it was said of *Julius Caesar*, That he soon pass'd the Death of his only Daughter *Julia* (most precious in his Affection) *Et tam facile dolorem hunc, quam omnia vicit*; so King Richard temper'd his Grief and Business so together, that the One made him not unsensible, nor the other negligent; but as the Prior of Croyland telleth, did all things gravely and discreetly as before.

Seneca.

*Rex Richardus nihilominus tamen suam partem defensione vacaverit*: Altho' the Queen could not hold so proportion'd a Temper over her Grief, the Tenderneſs of her Sex letting it break upon her in a more passionate manner, and with such an Impression, that it became her Sickness past recovery, languishing in Weakneſs and Extremity of Sorrow, until she seem'd rather to overtake Death, than Death her; which was not long after the Prince's, and added not a little to the King's Sufferings and Sorrows, (tho' traducing

John Froissard Paradin. Hist. de Brit. The Duke had by this Lady his Daughter and Heir Anne, who brought the Dutchy of Brittain to France Hist. de Br.



1484. traducing Spirits have charged him with short-  
 ning her Life by Poison or some other Practice,  
 which are prestigious and black Comments,  
 falsly plac'd in the Margent of his Story, and  
 may more nearly touch the Credit of the Au-  
 thor's than his, if we judiciously take a view  
 of him and his Actions; and look upon the in-  
 dulent and active Care for his Country, which  
 he gave a constant and sincere Expression of,  
 instantly after his Son's Death, when by the  
 Deliberation and Consent of the Barons, he  
 was industrious to think of a Successor, and to  
 nominate such an One, whose Blood and Worth  
 might make him equally Heir to the Crown  
 and the Peoples Affection, (with the highest ap-  
 probation of the Kingdom) and none more near  
 to either than Sir *John de la Poole* Earl of Lincoln,  
 Son and Heir of *John de la Poole* Duke of Suffolk,  
 and of the Lady *Elizabeth Plantagenet*, Dutches  
 of Suffolk, the Sister and Heir of this King *Rich-  
 ard*, who was declared and proclaim'd Heir ap-  
 parent to the Kingdom. This was a *Contrecarre*  
 to the Faction of *Richmond*, and, indeed, what  
 greater Affront could thwart them, if those of  
 the House of *Lancaster* or *Beaufort* were next  
 Heir to the Crown, (as the Pretenders affirm'd  
 for the Earl of *Richmond*) who would likewise  
 have him to be *Caput gentis Lancastriae, & Prin-  
 cepts Familiae*, tho' they could scarcely prove him  
 (not without question I am sure) *Membrum il-  
 lius Familiae*, until he came to be King, for it  
 was a Question in those Times, and much dis-  
 puted, whether the *Beauforts* or *Somersets* were  
 of the House of *Lancaster* or no? Most true it  
 is, the Children of the House of *Lancaster* be-  
 ing lawfully Born, and after *Henry Plantagenet*  
 Duke of *Lancaster* had conquer'd and deposed  
*Richard II.* were to be held Princes of the Blood  
 Royal, and capable of the Crown in their nat-  
 ural and due order. But those of *Beaufort* or  
*Somerset* were, as the Vulgar hath it, *Filii Populi*,  
 or as the Imperial Juris-consults say, *liberi vulgo  
 questiti*, who by the old Greeks were term'd *'Ανα-  
 γής, i. e. sine Patre*, the Doctors of the Spiritu-  
 al Law, drawing the *Originem* of such Children  
*ab illicito & damnato coitu*, of the polluted adul-  
 terous Bed (and so those *Beauforts*, three Males  
 and one Female, begotten by *John of Gaunt*  
 as he believed) according to the Laws were to  
 be reputed, the Children of Sir *Robert Swinford*,  
 begotten upon *Katharine* his Wife in his life time,  
 who was Daughter of Sir *Payen Roget* a French  
 Man, dwelling in *Beauforts*, and was *Guyen* Herald  
 to the Duke of *Lancaster*. His Dutches *Dona  
 Constantia* (a most Noble and Virtuous Lady,  
 Daughter of *Don Pedro* King of *Castile*) was  
 living also in the time he kept this *Katharine*  
 and had those *Beauforts*, who were Surnamed so  
 from the Place of their Birth, a Town of his  
 own in *Anjou*. But to Note *transitu*, how ob-  
 noxious this Duke made his Frailties, that (think-  
 ing to put a smoother Face upon his Sin) gave  
 it but the same Blush, by making this *Katharine  
 Swinford* his Dutches, against the liking of the  
 King and all his Noble Friends, and direct Ten-  
 nor of the Common Laws, which pronounce  
 Marriages between such as have lived in Adul-  
 tery unlawful: Nay, to make him the more  
 Marvaile and Smiling Discourse of the Court, the  
 Glafs of his Age was turn'd to his last Year,  
 when he sacrificed these scatter'd Embers of his  
 Desires and Passion. But he obtain'd those Chil-  
 dren to be legitimated: First, by the Pope *Ur-  
 banus* the Sixth; next by the Charter of King  
*Richard II.* and had both these Indulgences after-  
 ward enlarg'd and confirm'd by Parliament.  
 Yet neither these four Legitimate Children, nec

*qui nascebantur ab illis*, were permitted to the  
 Princely Familiar Title of *Lancaster*, so long as  
 that Name flourish'd, much less of *Plantagenet*,  
 for that was the peculiar Sir-name in chief of  
 the Kings of *England* and Princes of the Blood  
 Royal, since the time of the Second *Henry*, Son  
 of the Empress *Mirilda*, the first Founder of that  
 Name in the Royal Family of *England*. Of which  
 Honour were Partakers the Princely Family of  
*Wales*, of *Brotherton*, of *York*, of *Lancaster*, of  
*Clarence*, of *Woodstock*, of *Gloucester*, &c. And  
 there are yet some Noblemen in *Portugal*, who  
 descended from *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and are  
 call'd and written *de Lancastria*, others of the  
 like Origin and Title may do as much. Nei-  
 ther would King *Henry IV.* *Henry V.* nor King  
*Henry VI.* all Kings of the *Lancastrian* Race in-  
 dure to let the Lineage of *Beaufort* (tho' they  
 respected them as Kinsmen, and advanced them  
 to many Honours) assume the Sirname of *Lan-  
 caster*, holding it an Arrogation and Usurpation  
 of Royalty and Royal Rights, wherein they fol-  
 low'd their Ancestors, who devised other Names  
 for their Base Children; as *Fitz-Roy*, *Oxenford*,  
*Fitz-Herbert*, *Clarendon*, *Fitz-Henry Longuee* &c.  
*Cornwall*; and so they continued the Name of  
*Beaufort* and *Somerset* until the Earl of *Richmond*  
 came, and this was in imitation of the Kings  
 of *France* as I conceive: For within the reach  
 of my Observation, since the time of *Hugh  
 Capet*, they never vouchsafed any of their Base  
 Sons to be capable of the Crown of *France*, or  
 to have the Adven (as they call it) nor the  
 Sirname of *France*; but the Illegitimate Daugh-  
 ters may take the Sirname *France* or *de France*,  
 because they can make no Claim to the Crown  
 by a pretended Permission of a Salick-law, which  
*John de Tillet* witnesseth.

*La troisieme lignée a du tout rejecté, les Bastards  
 non seulement de la Couronne mais aussi de l'adven, &  
 Surnom de France, qui Concession est permis aux Ba-  
 stards de Roy, &c.*

And as the Bastards of the Kings of *England*  
 had other Names, so they took differenc'd Arms,  
 or else were permitted to bear their Mother's (if  
 of any Family). If tolerated to bear the Arms  
 of *England*; then they were Diversify'd in a  
 checking, debasing and rebating manner, with  
 Bastons, Bends, Sinister Bars, Bordures, Marks  
 of Baseness, Obscurity and Novelty, which any  
 new Gentleman might bear, such as the Learn'd  
 call'd *Filios terra & novos Homines*; and we vul-  
 garly, Upstarts. But to object against the use  
 of this in *England*, the Example of *Hamelin* is  
 brought in; and to credit it, his Arms forg'd  
 by some weak and negligent Heralds, who call  
 him *Hamelin Plantagenet*; when the truth is, this  
*Hamelin* (Base Son of *Jeffrey Plantagenet*, Earl of  
*Anjou*) was simply call'd *Hamelin*, and his Son  
*William* took the Sirname of his Mother Dame  
*Isabel de Warren*, Daughter and Heir of *William  
 de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, which their Posterity con-  
 tinued; as *Joannes de Warren* the First, and  
*Joannes de Warren* the Second, both Earls of *Sur-  
 rey*; and *Isabella de Warren* and *Eliana de Warren*,  
 &c. mention'd in the Charters and Records,  
 but never *Plantagenet*, which is acknowledg'd  
 by our best Heralds and Antiquaries; Mr. *Wil-  
 liam Cambden* hath these words, *Isabella Filia sola  
 Gulielmi de Warren Comitis Surria Hamelinum  
 Nothum Galfredi Plantageneti, &c. Titulo Co-  
 mitis Surriae maritum exornavit. Hamelinus  
 Gulielmum Surriae Comitem genuit, cujus posteri a  
 scito Warrenorum Nomine eundem Titulum gesserunt.*  
 And that the Base Son of King *Edward IV.* was  
 commonly call'd *Arthur Plantagenet* proves no-  
 thing neither, well considered: For in the  
 Times

John Earl  
 of Lincoln  
 and after  
 Duke of  
 Suffolk pro-  
 claim'd  
 Heir ap-  
 parent.

A Coun-  
 ter  
 Strength.

John Sa-  
 risburiensis  
 p. 85.

Sir Thom.  
 Walsin in  
 Rich. II.

He marri-  
 ed her in  
 the Year  
 1693, and  
 died Ann.  
 1399.

1484.  
 Parl. Ann.  
 20 Rich.  
 II.

Don Du-  
 art de Lan-  
 castro a  
 Noble  
 Gentlem.  
 aver'd  
 himself  
 descende  
 from the  
 D. of Lan-  
 castro. Va-  
 lodolid.  
 The pecu-  
 liar Sir-  
 names of  
 the Ba-  
 stards of  
 the an-  
 cient Kings  
 of England.

Arms of  
 Bastards  
 of the  
 Kings of  
 England.

Camb. in  
 Surr.



1484.

Times when this *Arthur* lived, the Name of *Plantagenet* being only left in the House of *York*, (the *Lancastrian Plantagenet* being more extinguish'd) had not the former Honour and Reputation, but was darken'd and setting, rather drawing a Contempt and Hate to them that bare it, the *White Rose* daily fading and withering; and so malignant was their Planet then, that, as a learned Gentleman hath further observed, It was not safe in that time to be a *Plantagenet*; therefore, the Permission of those Times can be no Warrant for the Objections, nor the Ignorance of the Poetical Heralds, who have strain'd this Fable of *Hamelin*. Yet farther, not only giving him and his *Posteris* a false Sirname, but assign'd him by the like Fabulous Art, a Shield of familiar Ensigns, the Arms of *France* border'd with an Orle of *Normandy* or *Guyen*; which he, nor yet any of the Antique Lineage of *Anjou* or their Progeny ever bear, or could by just Title bear, either simply or compounded, or the Progenitors of our *English* Kings the Lillies of Gold in an Azure Field, until King *Edward* claim'd the Crown of *France*, and assum'd them in the Right of Queen *Isabel de Valois* his Mother, who was the first that bare them quarterly with the Arms of *England*.

Scarboucle, falsely call'd Carbuncle.

Difference between the House of *Lancast.* and *Somer.* set.

The Earls of *Worcester* from whom.

But the Arms of the ancient Earls of *Anjou* were a Scarboucle, (that is, a Golden Buckle of a military Scarf or Belt, set with Precious Stones) not a Carbuncle or more precious Ruby, for the Term is erroneous and absurd, if consider'd: The Princes of *Anjou* bare this Scarboucle in a Shield party per Chief, Argent and Gules; and the Heirs of this *Hamelin* (who took the Sirname of *Warren*) bare also the Arms of the House of *Warren* in their Shields and Caparisons, but bare the Scarboucle of *Anjou* for their Crest, as they were descended out of that House, as I have seen upon a Seal of *Joannes de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, at a Charter, dated 20 *Edw. III. Ann. Dom. 1346. apud Dom. Rob. Cotton*, which hath given me occasion to speak thus much to cure the Blemish that mistake hath thrust into History, such Absurdities having their Infection, and passing by an Age or two upon the easy and common Judgments, after grow up for tall and undeniable Truths: For some merely reading the Complexion of things, as they do Men by their outsidings, or as Boys Poetry, with tickled Faith; through such wide Ears and Observations, crept in that Parasitism on the one side, and Pride and Usurpation on the other side, that made the House of *Lancaster* and the *Beauforts*, alias *Somersets*, all one; which (whilst the House of *York* flourish'd) were held to differ as much as Royal and Feudal, Sovereignty and Suzerainty; for their Modesty at first was very well pleased with that of *Beaufort*, and it seem'd Honourable enough until the Children of *John de Beaufort*, the eldest Brother (being Earl of *Somer*) assumed the Name of their Fathers greatest Honour and Earldom for their Sirname, and the rest following, quite left the Name of *Beaufort*, and made the other Hereditary. From this *John de Beaufort* Earl of *Somer* and Marquess of *Dorset*, descended *Henry* Duke of *Somer*, Father Natural to *Charles* *Somer*, created Earl of *Worcester* by King *Henry VIII.* And 'tis worth the noting, that this Duke *Henry* left the Faction of *Lancaster* to follow *Edward IV.* The first *Beauforts* legitimated by the Pope, and *Richard II.* have no other Sirnames but *Beaufort* in either of the Instruments Apostolical, nor any Words to give or emure them to any Capacity of Royal Title, or State of Sovereignty in the Crown, only purged them by the Pope's Spiritual Power from the

foulness of Bastardy, allowing them as Children legitimate and lawfully born, but gives 'em no other Title than *Joannes de Beaufort Miles*, *Henricus de Beaufort Clericus*, *Thomas de Beaufort Domicellus*, *Joanna de Beaufort Domicella*, and more the Pope cannot do. As the Doctors of *Sorbone*, and some of the best Canonists hold, who peremptorily affirm, That the Pope cannot make Bastards capable to inherit the Hereditary Lands of their Father; neither can give them power to constitute Successors or Heirs, or hold Offices, Dignities, or Titles, without the Prince's special Dispensation, to which the Civil and Imperial Laws agree, and is authentick in *England*, as a learn'd and eminent Judge reports, though others think it of too severe a nature, and moderately agreeable to Reason and Law (the Law much observing Reason) That Bastards being honest and worthy Men (the rather if they be avow'd by their Fathers) may be admitted to Honours, Dignities, Titles, Feuds and other Ornaments of Rewards and Virtue. Of this Indulgence and Connivence, we have Examples in *England* by two worthy and deserving Men, (flourishing this Age) who, tho' Bastards, held the greatest Offices in *England*. So *Rich. II.* in the Charter for the Legitimation of the *Beauforts*, would have Men of Desert (and avow'd by their Fathers) capable of Advancement and Honours. The Tenor of which Charter and Confirmation of it by Parliament I shall exhibit, as it is taken out of the Archives and Tower Records, opening the way by a short Advertisement, That in this Act of Parliament there is an Induction to the Charter, made by *Dr. Edmond Stafford*, Brother to the Earl of *Stafford* and Bp. of *Exeter*, Lord Chancellor of *England* in the 20th Year of *Richard II.* which intimateth, That Pope *Urbanus VI.* at the earnest Request of the King, vouchsafed to legitimate these *Beauforts*, the Base Sons and the Daughter of the Duke of *Guyen* and *Lancaster*: That the King also, having power to legitimate and enable Bastards in the same kind, and in as ample manner as the Emperor hath or had, for so he press'd and avow'd in the Act, was pleas'd at the Humble Request and Suit of the Duke their Father, to make them not only legitimate, but also capable of Lands, Heritages, Titles, Honours, Offices, Dignities, &c. And that the King, for the more Authority thereof, crav'd the Allowance and Favourable Assent of the Barons in Parliament, which was granted: The Charter runs thus;

1484.

The Civil and Imperial Law against Bastards. Sir Edw. Cook.

Dr. Steph. Gardiner. Sir Thomas Egerton Chancellor of Eng.

### Charta Legitimationis Spuriarum Joannis Ducis Lancastrie.

**R**ichardus Dei Gratia Rex, Angliæ, Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Charissimus Consanguineis nostris, Nobilibus viris Joanni de Beaufort Militi, Henrico de Beaufort Clerico, Thomæ de Beaufort Domicello & Nobili Mulieri Joannæ Beaufort Domicella præclarissimi Patris nostri Nobilis viri Joannis Ducis Aquitaniæ & Lancastriæ Germanis natis & liegis nostris salutem.

Nos pro bonere & meritis, &c. Avunculi nostri, proprio arbitratu & meritorum suorum intuitu vos, quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vite ac morum honestate fulgetis, & ex regalibus prosapia propagati, &c. hinc est quod Joannis, &c. avunculi nostri genitoris vestri precibus inclinati vobis (cum ut asseritur defectum natalium patimini) hujusmodi defectum & ejusdem qualitates quasque abolere præsentis, vos haberi volumus, pro sufficientibus, ad quoscunque honores



1484. *nores, dignitatis preeminetias, status, gradus, & officia, publica, & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atq; Judicialia & Nobilia, quibuscunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiam si, Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baronie vel alia feuda fuerint, etiam si mediate vel immediate, à nobis dependeant seu teneantur præfici, præmoveri, eligi, assumi & admitti, illaque recipere proinde libere ac licite valeatis, ac si de legitimo iure nati existeritis, quibuscunque Statutis, seu consuetudinibus regni nostri Angliæ in contrarium editis seu observatis quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expressis, nequaquam obstantibus, de plenitudine nostra regalis potestatis & de assensu Parliamenti nostri tenore presentium dispensamus, vosque & quicunque vestrum natalibus restituimus & Legitimamus, Die Feb. Anno Regni 20 R. 2.*

Which in English is as follows;

### A Charter of Legitimation of the Bastards of John D. of Lancaster.

“**R**ICHARD, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; To Our most Dear Cousins, the illustrious John Beaufort Kt. Henry Beaufort Clerk, Thomas Beaufort Gent. and Joanna Beaufort Gentlewoman, of Our most renowned Uncle, the Noble John Duke of Guienne and Lancaster, Children German and Our Lieges, Greeting. We for the Honour and Merits, &c. of Our Uncle, out of Our own Good Pleasure, and in consideration of his Deserts, because you are conspicuous for your Virtuous Inclinations, and Honesty of Life and Manners, and descended of Royal Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that mov'd by the earnest Entreaties of Our Uncle, your Parent, to remove from you (for as is said) there is a Defect in your Birth) this Defect and all its present Consequences, We will that you be and be reputed Capable, to be preferred, promoted, elected, assumed and admitted to any Honours, Dignities, States, Degrees, Offices Publick and Private, as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial and noble, by what Appellations soever distinguished, whether Dukedoms, Principalities, Earldoms, Baronies and Feuds, whether mediately or immediately depending or holden of Us, and them to take hold of, and enjoy as freely and rightfully, as if you had been born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and Customs of Our Kingdom of England, to the contrary enacted or observed, as if they were here mentioned at length, notwithstanding; with which, out of the Fulness of Our Royal Power, and with Consent of Our Parliament, by the Tenor of these Presents We dispence, and you, and every one of you, to Birth Restore and Legitimate. — Day of Feb. in the 20th Year of Our Reign. R. II.

Here we find large Graces, Honours and Privileges conferr'd upon those Beauforts; for the King calls then *Consanguineos suos*, and not only confirms their Legitimation, but makes them (by the help of the Parliament) capable of Baronies, Earldoms, Dukedoms, and Principalities; enableth them for all Offices publick and private, temporary and perpetual, to take hold of and enjoy all Feuds, as well noble as other, all Lands

and Seignories Hereditary, as lawfully, firmly and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawful Matrimony, but yet confers no Royal Title nor Interest in the Crown, at the least, to the observation of those who allow not the Claim of the Beauforts and Somersets, and say, that to reach that, there must be Words of a higher intent, Words of Empire, Majesty and Sovereignty; such as *Regni summa potestas*; *Corona*; *Sceptrum*, *Diadema*, *Purpura*, *Majestas*, and the like: Neither of these, nor any importing their extent, being in this Grant, so no Title to the Crown or Sovereignty could pass to them.

To which the other Side replies, That there is a Word in the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Reign, and Sovereignty; that is, *Principatus*; whereof the King and Parliament make the Beauforts capable, *Principatus* being the State of *Princeps*, a Title of the most absolute Sovereign Power; for the Roman Emperors in their greatest Height, were call'd *Principes*, therefore *Princeps* is thus defined; *Princeps est penes quem summa Reip. potestas est, & qui primus omnium dominatur*; and *Principatus* and *Dominatus* are used as Synonymies. But it is conceiv'd an Error now, to take *Principatus* for *Regnum*, or *Supremus Dominatus*, being the word *Principatus* long before, and in the Age of Richard II. also ever since, hath been restrain'd to the Estate of *Primogenitus* and Heir apparent, not only of Kings, but also of Dukes and Marquesses, as well Feudal as Sovereign. And the next King Henry IV. a wise, discreet, and wary Prince, though he was much inclined to those Beauforts, (as being his Natural Brethren by the Paternal side, and willing to advance them all he could) yet he discover'd clearly enough by that certain Charter, in which he entail'd the Crown successively to his Four Sons, and to the Heirs of their Bodies, that he reputed not the Beauforts to be *Lancastrians* or near the Crown: Neither is there the least Clause or Mention to leave any Remainder therein to them: First, he entail'd the Crown to his eldest Son Henry Prince of Wales, after him to the Heirs of his Body; If they fail, then to Thomas of Lancaster his Second Son, and to the Heirs of his Body, so to his Third Son John of Lancaster, and to the Heirs of his Body. Lastly, to the Fourth Son Humphrey, and to the Heirs of his Body, for still, and for every Estate: The words are, *Post ipsum successive Heredibus suis de ipsius corpore legitime procreandis*, which is all, and implicatively an express Exclusion of the Beauforts. This Charter was confirm'd by Act of Parliament holden at Westminster the Two and Twentieth Day of December, in the Eighth Year of Henry IV. and seal'd with his own Signet. Upon the Dexter side of that, hung the Seals of sundry Lord's Spiritual; on the Left side, the Seals of the Lords Temporal Witnesses. And albeit, the Earl of Richmond could not so well and rightly bear the Name of Beaufort or Somerset, being a *Tenitor* by his Father, and so to be surnamed, or of some other Welsh Name (if there were any in his Family) by his Mother he was descended from the Beauforts; for the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, was Daughter and Heir to Sir John de Beaufort Duke of Somerset, (p) and Grand-child to John of Gaunt, by Katharine the Wife of Orbo de Swinford, which John de Beaufort, was created D. of Somerset by Henry V. His Wife was the Daughter and at length the Heir of Sir John Beauchamp

*Principatus Princeps.*

The Charter of H. 4. for intailing the Crown.

This Charter I saw in the Hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and from it took these Summary Notes. The Nobleness & Family of Hen. E. of Rich.

Glover. 1413.

(p) She was Daughter to John Duke of Somerset, Grand Daughter to John Earl of Somerset, and Great Grand Daughter to John of Gaunt. See Cambd. Sub tit. Somersetshire.



1483. of *Blaise*, and the Widow of Sir Oliver St. John when he married her: But the Earl of Richmond, by his Grandmother *Katharine* Queen of England, was descended from the Kings of France; and I have seen him in a Pedigree (drawn after he was King) deriv'd from the ancient Kings and Princes of Brittain. *Polidore* saith, he was *Ex fratre Nepos* to King Henry VI. who call'd him Nephew, and he the King, *Avunculum nostrum* (our Uncle) instead of *Patrum*, as it is in the Records of Parliament, Ann. 1 of Hen. VII. but not his Nephew, as we erroneously now take it, that is his German younger Brother's Son, for then he had been a true Masculine Issue of the House of Lancaster and Royal Blood of England.

But he was Nephew to him by his Brother *Uterine*, *Edmond Teudor* Earl of Richmond, the Son of *Owen Teudor* or *Meridock*, and of Queen *Katherine*, Daughter of *Charles* the Sixth King of France, which the French well knew, and gave him the better Esteem for it, but those Honours were obscure Additions to him that must not go less than for a Prince of the House of Lancaster, and so of England, which pass'd with such vulgar credit in France, that *Du Tillet* mistook *John* Duke of Somerset, Father of *Margaret* Countess of Richmond, for the true and lawful Son of *John de Gaunt*, &c. by his first Wife *Blanch Plantagenet*, Daughter and Heir of the Earl (9) and Earldom of Lancaster. *Philip de Comines*, Lord of *Argent*, had better intelligence of his Pedigree and Title, which he gives us thus.

*Il n'a voit croix, ny pile, ne null droit (Come je croy) a la Couronne d' Angleterre*: And this expresses, he had no great Opinion of either, tho' he was then King when this was writ. But let us suppose him lawfully descended from that D of Lancaster, his Claim must stand excluded whilst the House of York survived; for *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of York and King of England Designat, by Act of Parliament holden 39 Year of King Henry VI. to whom these Titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester, and Protector of England were given by the Three Estates in that Parliament, descended from the Daughter and Heir of the Second Son of King Edward III. (For as before, so still I leave the Infant *William* of *Husfield* without the Catalogue) and King Henry IV. and his Progeny, descended from the Third Son; and King Henry VI. being the best of the House of Lancaster then living, did acknowledge in that Parliament the Title of *Richard* Duke of York, the only lawful and just Title; so consequently next and better than that of Lancaster or any other; and before any *Beaufort* or their Heirs, the Issue of the two Daughters of *John* Duke of Lancaster; *Philip* and *Katharine* (married to the King of Portugal and Castile) were to be prefer'd if Foreign Titles be not excluded by Parliament. But the Earl of Richmond measuring his own Height by the Advantage of a Tumultuary and Indisposed Time, and finding his *Lancastrian* Pretence began to have a popular Retinue, he was now incompatible of any others Precedency and Propinquity: For those Great Ones that led him by the Hand into the Action, laid the Line by their own corrupted Hopes and Fears of the Success, therefore would not let the Fortune of their Expectation faint in him. Bishop *Morton* steer'd much in the course of their Affairs, and was a great Oracle to the Earl, who was noted too Partial and Credulous, especially where he believ'd the Persons of any Honesty, Virtue, or Learning, for which his Fame yet bears some Stains of *Morton*, *Dudley*, *Empson*, *Bray*, *Ursewike*,

1484. *Knewett*, &c. for there be two Extreames observ'd in the Counsels of Princes, one, when the Prince is subject to follow the Counsels of Evil Men; the other, when the Prince is too opinionated to consult with Counsel; such an one as was *Charles* the Hardy D. of Burgundy, so opinionated and overweening of his own Wisdom and Judgment, that he underthought all Mens else; which wide Conceit of his hath left this Monument.

*Carolus pugnax aliorum Consilia & Rationes (ne Pe. Hente dicam) sequi vix audire volebat, ignominia loco habens ab aliis discere, & judicavit, se proprio cerebro omnia Concilia habere recondita.*

And to give us yet a further Character of Bp. *Morton*, Sir *Thomas Moor* (sometimes his Master) tells us, his best Inclinations were sway'd to the dangerous Positions and Rules of Policy; and Dr. *John Hird* in his Metrical History of England, brings him in an Ambodexter and Observer of Fortune, one while Yorkizing, another while Lancastrianizing, thus delivering himself:

*Si Fortuna meis favisset partibus olim,  
Et gnato Henrici Sexti diadema dedisset,  
Edwardi nunquam venissem Regis in aulam,  
Sed quia supremo stetit hac sententia Regi,  
Henrico auferre, ac Edwardo reddere Sceptum,  
Tanta mea nunquam lussit dementia mentem,  
Ut sequeretur partes Regis victi atque sepulti,  
Adversus vivum, &c.*

If smiling Fortune had my Party own'd,  
And the Sixth Henry's Offspring had enthron'd;  
I'd ne're have struck to Royal Edward's Claim,  
Nor fill'd his Court, assistant to his Fame:  
But since all-potent Heaven had so decreed  
Henry shou'd fall, and Edward shou'd succeed,  
No stupid Madnefs cou'd my Mind misguide  
With a dead King prepos't'rously to side  
Against a living Victor

Which may be thought well said by a mere Politician, but from a Friend it wants something of a Christian; for true Friendship and Piety will own us in the blackest Adversity and Silence of the Grave, as the Divine *Ariosto* hath something near observ'd in this elegant Stanza.

*Nessun puo super du chi sia amato  
Quando felice in sola urota si ede;  
Pere ch' ha iveri, & i finiti amici alato,  
Chi mostran tuti, una medesima fede,  
Se poi si cangia in tristo il besto stato,  
Volta la turba adulatrice il piede,  
Et quel di cuor' ama riman' forte,  
Et amai l' suo amico doppola morte.*

*Ariost.  
cant. 19.*

No Man whilst he was happy ever knew  
Assuredly of whom he was belov'd,  
For then he hath both feigned Friends and true,  
Whose Faith seems both alike till they be prov'd;  
But he is left of all the flattering Crew  
When from his happy State he is remov'd:  
But he who loves in Heart, remains still one,  
And loves his Friend when he is dead and gone.

Dr. *Morton*'s Aims were drawn from other Rules, which with good Alacrity, made him Archbishop and Lord Chancellor of England, and put him the next List into a Cardinalship, and then he stood on Tiptoes by the King, according to the Roman marshalling of States; for in the Pope's List of Ranges and Presence, his Holiness is the first, then the Emperor, next a Cardinal, then

*Polid. lib.  
25.*

*So K. R. II.  
call'd John  
of Gaunt  
Avuncu-  
lum no-  
strum, Rec.  
in Tower:  
But that  
was the  
fault of  
the barba-  
rous Lat.  
Clerks,  
not know-  
ing the  
difference  
between  
Patruos &  
Avunculos.*

*In his  
Book Le  
Recueil.  
des Ranges,  
&c. Part 2.  
(9) 'Twas  
the Duke  
and Dut-  
chy of  
Lancaster.*

*Phil. Plan-  
tagenet, Ly-  
onel Plant.  
D. of Cla-  
rence.*



1485. then a King: And in this, Sir *Tho. Moor* notes the extremity of his Pride, to abuse his Wisdom and Piety, which otherwise might have kept Him and his Memory unsully'd in these Preferments, so much our Vices impostumate our Fames, Hypocrisie leaving the Scar but of a deform'd Cure upon it at best.

*Fra. Goodwin in Catalogo Episcoporum.*

But Dr. *Goodwin*, Bishop of *Hereford*, presents him nearer (as it were) in his Domestick Nature, and reports when Dr. *Morton* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he exacted and extorted a far greater Sum of Money from the Clergy of his Diocess than was ever before, and for his private Commodity (which he covetously sought) brought certain Leams or bigger Ditches to his own Grounds about *Wishitch*, from the River *Nine*, which was before Navigable, and of much publick Use, but hath since serv'd for little or none.

*Job. Stow.*

And *John Stow* says, he was the stirrer up of those great and grievous Taxes which rais'd the People to Arms and Rebellion. These Notes of his Natural Dispositions stuck like Wens upon the Face of his Religion, and from that Mind, whereby Affections justle Religion and Conscience out, how hazardous may the Power and Counsel of such be, to the Inclinations of a Wife Prince; but this Prelate made his so canonical, and fitted them to the Times, and his Temper, that they deceived not his Expectation, but brought him home to his Ends, and to the Favour of a provident and wise Prince; that he was so, the World must justly avow; and in all his Actions, we may see him of a safe and contracted Wisdom, govern'd by a most cautelous Spirit; as great a Husband of those Virtues he had, as of his Glory; not too Modest (if I be not much mistaken) to hear of either; of both which he hath left us pious Tastes. But the most surviving addition of Memory, is that great

*Q. Elizab.*

Example of Majesty and her Sex, *Qu. Elizabeth*, who was said to be like this King her Grandfather, as well in composition of Qualities, as Favour and Lineaments, that she was his lively and perfect Image; and to use an even Hand in the Extention of Himself and his Power, it must not be denied, (how far off soever he was at first) after the Crown yielded to him, he was the true Proprietary of all the Rights and Titles which carried it, or had dependency thereon, and to colleague all in a full and perfect strength, the Title of *York* was confirm'd to him by Marriage of *Elizabeth Plantagenet*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* Prince or Head of that Family, to whom the Title of *Lancaster* instantly escheated as he was King, which before was in controversy or *in nubibus*, or \*Abbeyance (as our Lawyers say) for no Man being a Subject, how Capital and Chief a Judge, or of what Judicatory Power soever, could give a Definitive Sentence, in any ambiguous Cause or Act of the King: But the King himself which is an ancient and authentick Paragraph in the Laws of *England*, as learned Judge *Bracton* affirmeth.

\* In delay or dispute such as Lawyers use, a term borrow'd from another Creature.

*Bract. lib. 2. cap. 16.*

*De Chartis, & de factis regum non possunt Justiciarii disputare, nec si disputatio oriatur, possunt eam interpretari, sed in dubiis & obscuris, & ubi aliqua dictio contineat duos intellectus, Domini Regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas, &c.*

The reason is given in the Books of the Civil and Imperial Laws peremptorily, *quia de principali Judicio non est disputandum*. So that Controversy, whether the *Beauforts* or *Somersets* were of the House of *Lancaster*, or capable of the Crown or no, cou'd not be determin'd until there came a competent Judge, a King, and King of *England*, who by that Vertue and Power decreed to himself, the Title of *Lancaster*, with all the

Royal Appurtenances confirm'd by the Pope, as 1485. proper to him, and then the Writers, both *English* and *French*, had some colour to say he was *De la ligne de Lancastrre, & caput gentis regalis & Princeps Familie Lancastriensis*.

But the Chancellor *Morton*, by a more happy and plausible Insinuation, term'd the Marriage an Union of *York* and *Lancaster*, and not improperly, nor without a very favourable acceptance to the King, (at least in the beginning of his Reign) though after (as may be observ'd) he thought those Attributions but small Wyers to hold the Weight and Consequence of his Crown; nay, so slender was his Affiance, (or rather none at all) in his Titles of *York* and *Lancaster*, much less of *Somerset*, that he seem'd tacitly to wave and quit them, and stuck to that of his Sword and Conquest; for the more publick Vote and Knowledge whereof, there was at his Coronation, Proclamations made with these Titles, *Henricus Rex Angliæ Jure Divino, Jure Humano, & Jure Belli, &c.* which the Barons could not fancy, nor condescend to, tho' the King peremptorily avow'd and maintain'd he might justly assume and bear it, having as a Conqueror entred the Land, fought for the Crown, and won it: They answer as peremptorily, That he was beholding to them, both for his Landing and Victory, and by their permission had that fair and prosperous Footing upon their Coasts; not by any Stroke of his *French*, who were not so many as the least Legion of the *Romans*, and had found but bloody Entertainment by the valiant *English*, if ever they had landed, besides, the Instigation of a mortal Hatred against the Invader, never to be extinguish'd, but with an utter Expulsion and Destruction, which they humbly pray'd might be worthy of his consideration, and not to take from his loving People the just due of their Affections, by ascribing so much of his Victory to the *French*, or his *Welsh* Sword; sith they voluntarily open'd their Arms and Country to receive him and put the Crown upon his Head; that this was their free and voluntary Act, they hoped he could not forget: And if so, why wou'd he make such an Atchievment, a Conquest, or a Purchase of the Sword? Terms of a most harsh and dissonant Sound to the *English*, who reputed them as barbarous and tyrannical, their Ends and Events to enslave Them, their Goods and Fortunes, under a Licentious Power, that might act and will any thing: *Quicquid Victor audet, aut Victor timet?* The Ex-

*K.H. VII. only affected the Title de Jure Belli.*

*Senec.*

amples of the Conquering *Goths* and *Vandals*, *Longobards* in *Italy* and *Spain*, *Saxons* and *Normans* in *England*; and lately, the *Spaniards* in *America*, with many other Cruel Lords estated only by their unjust Arms and Swords, being fresh and bleeding Instances, that when but mention'd, stir up Thoughts of Horror and Detestation of the Sword's Title. But the more they oppos'd it, the more he is constant to have it assented by the Pope, with his Title of *Lancaster*, which he thought wou'd be a stronger Bridle to check all Murmurs, but yet endeavour'd it not directly and disertly, but under a close and borrow'd Pretext, the outside of his Embassy being only to obtain a Dispensation and Pardon for his Marriage, pretending a fear of Incest, his Wife being his Kinswoman; *Et quanto Consanguinitatis & forsan affinitatis gradu*, which Pope *Innocentius* the Eighth granted the first Year of his Reign, and afterward (upon what Occasion I cannot say) he renew'd the same Suit to Pope *Alexander VI.* who confirm'd and ratified the Pardon and Dispensation made by his Predecessors, in the Fourth Year of this King's Reign.

*Ann. Dom. 1486.*

*Ann. Dom. 1490.*

Vol. I.

Z z z 2

But



1484.

But 'tis observable, that the Pope herein taketh not upon him to confer or give any new Titles; neither did the King publicly solicit the Pope to confirm these Two Titles, his Ambassador had that Particular in his Private Instructions: So that by this, the Pope seemeth only to make a Rehearsal of those Titles as due and proper to him before, and the Titles *De jure Belli*, & *de jure Lancastriae*, seem'd not as any Matters or Subject of the Bull, but rather some Desire the Pope had, to express a Love and Honour to the King, and that he was pleas'd, *Ex proprio & mero motu & certa scientia sua*, to make such honourable Memorial of all the Majestical Titles in the King's Right, as the more stately Embroideries to his glorious Letters of Apostolical Indulgence, for the Dispensation of the said Marriage convey'd, and in these words:

*Hic Rex Angliae, de Domo Lancastriae Originem trahens; ac qui notorio jure, & indubitato proximo successione titulo & Prælatorum & procerum Angliae Electione & concessione &c. Etiam de jure Belli est Rex Angliae.*

After, for the more clear repairing and curing all Flaws and Defects of Titles, the Pope addeth this Gracious Clause; *Supplemusq; omnes, & singulos defectus, tam juris, quam facti, si qui inter- venerint in Regno dicto.*

And then in the End, not in the Front, this Bull is intituled, *Pagina confirmationis nostrae, approbationis, pronuntiationis, constitutionis, declarationis, suppletionis, monitionis, requisitionis, prohibitionis, Benedictionis, inhibitionis, & excommunicationis, & Anathematizationis in quoscunq; qui presumpserint, infringere, vel ausu temeritatis, contravenire his literis Apostolicis.*

For all this must be held, and thought to be done *Autoritate Apostolica*, i. e. by the Authority of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul.

And thus the King received of the Pope the two Titles, *De Domo Lancastriae*, and *De Jure Belli*, without any seeking or Solicitation (as we are led to credit) for there appeareth not any express Suit or Motion by the King to that purpose, though by Circumstances and Probability it was prefer'd under Hand, for the other Things were but of slight Request and no necessity, nor obnoxious to any Danger; when those two Titles were the present Marks, his Aim was strongly and mainly directed to. Though, I must confess, after a while, he was as lightly satisfied in these (notwithstanding the Pope's Thunder and Lightning, added to them) as in the Titles of *York* and *Lancaster*, which he discover'd, and not obscurely, when he moved the Estates in his first Parliament, to grant an Estate Hereditary and Entail'd of the Crown and Kingdom, with all the Appurtenances, to the Heirs of his Body: beyond this he cou'd not require much, nor they give, which was unanimously condescended unto, as a Gift of a new Title confirm'd by their Act; the Copy whereof I have transcrib'd (where I come to rehearse the Titles of our Sovereign Lord the King, that now is). Nor is the Divination of this Piece so dark, but that the Cause may be guess'd at, why he held himself not safe in the Titles of *York* and *Lancaster*, of *Beaufort* and *Somerset* already touch'd at, but may fall more seasonably elsewhere into our Stories, without confounding it with Historologies, and presenting Matters out of their time and place; my Purpose only being, to take so much Light from the Story of *Henry VII.* as shall but properly conduce to the true shadowing and proportioning of *K. Richard's*, being necessarily inforc'd to inculcate such Matters as may seem of no present conclusion; yet

losing their Observation, we shall want the knowledge of many things much pertinent to the Credit and Honour of *K. Richard* and his Actions: To which, according to the Orders and Affairs of Time, I am now to come again.

And here, upon our Account, we shall find it near upon Ten Months since the Duke of *Buckingham* was suppress'd, and the Earl of *Richmond* driven from *Poole* with the Storm, who was now again very busy raising fresh Preparations in *France*, and King *Richard* upon the Intelligence, as stickling to levy Souldiers, and re-inforce all his Havens and Frontier Places. But the Earl of *Richmond* found it not so easy a Matter now as at first, to draw a Party and Concurrence from *France*, having sped so ill in his former Undertakings, which indeed struck a great Discouragement in the Expectation of all his Favourers, and made his Welcome the colder to the D. of *Brittain*; the rather also, because he had been with the *French King* before he came to him, which was taken but ill, altho' the Earl cou'd not otherwise do, being forc'd upon the Coasts of *Normandy*; and coming into the Road at *Dei-pe*, landed, to Refresh Himself and Company: From thence he intended to *Roan*, which being so near *Paris*, engaged him thither to the King, being, (as *Philip de Comines* saith) follow'd in a very honourable Port, by 500 *Englishmen*. In his Stay there (to shew us how much Interest a provident and active Spirit hath in Fortune) he so heighten'd and sweeten'd his Behaviour to the Court, as conciliated the Favour and Respect of the Greatest and Noblest Persons to him. But most happily, the fair Opinion and Esteem of the Princely Lady *Anne de France*, eldest Sister to King *Charles* the Eighth; who had such an Influence upon him in his Minority, that she out-pitch'd *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, chief Prince of the Blood: In Envy or Mistrust whereof, he took Arms and raised a Civil War in *France* (as *John Tillet* and others write). She was Wife to *Peirce de Bourbon* Lord of *Beaujen*, after Duke of *Bourbon*; but *Beaujen* being his most stately and honourable Seignior, he was call'd Monsieur de *Beaujen*; and his Lady had so flexible an Inclination to the Earl of *Richmond's* Cause, that she importun'd the King to aid him with a good Sum of Money and 3000 Men, but odd Fellows: For *Philip de Comines* saith, they were *Trois mille hommes les plus meschans que lux peut troit ver*, no better than Rogues and Trewans, Men of base Quality and as low Courage. Whilst these were levying, the Earl (thrifty of all Opportunities, and as diligent to add what advantage of Time and Aid he cou'd) visits the Duke of *Brittain* to the same purpose. The Duke propounds it to his Council, which *Peter Landois* his Treasurer and Chief Counsellor objects against, with this Reason, That if the Enterprize succeeded well, yet the Event must fall out unhappily and ill to him; the Earl having now interest'd himself to the Favour and Assistance of *Charles King of France*: And this wou'd be the first Link of so strong an Engagement, that the Earl and his Confederacy must be lost to *Brittain* when he came to be King, being respectively tied to lend the King of *France* Aid against them, if any Cause shou'd happen, which the King of *France* had a prepared Stomach for, and had not been nice to seek any Provocation that might countenance a Quarrel against the Dutchy of *Brittain*, which was beyond his span, so long as they continued in League with *England*; that being untwisted, and *France* and *England* contracted, how easy was it for the *French* to invade and swallow up both him and his Dukedom. To make the present Advantage, there-  
fore

1485.

The second Invasion of the E. of Richmond.

I have seen this Bull in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Cotton.

The Pope's Charter for the Title of Lancaster, Et de jure Belli, &c. for the dispensing with the incestuous Marriage.

Comines, p. 536.



1485. fore, as profitable as safe, his Advice was to stay the Earl: The Duke knowing his Coſſers at that time very lank, and that the King of *England* wou'd offer well for him, approv'd the Counſel, and reſolv'd to be led by *Landois* (whoſe Reſpects (notwithſtanding) were very affectionate to the Earl). But whether by the ſecret Caution of ſome Friends, or ſuggeſted to him by his better Genius, ſure it is, by ſome unknown Means he had knowledge of it; and yet this was determin'd but at Night, and deſign'd for the Morning: But before Midnight, or the knowledge of their Flight, he, and Twelve Gentlemen his Followers, had left *Vannes*, and recover'd *Anjou* (under the *French* King's Protection) from thence to the *French* Court again, the King being ſtill very pliable and conſtant to his Promiſe concerning thoſe *French* Forces under his own Charge. The next thing he works at, is how to enlarge the Earl of *Oxford* out of the Caſtle of *Hammeſ*, committed thither by *Edward IV.* (and in this he uſes, or rather follow'd indeed) the Contrivement of *Dr. Morton*, who held good Quarter with the Earl of *Oxford*, and by his frequent Viſits, had a familiar and eaſy Door open'd, which the Earl readily took the opportunity of, leaſt it ſhou'd be ſhut again by ſome Miſcarriage, for *Richmond* thought, or found the Conſtitution of his Deſign not a little ſtrengthen'd by the Earl of *Oxford*'s Confederacy: Nor did he miſtake himſelf in his Accompt, when he ſet him down of Special Uſe, knowing him a Man of an Eminent Power, wiſely and valiantly Temper'd: And to give him the ſtronger Preſumption and Confidence, one that moſt mortally hated *Edward IV.* and all the Houſe of *York*: To begin therefore an Obligation, the E. of

(r) He did not go to *Hammeſ*. See Sir Th. Moor's Hiſtory of *Edward V.* *Richmond* makes a Complemental Journey to *Hammeſ* (r) where the E. of *Oxford* was then, under the Charge of *S. James Blount*; He finds all honourable and reſpectful Entertainment, with ſit liberty and occaſion to propound himſelf unto the Earl who had been partly prepared by *Dr. Morton*, and therefore met him the neareſt way, engaging himſelf ſolely to the Premises, and (by virtue of an indefatigable Confidence) ſets upon his Keeper, wins him to the Faction, and to *Paris* with them. By which time, all Preparations were in readineſs; and whiſt they make this Stay in the *French* Court, the Earl of *Richmond* receives a fair Excuse and Proteſtation from the D. of *Brittain*, with offer of Auxiliary Forces: This Supply came very acceptably, and however he reſented the Duke's late Purpoſe upon him, his Wiſdom told him, he muſt now convert his Anger into Thanks, which he returns with a reciprocal Proteſtation and Order, to ſend the Troops to *Harſlew*, where his Shipping lay, and was the Rendezvous for his Souldiers.

In the end of *July* 1485. he took leave of the King and his moſt Noble Couſin *Madam De Beaujen*, departing for the Port of *Harſlew* in *Normandy*, where he met with Two Thouſand *Brittains* from the Duke honourably accommodated. But by the Way, he made ſome ſtay at *Roſen*, and had News which much diſtemper'd him, That the Lady *Elizabeth* was forthwith to be married to King *Richard*; this quicken'd his Haſte for *England*, preſuming, his landing would forbid the Banes, otherwiſe he might ſit down with folded Hands, for upon this Marriage inſiſted the main Hope and Conſequence of his Fortune; without her, all his great Pretexts would faint, yet ſeemed to hear it, as a thing that cou'd not concern him ſo much, having ſo preſent and provident a Wit, that in any Chance he wanted not Counſel and Determination in

himſelf for all Fortunes; inſtantly reſolving to apply his Suit to her Siſter the Lady *Cecily*: But ere he could perfectly faſhion theſe Intentions, they were alſo countercheck'd by the next Paquet, which aſſured him the Lady *Cecily* was lately married: Neither did that (after ſome Collection) ſeem much to diſcompoſe him; but quickly, varying his Diſpoſition to his Fortune, he would now fix himſelf upon ſome Choice in *Brittain*, amongſt his noble Friends (for the moſt part *Welſh-Men*) and treats about a Daughter of Sir *William Herberts*, a Gentleman of an noble Alliance and principal Power in the South part of *Wales*; who had married the eldeſt Daughter, not long before, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the Earl of *Pembroke* (by a new created Friendſhip betwixt them) imboſoms the whole Deſign, and preſſes his Comprobatation in it; for by this means it was preſumed, the greateſt part of *Wales* would fall under their Command; which had been no ſmall Addition to a Banish'd Man's Fortune. Whiſt thoſe things were in their Mould, *Dr. Morton* gave him ſuch aſſurance, by Letters, of the Countries Readineſs to receive him, that it was thought beſt to take the Advantage of landing there; and in the Month of *July* they looſe from *Harſlew*, and ſafely arrived at *Milford Haven* in *Pembrokeshire*, his Native Country: After ſome Reſreſhing, he marches to a Town call'd *Harverford Weſt*, and was entering amongſt his *Brittiſh* Kindred, who welcom'd him as a Prince, deſcended from their ancient Princes of *Wales*, (the Country generally very noble and loving to their Friends) whiſt he continued amongſt them, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Walter Herbert*, Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* (who drew his young Nephew the Earl of *Salop* into this Action with him) and divers others of all Qualities, brought or ſent their Forces. His Army thus ſtrong and united, he paſſes the *Severne*, and marches to *Lichfield*, purpoſing to hold on to *London*, if the King had not interpoſed it, who, though he lay at *Nottingham* when the Earl landed, and while he marched through *Wales*, had conſtant Spies upon him. But as no Policy or Law can ſecure their Faith, that think they may diſpence with it, ſo all Benefits are too narrow, where Ambition and Ingratitude urges Merit: And to ſhew there is not much of our Fate in our own Providence, when this King thought the Nobility moſt firmly cemented to his ſide, and was to put himſelf upon their Conſtancy, they make a preſent and general Deſluxion to the other; but he had heightned and contracted his Reſolution and Judgment to the greatneſs of his Cauſe, and was not now to be outbid by Chance or Danger. The next Day (which was *Sunday* about Evening) paſſing through *Leiceſter* in open Pomp, the Crown Royal on his Head; with him *John D. of Norfolk*, Maſhal of *England*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Westmoreland*, the Viſcount *Loſel*, and other of the Nobility and Gentry; at *Redmore Heath* the Armies came to an Interview, and put themſelves in array: The next Morning, early, there was ſome Conference held in the King's Tent, by thoſe Peers and others of principal Truſt, who gave him particular Information of all thoſe ſecretly revolted; and it much amazed him, the Earl of *Northumberland* was one, to whom he had ever been moſt conſtant and forward in his Reſpects and Favours; therefore where he had confer'd ſo much, he ſuſpected little. But no Obligations are religious if not held ſo. And altho' in the Conflict he ſtood but as neutral, yet the ſuddenneſs and example of it drew many from the King, even at the Inſtant

Leiceſt. in-  
quir. Rex  
Richardus  
cum maxi-  
ma Pompa  
portans di-  
adema, in  
capite.  
Chron.  
Croy.



stant when he was ready to arm himself: Yet this was not of so great and sensible amazement unto him as the Lord Stanley's Defection; who, in pledge of his Faith, had left his Son *George Stanley*, whilst his Wife (the Earl's Mother) had made her subtil Perswasions of stronger Tye, and sub-induced him to the *Lancastrian* Side, which he aided with 26000 Men, if *Philip de Commines* be not mistaken; for our Stories have but 5000. But it was a very great Defection, and made the Earl's Army far stronger; so that the chiefest Point of Consultation now, was how to preserve him by Flight, and the recovery of some Strong Hold, until the Tempest had scatter'd or spent its violence, which they conceiv'd could not be long, if the Camp broke up and once dissolved. But no Argument could fasten on him, tho' the benefit of a Swift Horse was offer'd at his Tent Door, nor the Fatality and Portent of Prodigies, related by his Friends, as presaging some inevitable Calamity, and that Propheticall Prediction,

Jack of Norfolk be not too bold,  
For Dicken thy Master is bought and sold.

These things aggravated, the weakness of his Army objected, Counsels, Perswasions, Terrors, Prodigies, Prophecies, cou'd not make him hear, so fatally resolute he stood in the Jealousie and Reputation of his Honour and Valour, peremptorily protesting, He would rather adventure Life, Crown and Fortunes, than his Honour to a cowardly and sinister Construction. This might taste of a desperate Will, if he had not afterwards given an Apodixis in the Battel, upon what Plat-form he had projected and raised that Hope, which as it had much of Danger in it, so of an inconcuss and great Resolution, and might have brought the Odds of that Day to an even Bett; for knowing the Earl to be thirsty and appetent after Glory and Renown, but of an unpractised Skill in War, and as inferiour in Courage to him, he had projected (in manner of Stratagem) so soon as the Armies approach'd ready for the Charge, to advance himself before his Troops, and give the Earl, being General of his Forces, the Signal of a Combat. And to provoke and single him with a more glorious Invitation, he wore the Crown Royal upon his Head, the fairest Mark for Valour and Ambition. *Polidore* says he wore it, thinking that Day should either be the Last of his Life, or the First of a Better; which may as well be a reason of his wearing it Three Days before at *Leicester*, when he rode from thence to *Bosworth*. But doubtless, by it he intended chiefly, that the People might see and know him to be their King: And those that stood arm'd against him, looking upon that Imperial Evidence, where their own Hands and Voyces had set it, should by the Awe and Sovereignty of it, consider how lately they had avow'd him their lawful King; and by what Pledges of their Faith and Allegiances, they stood solemnly bound to defend him and his Title in it, against all other: Whatever was his Mystry, it render'd him a valiant and confident Master of his Right; and in the Constancy of Hope and Resolution, he gives order for the Battel: The Armies confronted, and whilst the Alarm and every Blow began to be hot and furious, forth breaks King *Richard* towards the Earl, wafting him by a Signal, who seem'd readily to accept it; and pricking his Horse forward came on very gallantly, as if but one Genius had prompted their Spirits and Ambition: For a good Author testifieth that *Comes Rich-*

Chron.  
Croy.

mondix directe super Regem Richardum, &c. But his Carreir soon faltred, and *Mars* became Retrograde, it being but a nimble Train, to draw the King on to some Disadvantages, or else he liked not his furious Approach, for suddenly he makes halt, and with as much Credit as he could (and no Harm) recover'd the Vanguard of his Army, whither *Richard* pursued him, with so much speed and fierceness, that he forc'd him to his Standard: And now, high in Blood and Anger (to see his Valour deluded by such a Politick Bravery) with his Sword makes way, and with his own Hand slew Sir *Charles Brandon*, Standard-bearer, thinking to have made the next Blow as fatal to the Earl; but the confluence of Souldiers interjecting, rescued him, Sir *John Cheney* being one of the foremost, whom the King struck from his Horse to the Earth; but charged and environ'd with Multitudes (that like a Storm came on him) Valiant *Richard* falls the Sacrifice of that Day, under their cruel Swords, so rabious in their Execution, as if his Body must suffer more, because they cou'd not kill his Better Part, mangling and wounding his dead Corps whilst it lies drencht in Gore.

Et Lupus & Turpes instant morientibus urfi,  
Et quaecunque minor nobilitate fera est.

Ovid. trist.  
l. 2. Eleg.  
5.

Foul Bears and Wolves insult and tear the Slain,  
With each Inferior Savage of the Plain.

As Curs in their Kennels will bite and tear the Skin of those Beasts which in the Field they durst not bark at:

Occidit in bello miserranda caede Richardus,  
Crimibus attractus, dum ferro saeviat hostis.

Dr. John  
Hird, in  
Hist. Angl.

Drag'd by the Hair to Hostile Swords a Prey,  
And slain with barb'rous Wounds the vanquish'd *Richard* lay.

And after all (to complete their Barbarism) threw his Body behind One upon a Jade, and so convey'd it to *Leicester*. A Story to be thought incredible, at least to charitable and modest Ears, and highly upbraided by the happier and Christian Fame of *William* the Conqueror, who severely punish'd a Souldier for but hacking the Thigh of King *Harold* after he was dead, though an Usurper and his perfidious Enemy; with all nobleness causing the Body to be delivered to his Mother for an honourable Interment, which was solemnly celebrated in his own Abbey at *Waltham*.

The Battle thus fought and won, the Victor was crown'd in the Field with that Crown King *Richard* wore, which the Lord *Stanley* put upon his Head, and salutes him King, by the Stile of *Henry VII. King of England, &c.* And *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* Son of *Edmund ap Meredith ap Teudor* (alias of *Hadham*) Earl of *Richmond*, and of *Margaret* Daughter and Heir of *John Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset* attain'd to the Crown, and had the easier ascent by the Oversight and Remissness of *Richard* in that Catastrophe of his Reign, who gave too much Opportunity and Scope to the Actings of his Enemies when they were under his Power and Arm. And in the Fortune of his Judgment (at the closing of the Scene) that did not better pre-suppose his Enemy too prudent and reserv'd, to trust the Advantage he had upon so sharp and single an Hazard: But *Richard* believing he had the odds in Courage and Monomachy of him, which probably might make him Master of the Combat, and so of the Field (the Strait being so desperate too) resolv'd rather to trust to the Fate of his own Valour, than the Chance of an uncertain Escape; a Resolution not so rash and overweening,

Matthew  
Paris,  
Hen. Huntingdon.  
Henry of  
Richmond  
Crown'd  
in the  
Field.



1485. overweening as commendable, if we look upon the very Aims and Necessity of it; neither is it new or improper for Princes to demand the trial of Camp Fight, or Single Combat personally in their Armies, and to the Generals in their Absence: *William* the Conqueror challenged King *Harold*; Before that, a Combat was fought between *Edmund Ironside* and *Canute* the Danish King, for the whole Kingdom of *England*: Our *Richard I.* and *Edward I.* in *Palestine* proffer'd the like to several of the Pagan Princes; so did *Edward III.* *Henry V.* with the Kings of *France*.

The Challenge of James V. King of Scots to Tho. D. of Norfolk.

In the Last Age, the valiant Prince *James* the Fifth of *Scotland*, in person challenged *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, General for the King of *England*, who accepted it; but the King into his Demands would have the Country or Lands then in controversy, to be made *Brabium victoris*, which was without the General's Power to engage, being the Inheritance of the King his Master, but proffer'd better Lands of his own upon the Combate, which was not accepted, so that concluded nothing.

The better End of these Challenges and Combats, being at first level'd from Mercy and Piety, for by this Single Adventure, the Innocent Blood of Armies was (more than stanch'd) preserv'd, Foreign Stories brings this home to us, and highly Characters their Kings and Generals in the like Examples, which this Age draws a Curtain before as not fit for Imitation, making too desperate a Wound in a settled State and Succession; the first who rendred that (or some more Politick) Reason for Princes not to adventure themselves, was *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, (as a late Writer ascribeth) but is mistaken; for the more ancient Histories of *Syria* and *Persia* mention some Kings that refrain'd

Princes go not to Camp.

from Wars long before; as *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Trogus Pompeius* tell us: But let us take measure from that Times, Wisdom, Valour, Policy, &c. to this, and we shall find them but tottering Foundations of States which cannot uphold themselves, or obvert the least Decree of God, when he intends to scourge or alter Kingdoms; for where such Vicissitudes are destin'd, the Counsels and Faculties of Men must be darkned, and there will fall out all Concurrences and Advantages to further that Purpose. So in the Extirpation and Transferring of Families, the Potter in *Jeremy*, breaking one Jarr to make another, whose fatal Commutations should extimulate the Piety of our Natures, and make us modest Cenurers of their Events: For as we see things but thro' a Cloud, whilst we measure them by Accidents, so we intrude on God's Providence, judging Men's Actions in their Success, while we overact our own. Of such a Composition was the Ill-wishers of King *Richard*, who forgot him not in his Grave, but endeavour'd to be equally

Cruelties done to the Body of K. Rich. Noble Persons attainted by Parliament.

cruel to his Memory: And in *November* following a Parliament was holden, in which he was attainted of High-Treason; a Strain very high to make him guilty of that, being a King, he could not commit. By the same Figure may others, who were stiled Chief Aiders and Assistants of King *Richard* in the Battel of *Bosworth*, as Sir *John Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. though some would have him retired from the Court all King *Richard's* Reign. But Sir *Thomas Moor* affirms, he was constantly with him and near his Counsels, Sir *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke: *Francis Lovel* Viscount *Lovel*, Sir *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Fer-*

1485. rers of *Chartley*, Sir *John de la Souch*, Sir *Robert Harrington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *Will. Berkeley*, *Will. Catesby*, *Thomas Broughton*, *John Buck*, *Humphry Stafford*, *Rob. Middleton*, *Robert Brokenbury*, *John Kendal* Secretary to the King, *Walter Hopton*, *Jeffrey Saint-German*, *Rog. Wake*, *Thomas Billington*, *William Sapcoate*, *Will. Brampton*, all Knights, and some Heralds at Arms, with divers other; an Act of Parliament being made to Disable and Forejudge them of all manner of Honour, State, Dignity; also to Forfeit all Mannors, Castles, Lordships, Hundreds, Franchises, Liberties, Advowsons, Privileges, Nominations, Presentations, Tene-ments, Rents, Suits, Reversions, Portions, Annuities, Pensions, Rights, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, and Debts. These be the words of the Act, and if *ius*, then *ius summum* in all Extremity.

Those of Note that were taken, lost their Heads at *Leicester* two Days after, being St. *Bartholomew's*-Day, and had a Glimpse like that *Bartholomew* in *France* in our Time; all such Slaughters from thence call'd *Bartelemies*, and *Bartelemies*, simply in a perpetual Stigma of that Butchery.

It is suggested, the Duke of *Norfolk* was slain in the Battel by the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Story of *Croyland* seemeth to say as much; Comes Oxoniæ valentissimus miles in eam alam ubi Dux Norfolciæ constitutus erat in agro (de Redmore) tum Gallicorum tum Anglicorum militum Comitatu stipatus tetendit, &c.

Amongst those that escaped the sad Destiny of that Day, was the Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Stafford*, and his Brother *N. Stafford*, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen that got into Foreign Countries and Sanctuaries, obscuring themselves till the Storm and Smart of that Day's Memory were past. But some would maintain *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* to be one of them that submitted to the New King at *Bosworth*, immediately after the Overthrow, which must not be believed, if we understand the Composition of those Times and Affairs: For certain it is, the *E. Richmond* had peremptorily proscrib'd all those he had cause to fear or hate, whose Names are partly in the Rolls, kept in the Chapel of the Convertites in *Chancery-lane*, and partly omitted by the Scribes.

Now the Earl of *Surrey*, of all the rest, was so terrible and distasteful to him, there could be no Excuse left for his Life. And therefore let no Man think he was taken or submitted, but took an happier Season some Months after. The Relation and Truth is (by the Warrant of one that well knew him, and the Inter-passage of his Fortune) the Earl opportunely left the Field, but so wounded, that Faintness and Night constrain'd him to the House of a Gentleman not far from *Nottingham*, and one that bare a faithful Respect to the Earl and his Family, until he was recovered. In the mean time, that terrible Parliament held in the next *November* was concluded, and the King's Desires reasonably well appeased, in seeing the Execution of his New Laws past upon some of them.

After which, (some small distance of time) followed a gracious Pardon to all the Offenders in that Cause, which proffer'd Mercy this Earl laid hold on, hoping to restore himself (by his Submission) his offence, consider'd, being but an Act of Loyalty to his Master. But this confidence sent him to the *Tower*; for tho' the Violence of the Storm appear'd well calm'd, yet the

The Duke of Norfolk slain by the Earl of Oxford.

The Earl of Surrey escapeth at Bosworth.



1485. the King retain'd some Heavings of it in his Thoughts: And this Imprisonment continued from his First year of Reign unto the Fourth; and towards the beginning of that, being in the Tower with the Queen Elizabeth (to whom he was shortly after to be married) he took occasion to call for the Earl, (bearing still a gulf of the same Tempest in his Brow) and challenged him upon the old Quarrel, his Service to the late Usurper and Tyrant, (as he usually term'd King Richard) the Earl humbly moved his Pardon, and more favourable Consideration to the Nature of his Offence, which Thousands more conceiv'd to be but a due effect of their Liege Duties, and Allegiance to a Prince so lawfully, and with all general sufferance crown'd, whose Title he held himself bound to defend by the Law of God and Nations, and would die in defence of him and that Crown, though he should find it upon a Stake: The King left him with a stern and rustling Reply, but in cold Blood better acknowledged his Integrity, and thought he would come of no less Value to him, having the Advantage to merit him by his Pardon, which soon after he granted him; nor did the Earl lose ought of that Opinion: Shortly after, being made of the Privy Council, then Lieutenant or Governour of the North, and General against the Scots, whom he overthrew; as fatal was he to them at Flodden Field, where he took their King in the time of Henry the Eighth, who made him High Marshal and Treasurer of England, and restor'd him to his Father's Dukedom, the Inheritance of his Grandmother Mowbray, being a Man of such a happy Direction in his Carriage and Wisdom, that all his Actions came home with prosperous Success, and accumulated what was sometime spoken of his great Ancestour Hewardus, of whom it was question'd, *Utrum felicius an fortior esset*, so Fortunate and Honourable hath that House been in the Service to this State; and in the infinite Alliance and Cognation, it holds with the most Ancient Families, the Extractions and Propagations from Mowbray, Warren, Bruce, Dalbery, Marshall, Segrave, Plantagenet, Brotherton, Bigot, Fitz-Alan, Matraver, Buckingham, Oxford, and Dacres: The Father of which Heward, was Leofrick Lord of Burne, and the adjacent Country in Lincolnshire; his Mother was the Lady Edina, descended from the great Oslac, a Duke amongst the Easterlings in King Edgar's time: In whose Family, I also find a Noble Kinsman of his called Haward (to note obiter) This Haward was of a Noble and Magnificent note, a goodly Personage, answer'd with an equal Strength and Valour; *Et nimium Bellicosus*, much, or too much devoted to Mars. He served in the Wars of Northumberland, Cornwall and Ireland; and after in the Lower Germany, where he made up much of his Fame, and married a fair Lady called Turfrida, the Daughter of a Nobleman in Flanders, where he continued until the Death of his Father call'd him Home. About which time, William Duke of Normandy made his Conquest of this Kingdom, and had gratify'd Jobannes Talbois the French Count, now Earl of Holland, with Leoffricks Country of Holland, in the Marshland; and the Count very rudely had expuls'd the Lady his Mother, out of her Possessions and Dower. Hawardus set upon him with such Forces as he could speedily raise, took, and held him Prisoner in despite of the Conquerour, until he redeem'd himself, and accounted for what he had done with a large Sum of Money. This drew those of the Nobility

Scots overthrown by the E. of Surrey

Ingulfus.

Lib. Eliensis.

1485. to the protection of his Sword, which the Conquerour had chased out of their Country, who had fortified themselves in the Isle of Ely, and made Hawardus their General, where he built a Castle that a long time after had his Name. But the Normans took that Advantage to infest his Country, and put him again to the Recovery of it, which he so fortunately settled, that the Conquerour was contented to make him his, and hold him in good favour whilst he lived. He was buried in the Abbey of Croyland: Concerning his Issue by the Lady Turfrida, there is mention only of a Daughter named Turfrida, married to Hugo Enernua, Lord of Deeping: But circumstance will persuade us, he had other Issue, if we consider him in the likelihood of his Strength and Ability, and that divers continued of his Sir-name in that Country a long time after him, which makes it probable, he had a Natural Son, (at least, bearing his own Name of Heward) that next to him was the Original Ancestor of this House of Howards. And let it not be thought any Disparagement for a Noble Family to be raised from a Natural Issue; for many Princely Families have been deriv'd and propagated from Natural Sons, as was Eneas, Romulus, the Founders of the Roman Families; So was Theseus and Themistocles, as Plutarch writeth; others say as much of Hercules, &c.

The honour of Bastards.

Homer. Livy.

The King of Spain descended from Henry de Trastamara, base Son of Alphonfus the Justicer, King of Castile. And who doth not honour the Princely Race of William the Conquerour, Bastard Son to the Duke of Normandy? Where was a more Heroical Man than Robert Earl of Gloucester, base Son of King Henry I.? The Earls of Warren descended from Hamelin, a base Son of Geoffry Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou: The Noble Herberts are also said to come from a base Son of Henry the First.

And the Duke and Earls of Somerset (which followed the red Rose) were the Offspring of the Beauforts, Natural Sons of John de Gaunt.

For a further Conjecture, why these Howards must be descended from Hewardus or Herewardus (for so some Writers call him; but Ingulfus, who best knew him, constantly calls him Hewardus) both Names may signifie in the Saxon old Dutch, a Chief Captain of an Army, whom the Romans call'd Imperator) And that the Titles and Names of great Offices have given Sir-names to many Noble Families, we have Examples in plenty; Particularly, the Viscounts of Milan, the Chamberlaines of Normandy, the Stewards of Scotland, the Butlers of Ireland, and divers others, who had their Sir-names from the Offices of their Ancestors and Fathers; and the same Presumption or Argument may be for taking the Sir-name of Howard, and the Origine of their Family from Hewardus, the Howards from the time of Heward, dwelling in these Countries of Holland and Marshland, and were Lords of some Lands belonging to him, until by their Matches, with the Daughters and Heirs of Fitton, Tendring, Mowbray, Tillney, &c. they became possessed in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Berkshire, and were Lords sometime of Sunning-bill near Windsor, and bore the Sir-name ever since (or with small interruption) the old Sir-name written Heward, or Hereward in Charters and Records, and Howard in Stories. But descend we thro' the Succession of those times to William Haward, Chief Justice in the Reign of Edward I. Grandfather to Sir John Howard, Admiral of the North Fleet, in the Naval Wars of Edward III; his Son Sir Robert Howard married the Daughter of the



1485. the Lord *Scales*, and Sir *John Howard* (who liv'd in the time of *Henry IV.* and died *Anno 16. Henry VI.*) had two Wives, *Margaret* Daughter and Heir of Sir *John Plais* Knight, by whom he had *Eliza*: an only Daughter, married to *John de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who brought him a goodly part of the *Howards* Lands: Her Heirs were married to *Latimer* and *Winckfield*, very fruitful Families. His second Wife was the Daughter and Heir of Sir *William Tendering* of *Stoke-Nayland* in *Suffolk*, by whom he had Sir *Robert Howard* his eldest Son, who married *Margaret Mowbray*, Daughter of a *Cadet* of the House of *Lancaster*, who became Co-heir with her Sister the Lady *Berkeley*, Wife to *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, dead in *Venice*, and left his Son *Henry Howard* Heir to *Howard* and *Mowbray*; and *John Howard*, the Son of *John Howard*, was created Earl of *Norfolk* by King *Richard III.* in the right of his Mother *Mowbray*, he married the Daughter of the Lord *Moulins*, and by her had *Thomas Howard*, the first *Howard* Earl of *Surrey*; this is he who survived the Danger of *Bosworth* Field, and became afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, from whom all the *Howards* now living are Descended, whose Family hath been so fruitful to furnish this Kingdom with four Dukes, many Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, three High Treasurers, six High or Great Marshals, ten High Admirals, with some Honourable Custos of the Privy-Seal, and sundry Chamberlains of the King's House; and one lately lived who had born the Offices of High Constable, Lord Lieutenant, Lord high Steward, Marshal and Admiral of *England*, Lord Chief Justice in Oyer of the better Part of this Kingdom, and Chamberlain of the Royal House, a Man honourable in his Departments, and fortunate in his Undertakings; as at the great Marine Battels against all the Naval Powers of *Spain*, the Pope, and Princes of *Italy*, *Anno Dom. 1588.* and in the Siege of *Gadys*, *An. Dom. 1596.*

Sir Charles Howard.

Camden in Oed.

And this is the Grand-Child of that *Thomas Lord Howard*, who for his better Distinction and perpetual Honour is stiled *Triumphator Scotorum*.

I have stray'd into this Digression, as a grateful Tender of an Acknowledgment I owe to that Illustrious Family, for their Noble Patronage and Favour to my Ancestors, especially to that Unfortunate *Bucke* and his Children, who wither'd with the white Rose, (bearing an Ancient and Hereditary love to the House of *York*, and stood in good Credit and Favour with the King his Master) nor let this Remembrance of him, and his obscur'd Family, seem Ostentation or Vain-glory, whilst I say no more than what other Histories dictate; which give him an able Character. Master *Camden Clarentius* (in his Immortal *Britannia*,) deriveth this Sir *John Bucke*, from Sir *Walter de Bucke* of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, who had that Sir-name of great Antiquity from the Castle *de Bucke* in *Lisle*, a City and Frontier Town in *Flanders*, where the ancient Earls were accustomed much to reside; the Ruins of this Castle remained in the late time of *Lodwice Guicciardine*, who saith, He saw the Carcass thereof: And this *Walter Bucke* was a *Cadet* of the House of *Flanders*, employ'd and sent by the Prince (then Duke of *Brabant* and Earl of *Flanders*) to King *John*, with Auxiliary Troops: *Roger Wondover* saith, *Walter Bucke*, *Gerard de Scottigni*, and *Godescalius*, venerunt in *Angliam cum tribus legionibus Flandrensiū & Brabantianorum militum*, &c. and he did the King excellent Service here (as many of our Historians report, for which the King bountifully rewarded him

Lodow. Guicci. du Paef. Baess. The Antientry of Bucke.

M. Paris. M. West-minst. Radulphus de Cogeshill. Tho. Walsing.

with Lands in *Yorkshire* and *Northamptonshire*: 1485. And in *Yorkshire* (where he made his Seat) he found an ancient Family of the Sirname of *Bucke* of *Buckton*, in the Wapentake of *Bucroffe*, where that Family had anciently been, (for the Name is a Saxon or Dutch word, and signifieth a Beech Tree, or Beech Wood) here *Walter* contracted Alliance, and married *Ralph de Bucke* his Eldest Son, to the Daughter and Heir of *Gocelinus de Bucke*, Grandchild to *Radolphus de Bucke*, who was a Part Founder and Benefactor to the Abbey of *Bredlington*, (as is mention'd in the Charter of *Henry I.* made for the Foundation of that Monastery) and from this *Walter* descended *John Bucke* Knight, who married a *Strelley*, and was so constant in his Affection, that (altho' she died in his best Age) he made a Religious Vow, and became a Knight of the *Rhodes*, his Arms are yet to be seen in the Ruins of the Hospital of *St. John's* near *Smithfield*, and in the Church of *Alballows* at the Upper-end of *Lumbard-street*, which was repair'd and enlarg'd with the Stones brought from that demolish'd Canoby: He liv'd sub rege *Edvardo filio Regis Henrici*: as I have seen by the Date of his Deed in *Hertbill*, *Anno 1 Ed. 1. & Anno 22 Ed. 1.*

From this Knight of the *Rhodes* descended Sir *John Bucke*, who for his too much forwardness in Charging a Fleet of *Spaniards* (without the Leave of the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Admiral) was committed to the Tower, (testified by the Records there) *Anno 13. Richard II.* *Lawrence Bucke* his Son, follow'd *Edward Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, and was at the Battel of *Agincourt* with him, when he was Slain: *John Bucke* Knight, the Son of this *Lawrence*, married a Daughter and Heir of the House of *Starvelly*, out of which are descended the Barons *Parres* of *Kendall* and *Rosse*, Queen *Katharine* (the last Wife of King *Henry VIII.*) the Lord *Parre* Marquess of *Northampton*, and the *Herberts* Earls of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*.

These *Buckes* residing for the most part at *West-Stanton*, and *Hertbill* in *Yorkshire*, and match'd into the Families of *Strelley* or *Stirely* of *Woodball*, *Thorpe*, *Tilney*, (then of *Lincolnshire*) and *Savill*, by which we have much noble Kindred; Sir *John Bucke* for his Service to the House of *York*, especially at *Bosworth*, lost his Head at *Leicester*; He married the Daughter of *Henry Savill*, by whom he had *Robert Bucke* and other Children, who were brought into the Southern Parts by *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, where they have remain'd ever since; for the Children (being Orphans) were left in miserable Estate by the Attainder of their Father; But the Duke bestow'd two Daughters in Marriage, one with the Heir of *Bucke*, the other, with the Heir of *Fitz-Lewis*, very ancient Families, from which Matches divers Honourable and Noble Persons are descended. The Sons were, one a Souldier, the other a Courtier, the third, a Priest; afterward the Duke bestow'd *Robert Bucke*, the Eldest Son at *Melford-Hall* in *Suffolk*, and married him into the Families of *Higbam* and *Cotton*, as also did the *Blounds* of *Elwaston*, the *Talbots* of *Grafion*, from whom the Barons of *Monjoy*, and the late Earls of *Shrewsbury* descended; one of the Daughters of this *Bucke* married to *Frederick Tilney* of *Shelley-Hall* in *Suffolk*, his nearest Kinsman by the Dutcheffs his Mothers side.) But some perhaps must call this my Vanity, I shall but answer them, that I think my self bound (by all the Blood and Memory I claim from them,) to pay them my best Relations and Endeavours, acknowledging with the great Consular Philosopher, *Parentes charissimos habere debemus, quod ab*



1485. *his vita, patrimonium, libertas, Civitas tradita est.*

And I should think there is none, who hath an interest in the quality of Gentile or Noble, (for all is one) but looks back (with some delight) to their first Commemoration; and finds a strong Engagement due to the Vertues and Worth of their first Fathers; for that express Charge to Honour Father and Mother, is not to be understood, only of our Parents superstit, and living here with us, but our Forefathers: that is, beyond our great Grandfather, for we have no proper word for them above that degree (but Antecessors, *vu'go* Ancestors) whom the Romans called *Majores*, and comprehendeth all our Progenitors departed sooner or later) for the Words *Pater* and *Mater*, as also, *Patres* & *Parentes*, extend very largely, and reach up to the highest Ancestors. The ancient Roman *Jurisconsults*, deliver in their Law for an Axiom, that *Appellatione Parentum omnes in infinitum majores utriusque sexus significantur*; and the word *Parentes* yet spreadeth further, comprehending all Kinsfolks and Cousins, of our Blood and Linage, being used in that sense by *Aelius Lampridius*, by *Julius Capitolinus*, and other the best Writers in the Times of the declined Empire,

as *Isaac Casaubonus* hath well observed in his Annotations. 1485.

The *Italians*, *Spanish* and *French*, (whose Language is for the most part *Romanzi* (Mongrel *Latin*) and broken and corrupted *Roman* Language (use *Parenti*, *Parentes* and *Parents* for all their Kinsfolks and Gentilitious Cousins.

We *Englishmen* (being more precise) follow the Ancient and Classick *Latin* Writers, holding Parent strictly to the simple Signification of *Pater* and *Mater*, the present and immediate Parents. But the using of the word *Parentes*, as those Imperial Historians use it; serveth better for our purpose here: And I could (most willingly) imitate the Pious Gentlemen of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *France*, in their Religious and Charitable Endeavours, to advance the Happiness of their Parents defunct, if those Desires could besteed them. But where I should crave Pardon, I become more Guilty and Extravagant; it is time therefore to know good Manners, and return home to our proper Task, which will be to re-fell the gross and black Calumnies thrown unjustly upon the Memory and Person of King *Richard*, And falls within the Circle of the next Book.

## BOOK III.

### The ARGUMENT of the Third Book of the LIFE and REIGN of *RICHARD* III.

*The Defamations of King Richard examined and answered. Dr. Morton and Sir Thomas Moore malevolent to the House of York, Their frivolous Exceptions against his Gestures, Looks, Teeth, Shape and Birth, his Vertues depraved. The Death of King Henry the Sixth, and his Son Edward Prince of Wales. The Actors therein. The Offence of Killing an annointed King. Valiant Men hate Treacheries and Bloody Acts. King Richard not Deform'd. The Slanders of Clarence translated to King Richard. The Cause of Clarence's Execution. How the Sons of King Edward came by their Deaths. King Richard Exculpable thereof. The Story of Perkin Warbeck compared with Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, who are Biothanati. Counterfeit Prince detected, Young Prince marvellously preserved. Many Testimonies for the Assertion that Perkin Warbeck was Richard Duke of York; his honourable Entertainment with foreign Princes Vox populi. Reasons why it is not Credible King Richard made away his two Nephews; the force of Confession. The Evil of Torture, the Guilt of attempting to Escape out of Prison, what an Escape is. The Earl of Oxford severe against Perkin, and his End. The base Son of King Richard the Third secretly made away. The Son of the Duke of Clarence put to Death. The Power of Furies, Demones & Genii. Apollonii Majeftas.*

Quod tibi non vis alteri ne feceris.

Erasmus in *Chiliad.* THERE is no Story that shews the Planetary Affections and Malice of the Vulgar more truly than *K. Richard's*: and what a tickle game Kings have to play with them; tho' his Successor *Henry VII.* play'd his providently enough (with help of the Standers by) yet even those Times (which had promised the happiest Example of a State, and best of a King) both groan'd and complain'd; but had not the sting and infection of King *Richard's* Adversaries, who did not only as the Proverb saith, *cum larvis luctare*, contend with his immortal Parts, but raked his Dust, to find and aggravate Exceptions in his

Grave; having learnt their Piety from the *Co-Terentius* mical Parasite, *obsequium amicos, veritas odium* in *Adelphi*, and finding it as well guerdonable as grateful, to Publish their Libels and Scandalous Pamphlets, (a piece of Policy and Service too) to the Times, (and an offence to resent any thing good of him) they gave their Pens more Gall and freedom, having a Copy set by Doctor *Morton*, who had taken his Revenge that way, and written a \* Book in *Latin* against King *Richard*, which came afterward to the Hands of Mr. *Moore* (sometime his Servant) so that here the Saying of *Darius*, (which after became a Proverb) hath place

\* This Book was lately in the hands of Mr. *Robert*, of *Eltham*, as Sir *Edward Hoby*, who saw it told *Hoc me.*



1485.

*Hoc Calceamentum consuit Histicus, induit, autem Aristagoras.*

\*He wrote many Poems and Epigrams, sundry pretty Comedies, and Entertainments, often times personating with the Actors, as his loving and familiar Friend Erasmus reports. Brixius Antimore.

Dr. Morton (acting the Part of *Histicus*) made the Book, and Master Moore like *Aristagoras* set it forth, amplifying and glossing it, with a purpose to have writ the full Story of *Richard the Third* (as he intimateth in the Title of his Book;) but it should seem he found the Work so melancholy and uncharitable, as dull'd his disposition to it; for he began it, 1513. when he was Under-Sheriff, or Clerk to one of the Sheriffs of *London*, and had the Intermission of Twenty two Years (which time he took up in Studies, more Natural to his Inclination, as Law and Poetry, \* for in them lay his greatest fancy) to finish it before he died, (which was in 1535. but did not yet lift himself so happily into the Opinion of Men, that his Commendations had more Fortune than Observation :) and past him under the Attributes of Learning and Religion; tho' in both he came short of what was ascribed to him; for if he understood the Latin and Greek, (then held great Learning) yet was he so far under the desert of an excellent Scholar, as the learned censured him a Man of slender Reading, and *Germanus Brixius*, *Irruditus*, i. unlearned; for the Sanctity of his Life, *John Balau*, who took not up his Knowledge of him an Age off, (as some of his Admirers,) but from the Original, thus gives us his Draught.

Joan. Balau de scriptoribus Brit. Cent. 8. cap. 69.

*Hoc nos probe novimus qui eramus eidem Thomæ Moro viciniore, quod pontificum, & phariseorum crudelitati ex avaritia subserviens omni tyranno truculentior ferociebat, imo insaniebat in eos qui aut Papæ primatum, aut purgatorium, aut mortuorum invocationes, aut imaginum cultus aut simile quiddam diabolicarum imposturarum negabant, a vivifica Dei veritate ita edocti. Consentire hic Harpagus noluit ut Rex Christianus in suo Regno primus esset, nec quod ei liceret cum Davide, Salomone, Josaphato, Ezechia, & Josia Sacerdotes, & Levitas rejicere Romanensium Nembrodorum tyrannide in proprio ordinare dominio, &c.*

In English thus.

" This we, who were no Strangers to the said *Thomas More*, very well know, that, for covetous Ends ministering to the Cruelty of the Priests and Pharisees, he raged more fiercely than any Tyrant; yea, was transported even to Madnes against those, who instructed by the Life-giving Truth of God, denied either the Supremacy of the Pope, or Purgatory, or the Worshipping of Saints or Images, or such other diabolical Impostures. This Man of Avarice would not agree that a Christian King should be Supreme in his own Kingdom, nor permit him with *David*, *Solomon*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Ezechiah*, and *Josias*, rejecting the Tyranny of the *Roman Nimrods*, to order the Priests and Levites in his own Dominions, &c.

Rich. Graf-ton saith, he died mocking and scoffing as he lived.

Adding the Attribute of *tenebrio*, of *veritatis evangelicæ perversissimus osor*, of *obstinatus Calophanta*, of *impudens Christi adversarius*; and saith of his end that *decollatus fuit in Turri Londinensi sexto die Julii, Anno Dom. 1535. Capite ad magnum Londini pontem (ut proditoribus fieri solet) stipiti imposto, & nihilominus a Papistis pro novo Martyre colitur.*

That is, " He was Beheaded in the Tower of *London* upon the Sixth day of *July*, in the Year 1535. his Head, (as is usual to be done

" with Traytors,) being fix'd on a Pole upon the Bridge of *London*; notwithstanding of which he is by the Papists adored for a new Martyr.

Thus he became a Martyr and a Saint; but we shall find other Cause of his Condemnation by his own Testimony; for when he stood at the Bar arraigned, some Exceptions having been urg'd against him, for seeming to uphold and maintain the Pope's Supremacy in *England*; his Reply was, he could not see *quomodo laicus vel secularis homo possit vel debeat esse caput status spiritualis aut ecclesiastici*; yet insinuated, that this Opinion was taken hold of but for a Pretext to supplant him; the greatest cause of the King's Displeasure being for his withstanding the Divorce, between him and *Katharine of Castile* his Wife, and his second Marriage with the Lady *Anne Bullen* Marquesset of *Pembroke*: And his own words (spoken to the Judges, as they were set down by his dear Friend, *George Courinus*, in a short Discourse upon his Death) are, *non me pudet quamobrem a vobis condemnatus sum (videlicet) ob id, quod nunquam voluerim assentiri in negotium novi matrimonii Regis*, which uttered after Sentence of Condemnation, (when no Evasion or Subterfuges would avail) must proceed surely from his Conscience; and before this, he wrote a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell*, (which I have seen) wherein he protested, he was not against the King, either for his second Marriage, or for the Churches Supremacy: But wisheth him good Success in those Affairs, &c. which renders him (well look'd upon) not so stout a Champion for the Pope, as many of his partial Friends and Romanists supposed; Neither so found in his Religion; for I have seen amongst the multitude of Writings, concerning the Conference about the Alteration of Religion, and suppressing of Churches and religious Houses, that his Connivance and Consent was in it; nor could he excuse it, with all his Policy and Wisdom, neither had the K. ever attempted it, had not the Pope and his Agents opposed that second Marriage, an Error and Insolency *Rome* hath ever since repented. But it prov'd a happy blow of Justice to this Kingdom, cutting off him and his Authority, which else had hazarded the best Queen that ever was, the Sacred and eternally honour'd *Elizabeth*, to whose growing Glory and Virtue Mr. *Moore* became an early and cruel Adversary, even before she was in *rerum natura*. To know him further, let me refer you to the Ecclesiastical History of Mr. *John Fox*, in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* who describes him Graphically; for his Historical Fragment, it shews what great Pains he took to item the Faults and sad Fortunes of King *Richard III.* and how Industrious he was to be a Time-observer, it being the most plausible Theme his Poetical Strain could fall on in those Times, and could not want Acceptance nor Credit, well-knowing in what Fame he stood, and that the weaker Annalists and Chroniclers, (of mean Learning and less Judgment) would boldly take it upon trust from his Pen; who *tantum ignotum & servum pecus*, have follow'd him step by step without Consideration, or just Examination of their Occurrents and Consequents. And the Reputation of him and Dr. *Morton* (being both Lord Chancellors of *England*) might easily mislead men part blind, who have dealt with King *Richard*, as some trivial clawing Pamphleters, and Historical Parasites, with the magnificent Prelate *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal and Archbishop of *York*, a man of

Continued.

In sermone div. Ro. Cotton.



1485. very excellent Ingredients and without Peer in his time; yet his Values had the sting of much Detraction, and the Worth of his many glorious good Works interpreted for Vices and Excesses; to such it must be said, *quod ab ipso allatum est, id sibi relatum esse putant.* And if their Injustice suffer under the same lash, they must know this doom hath the credit of an Oracle, *quale verbum dixisti tale etiam audies.*

But so much Gall and Envy is thrown upon King Richard's Story, as cannot possibly fall into the Style of an ingenuous and charitable Pen; all his Virtue is by a malicious Alchymy substracted into Crimes, and where they necessarily fall into mention, either scornfully transmitted or perverted, with injurious Constructions, not allowing him the Resemblance of Goodness or Merit: If his Disposition be Affable and Curteous, (as generally it was, which their own Relations cannot deny) then he insinuates and dives into the Peoples Hearts: so where he expresses the Bounty and Magnificence of his Mind, it is a subtle Trick to purchase Friendship; let him conceal the Knowledge of his Injuries, and his Patience is deep Hypocrisie; for his Mercy and Clemency extended to the highest Offenders, (as to *Fogge* the Attorney, who had made a Libel against him, besides the Counterfeiting of his Hand and Seal) they were but palliated, and his Friendship merely a Court Brow. They have yet a more captious and subtle Calumny, reproaching the Casting of his Eyes, Motions of his Fingers, Manner of his Gesture, and his other natural Actions.

I confess with *Cicero* that *status, incessus, sessio, occubatio, vultus, oculi, manuum motio*, have a certain kind of Decorum; but he makes it not a Vice to erre in any of them, nor that any Error committed in them was a Vice; altho' in him it must be so defined by the Laws of *Utopia*: Nay, they will dissect his very Sleeps, to find Prodigious Dreams and Bug-bears, (Accidents frequent to themselves) which they dress in all the Fright and Horror Fiction and the Stage can add, who would have sung *Peans* to his Glory, had his Sword brought Victory from *Bosworth* Field: But now, their Envy is born with him from his Mother's Womb, and delivers him into the World with a Strange prodigy of Teeth; altho' (I am perswaded) neither *Dr. Morton*, nor *Sir Thomas Moore* ever spake with the Dutche's his Mother, or her Midwife, about the matter.

But if true; it importeth no reason why those early and natalitious Teeth should preface such Horror and Guilt to his Birth; when we shall remember those many Noble and Worthy Men who have had the like, (without any imputation of Crime) as \* *Marcus Curius* Sirnam'd there-upon *Dentatus*, *Cu. Papiene*, King of the *Epirots* (a Prince much renown'd for his Victories and Virtues) *Monodas* Son of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, born with an intire Semicircular Bone in their Mouths, instead of Teeth: then they aggravate the Pangs of the Dutche's in her Tra-

vail with him: which had not been sufferable without Death, if so extream and intolerable, as they would have them thought for,

*Quod ferri potest leve est; quod non, breve est.*

What can be born is light; what cannot, short.

But she overcame them and lived almost Fifty Years after; others have died in that Bed, yet the Children not made Guilty of Murther; *Julia* the Daughter of *Julius Caesar*, Wife to great *Pompey*, *Juliola* the dear Daughter of *Marcus Cicero*, Wife of *Dolabella*, and *Junia Claudilla* the Empress, and Wife of *Caligula*, died all of the Difficulties and Extremity of their Child-bearing; so did *Q. Elizabeth* Wife of King *Henry VII.* and since the Mother of that most towardly and hopeful Prince *Edward VI.* in travail of his Birth; with many Thousands more, whose Deaths (much less their Pains) were never imputed to their Children.

The next Objection is somewhat of more regard, (but as far without the certainty of a Proof) which is the pretended Deformity of his Body, controverted by many; some peremptorily asserted he was not deformed, of which Opinion was *John Stow*, a Man indifferently inquisitive (as in all their other Affairs) after the verbal Relations and Persons of Princes, and curious in his Description of their Features and Lineaments, who in all his Inquiry could find no such Note of Deformity in this King: but hath acknowledged *viva voce*, that he had spoken with some ancient Men, who from their own Sight and Knowledge affirmed he was of bodily Shape comely enough, only of low Stature, which is all the Deformity they proportion so monstrously; neither did *John Ronce* who knew him, and writ much in his Description, observe any other: And *Archibald Quaitlaw*, Ambassador unto this King from *Scotland*, in his Oration says, he had *corpus exiguum*; not otherwise; so (to my conceit) *Philip de Comines* and the Prior of *Croyland* (who had seen and known this Prince) seem to clear him implicatively; for in all their Discourses of him, they never directly nor indirectly, covertly or apertly, insinuate this Deformity which (I suppose) they would not have passed: And by his sundry Pictures which I have seen, there was no such Disproportion in his Person or Lineaments, but all decently compacted to his Stature, his Face of a warlike Aspect, (which *Sir Tho. Moore* Rot. in an. calleth a crabbed Visage) of all the Children being said to be most like his Father in favour and composition of Shape, who tho' not tall was of an even and well-disposed Structure.

And *Sir Thomas Moore* himself, doth not certainly affirm the Deformity, but rather seems to take it as a Malitious Report; for, saith he, King *Richard* was deformed as the Fame ran by those that hated him; *habemus reum confitentem*, and surely it had been a strange kind of Confidence and Reason in *Dr. Shaw*, || to disclaim a thing which must be so palpable, openly in the

1485. This Dutche's of York died about the 11th of K. Hen. 7. at Berkhamsted, and was buried at Tothringham, *John Stow*, *Seneca*.

K. Richard not deformed.

Rot. in an. 2 R. 2.

*Sir Thomas Moore* apud *Harlington*.

*Dr. Shaw*.

† *Sir Thomas More* describes him thus: He was little of Stature, ill-featur'd of Limbs, Crook-back'd, his Left Shoulder much higher than his Right, hard favour'd of Visage, the Dutche's, his Mother, had so much ado in her Travel, that she cou'd not be Deliver'd of him uncut; he came into the World with his Feet forward, and not Untoother'd.

*Holinhead's* Description of him is much the same: He was small and little of Stature of Body greatly deform'd, the one Shoulder higher than the other; His Face was small but his Countenance Cruel, and such as at the first aspect a Man wou'd judge it to favour and smell of Malice, Fraud and Deceit.

|| *Mr. Burk* cannot avoid erring; there is no mention even in *Dr. Shaw's* Speech of King *Richard's* being like his Father in the Body, 'tis said in the Face only. His Words were, "The very Noble Prince, the Special Pattern of Knightly Prowess, as well in all Princely Behaviour as in the Lineaments and Favour of his Visage, representing the very Face of the Noble Duke of York, his Father. *Hol. p. 728.* *Sir Thomas Moore* writes, That the People instead of Applauding this Harangue, stood amaz'd at the Preacher, who for more Shame hid himself, and not long after pin'd away to Death. *Hist. of Edw. V. and Rich. III.*

Pulpit



1485. Pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, whilst the Protector was present, before many Hundreds of People, (who had seen and known him before) and might then better view and note him; In these words, 'The Lord Protector is a very noble Prince, the 'Special Pattern of Knightly Prowess, as well in 'all Princely Behaviour as in the Lineaments of 'his Body and in the Favour of his Visage, representing the very Face of the Noble Duke 'his Father; this is the Father's own Figure, this 'is his own Countenance, the very sure and undoubted Image and express Likeness of that 'Noble Duke.

*Socrates, A Sophus, Epictetus, Galba a great and excellent Captain of the Romans, all of deformed Stature.* Now, what can Malice extract out of this, to upbraid or stigmatize his Honour; if Men of blemish'd Persons may contain a Wise, Valiant, Learned, Liberal and Religious Soul, and be in every Part most absolute, exampled to us in many famous Men; and at our Home (as well in this present Age as in the more ancient) we have had Men of a harsh Fabrick, most nobly furnish'd in the Composures of their Minds.

But because these Cavils could not fetch Blood from him, they will make him guilty of other Men, and first of King Henry VI. whose Murther they say (and very favourably) his Brother Edward contrived, but wrought him to act it; an Accusation of very harsh Credit, that either King Edward, so truly noble and valiant a Prince, should put a Prince and his own Brother, upon so horrid a Thing, or he endure to hear it. Sir Thomas Moore holds King Edward would not engage his Brother in so butcherly an Office, there being many Reasons that he durst not, neither do his Adversaries charge him directly by any credible Author of that Time, † or discover by whom this Murther was; only the Prior of Croyland maketh it somewhat suspicious.

*Chron. Croyland.* Hoc tempore inventum est corpus regis Henrici sexti exanime in turre Londinaria. Parcat Deus, & spatium penitentiae ei donet quicumque sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini ausus immittere, unde & agens tyranni & patiens gloriosi martyris titulum mereantur.

That is, "At this Time the Body of King "Henry VI. was found Dead in the Tower of "London. May God spare, and give time of "Repentance to him, who hath dared to lay "Sacriligious Hands upon the Lord's Anointed, "whence the Actor hath merited the Title of "a Tyrant, as the Sufferer that of a Glorious "Martyr.

Tyrannus in the proper Construction, being Rex, for whosoever is Rex is Tyrannus, according to the ancient Signification; for amongst the Greeks Τύραννος was used for a King simply, good or bad, and this (some hold) makes against King Edward; Richard being Duke of Gloucester then, yet so doubtfully as may be refuted by good Authority; for it is the Opinion of very grave Men, Henry VI. was not murder'd, but died of natural Sickness, and extreme Infirmary of Body.

*Idem Croyland.* Rex Henricus sextus, ab annis jam multis ex accidente sibi agitudine quandam animi incurreret infirmitatem, & sic ager corpore & impos mentis permansit diutius; i. e. "King Henry VI. for many

Years, by reason of a Sickness which had befallen him, had contracted a certain Weakness of Mind, and so remain'd for a long time both diseased in Body and distempered in Mind. This consider'd with the Aggravation of his Grief and Sorrow, || in the loss of his Crown and Liberty (being then a Prisoner) the Overthrow of all his Friends and Forces in the Battel of Tewkesbury, but (above all) the Death of his Son the Prince, might master a stronger Heart and Constitution than his, in a shorter time; which Opinion is receiv'd and alledged by a learned and discreet Gentleman.

The occasion of the Murther of King Henry VI. hath no other Proof but the malicious Affirmation of one Man; for many other Men more truly did suppose that he died of mere Grief and Melancholy, when he heard the Overthrow of his Cause and Friends, with the Slaughter of the Prince his Son: And Johannes Majerus saith it was reported, King Henry VI. died of Grief and Thought. Concerning the Slaughter of the Prince his only Son, it is noted to be casual, and made sudden by his own Insolence, not out of any pretended Malice or premeditated Treachery, and so it cannot be called Wilful Murther; for the King demanding him why he invaded his Kingdom, his Reply was, he might, and ought to do it, in defence and preservation of the Right, which the King his Father and his Heirs had in the Crown; and maintain'd this lofty Answer so peremptorily and boldly, the King in rage struck him with his Fist, (as some say armed with a Gantlet) and instantly the Noblemen attending, as George Polidor, Duke of Clarence, Marquess Dorset, the Lord Hastings and others, drew their Swords upon the Prince and killed him; which they would make the particular fact of Duke Richard.

But to the contrary, I have seen in a faithful Manuscript Chronicle of those times, † That the Duke of Gloucester only of all the great Persons, stood still and drew not his Sword; the Reasons to credit this are, first it might be in his mere Sense of Honour, seeing so many drawn upon him, there was no need of his, or in his respects to the Prince's Wife, who (as Johannes Anna, uxor Majerus saith) was in the Room and near a-kin to the Dutches of York his Mother, and to whom the Duke was also very Affectionate, (tho' secretly) which he soon after demonstrated in marrying her; nay, this Duke bore such a Sense of noble Actions in his Bosom, that misliking the obscure and mean Burial of Henry VI. this Prince's Father, he caus'd his Corps to be taken from Chertsey, and to be honourably convey'd to the Royal and Stately Chappel of Windsor, ordain'd for Kings.

And Sir Thomas Moore saith further, He was suspected to have the contriving Part in the Duke of Clarence his Brother's Death, yet confesseth it was commonly said Richard oppos'd himself against the Unnatural Proceedings of the King, both privately and publickly; and the truth is, it was the King's own immovable and inexorable Doom who thought it justly and necessarily his due; for Clarence stood Guilty of many Treasons and great ones, and by

† Edward Hall writes, "Richard Duke of Gloucester as the constant Fame ran, (to the intent that his Brother King Edward might reign with more Surety) murder'd King Henry with a Dagger.

Sir Thomas Moore, "He slew with his own Hand King Henry VI. being Prisoner in the Tower, as was constantly said, without Commandment or Knowledge of the King. Ibid.

The Lord Bacon, speaking of the Ignominy offer'd his Corps at Leicester, "No Man thought it unworthy Him who had been the Executioner of King Hen. VI. that Innocent Prince with his own Hand. Reign of Hen. VI.

|| This, says Holinshead, is recorded by some Persons altogether favouring the House of York.

† Edward Hall affirms he was murder'd by George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, &c.

\* The Lord Bacon says, He was the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of Clarence his Brother.



1485. his Ingratitude had so forfeited himself to the King's Displeasure, that no Friend durst move in his Behalf; this the King did afterward acknowledge with some Discontent, when his Wrath had cooled, as we may guess in this Expression of his: *O infatigabilem fratrem, pro cuius salute nemo homo rogavit*; yet Polidor Virgil doth not rightly understand here as I conjecture by the Sequel; but let us interpret that a little, and take up another Accusation which puts into the way.

Polidor.  
Virgil.

That Richard Duke of Gloucester should scandal the Birth of the King his Brother with Bastardy, and alledge it for a special Matter in Dr. Shaw's Sermon, that he should fame King Edward IV. a Bastard, and that the Dutches, his Mother had wanton familiarity with a certain Gentleman; this he might erroneously scatter in the Pulpit, and take it upon the like Intelligence, by which (in the same Sermon) he call'd her (to whom King Edward was betrothed before his Marriage with the Lady Grey) Elizabeth Lucy, whose Name was for a certain Ellenor Butler alias Talbot, so call'd by King Richard, and written in the Records.

Error of  
Dr. Shaw.

That the  
Duke of  
Gloucester  
raised not  
the slander  
against  
the Dut-  
ches's his  
Mother,  
nor of his  
Brother's  
Bastardy.

This Drift had been too gross for King Richard, to lay an Imputation of Whoredom upon his own Mother, (a Virtuous and Honourable Lady) being it cast also a Shame and Bastardy upon himself; for if she offended in one, she might as likely offend in another, and in the rest.

And to quit him of it, Sir Thomas Moore, Richard Grafton, Mr. Hall, say that King Richard was much displeased with the Doctor, when he heard the Relation, which the Duke of Buckingham also affirmed in his Speech to the Lord Mayor of London. That Dr. Shaw had incur'd the great displeasure of the Protector for speaking so dishonourably of the Dutches's Mother.

That he was able of his own knowledge to say, he had done wrong to the Protector therein, who was ever known to bear a reverend and filial Love unto her: and to cut off all farther Doubt and Question, it was proved and is testified upon Records that George Duke of Clarence only rais'd this Slander in an extreme Hatred to the King his Brother, (many Jarrs falling between them) by which the King had a just cause to take notice of his Malice.

*Vixit est dux Clarentia magis, ac magis a regis presentia se subtrahere, in consilio vix verbum proferre, neque libenter bibere aut manducare in domo Regis, i. e.* "The Duke of Clarence was observed more and more to withdraw himself from the Presence and Conversation of the King, to keep Silence in the Council, scarcely uttering one Word, and willingly neither to Eat nor Drink in the King's House.

Anno 10.  
Edward 4.

(a) Lib.

M. S. in

quarto. d.

pud Dom.

Rob. Cor-

son.

(b) Chro-

nicle, Croy-

land.

(c) Loyal-

ty bind-

eth Me.

Father Al-

lie. Quod

vulgo &

corrupte

Father in

Law dici-

tur.

When Richard even in that calamitous Time Henry VI. had overthrown King Edward in a Battel, recover'd the Kingdom, and proclaim'd Edward an Usurper; so faithful was his Brother, that (a) he was proclaim'd Traitor for him; and (b) when Queen Margaret besieg'd the City of Gloucester with the King's Power, the Citizens stood at defiance with her Army, and told her it was the Duke of Gloucester's Town, who was with the King, and for the King, and for him they would hold it; his Loyalty bearing a most constant expression in this Motto (c) *Lou-alto me lie*; which I have seen written by his own Hand and Subscribed, Richard Gloucester. The other was as constantly undermining at him, after confederated with the Earl of Warwick his Father Allie, who had turn'd Faith

from the King, and went into France, soliciting for Force against England; which they brought in, fought with the King and overthrew him, and so fiercely pursuing the Victory, that the King was forc'd to fly out of the Land: Clarence not so satisfied, (unless he might utterly supplant him) studied that Slander of Bastardy, to bring in himself an Heir to the Crown, which was proved and given in expresse Evidence against him, at his Trial and Attainder by Parliament, amongst sundry other Articles of High Treason.

Videlicet, That the said Duke of Clarence had in Parliament, untruly Publish'd King Edward a Bastard and not Legitimate to reign, that himself therefore was true Heir of the Kingdom, the Royalty and Crown belonging unto him, and to his Heirs; these be the very words of the Record, and enough to tell us who was the Author of that Slander, and what important Cause the King had to quit himself of Clarence: a bitter Proof of the old Proverb, *fratrum inter se ira acerbissima sunt*; and all the Favour Clarence could at his end obtain, was to choose it, (as John de Serres reporteth it) so that it was not the Duke of Gloucester, but the King's implacable Displeasure for his Malice and Treasons that cut him off, who could not think himself secure whilst he liv'd: Witness Polidor Virgil, *Edwardus Rex post mortem fratris se a cunctis timeri animadvertit, & ipse jam timebat neminem*.

That is, "King Edward the Sixth after his Brother's Death, perceiv'd that he was feared by all, and himself now feared no Man.

Next, for the Murther of the two Sons of Who King Edward IV. King in hope, and made a way the Richard of Shrewsbury Duke of York and Norfolk Sons of K. his younger Brother, they alledge it in this manner. Edw. the Fourth.

That King Richard, being desirous to rid those two Princes his Nephews out of the World; imploy'd his trusty Servant John Green to Sir Robert Rrackenbury Lieutenant-Constable of the Tower, about the executing of this Murther; and by reason that Plot took no effect, (Sir Robert not liking it) the Protector suborn'd Four desperate Villains, John Dighton, Miles Forrest, James Tyrrell, and William Slater to undertake it, who, (as they further alledge) smother'd them in their Beds; which done, they made a deep Hole in the Ground, at the foot of the Stairs of their Lodging, and there buried them, hiding the place under an heap of Stones (not after the ancient manner of *tumulus testis*). Others vary from this, and say confidently, the Young Princes were Imbarked in a Ship at Tower-Wharff, and convey'd from thence to Sea, so cast into the Black Deepes; others aver they were not Drown'd, but set safe on Shore beyond Seas. And thus their Stories and Relations are scatter'd in various Forms, their Accusations differing in very many and material Points, which shakes the Credit of their Suggestion, and makes it both fabulous and uncertain, one giving the Lye to the other, their Malice having too much Tongue for their Memories, and is worth the noting how opposite (and as it were) ex Diametro repugnant they are.

In vulgus fama valuit filios Edwardi Regis ali- quod terrarum partem migrasse, atque ita superstitibus esse. Polidor Virgil, l. 2. 6.

Thus Polidor, with which Dr. Morton and Sir Thomas Moore agree in one place: The Man (say they) commonly called Perkin Warbeck was as well with the Princes as with the People, English and Foreign, held to be the younger Son of Edward IV. and that the Deaths of the young King Edward and of Richard his Brother, had come



1485. come so far in question, as some are yet in doubt whether they were destroy'd or no, in the days of King Richard; By which it appears they were thought to be living after his Death. And as the act of their Death is thus uncertainly disputed, so is the manner of it controverted.

For Sir Thomas Moore affirmeth (as before reported) they were smother'd in their Beds with Pillows; but Pellidor saith peremptorily it was never known of what kind of Death they dy'd.

Another Author, and more Ancient, agreeth with them.

Prior Croyland. *Vulgatum est Regis Edwardi pueros concessisse in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur*; one reason of this may be that they who held Perkin Warbeck and Richard Duke of York to be all one,

1485. give another Account of his Death, whereas if it had been certain these four before named for Affassines had murder'd them, then the Place, Time and Manner had been easily known upon their strict Examination, they living freely and securely, (and without question) long after this Murder was said to be done. \* Therefore there can be no Excuse for this Neglect of Examination, much less for the suffering such to go unpunish'd and at liberty, which methinks maketh much for the clearing of King Richard.

As for the burying of their Bodies in the Tower, if that be brought in Question, certes, the Affirmative will be much more hard to prove than the Negative.

\* Sir James Tyrrell when he had murder'd the two Young Princes, rode in great hast to King Richard, and shew'd him all the manner of the Murther. The King gave him great Thanks, and as some say, Knighted him. Sir Tho. More's Hist. Edw. V. and Rich. III.

The Lord Bacon affirms of King Richard, "He was the Murderer of his two Nephews (One of them his Lawful King in the Present, and the Other in the Future failing of him.) Hen. VII.

Habington in his History of Edward IV. p. 229. writes, "His two Sons were Inhumanely murder'd, and as obscurely Buried.

† The Truth of this Burial of the Princes is now past Dispute; since the Bones of them have of late Years been found. For when, in the time of Chichester Master of the Ordinance, great heaps of Records of Bills and Answers lying in the Six Clerks Office were removed thence, to be reposit in the White Tower, and a new Pair of Stairs were making into the Chappel there, for the easier Conveyance of them thither, the Labourers in digging at the foot of the old Stairs came to the Bones of consumed Corps, cover'd with an heap of Stones; the Proportion of the Bones being answerable to the Ages of these two Royal Youths. The News of this Discovery, being brought to K. Charles II. he was so well satisfy'd that these must be those Princes Bones, that he caused them to be translated, and decently and honourably interred in Henry the Seventh's Chappel among their Royal Ancestors, the Kings and Princes of this Land. And this Discovery that Time hath made, makes it very probable, that the bloody Part of this commonly received History is true. They are reposit near two other Royal Children, Mary and Sophia the Daughters of King James I. And the Monument for them made of white Marble hath this Inscription in Capital Letters, Viz.

H. S. S.

"RELIGIÆ EDWARDI VI. Regis Angliæ, & RICHARDI Ducis Eboracensis.  
"Hos fratres germanos turre Londinensi conclusos, injectisq; Culcitris suffocatos, abditè & inhonestè  
"tumulari iussit Patruus RICHARDVS perfidus Regni prædo. Ossa desideratorum diu &  
"multum quesita, post annos CXC & I. Sclærum in rudibus, (Scale istæ ad Sacellum Turris  
"Albæ nuper ducebant) altè defossa, indicis certissimis sunt reperta XVII die Julii, Anno  
"Dom. MDCLXXXIII. CAROLVS II. Rex Clementiss. acerbam sortem miseratus inter  
"avita Monumenta Principibus infelicissimis Iusta persolvit, Anno Dom. MDCLXXXVIII.  
"Annoq; Regni sui XXX. J. S.

And it adds a great Suspicion to K. Richard's Guilt of these Princes Bloods, that after the Queen Dowager had delivered her Son Duke Richard out of her own Custody, she still kept the Sanctuary in the Abby with her Daughters; and that for many Months after his Usurpation of the Crown. For there she was in the Month of March, which was Eight Months after, and could not as yet be perswaded to leave the Place. Which must needs be out of the Fear and Dread she had of K. Richard, and of some further Mischiefe to befall her and the rest of her Family. He in the mean time, thinking her Abiding here, might continue odious Reflections upon him from the People, laboured all he could to remove her thence. Inasmuch that for her better Confidence and Satisfaction, I find in an Original Journal wherein the Transactions of his Reign are entred, that he solemnly Swore upon the Gospels, before an Assembly of Lords Spiritual and Temporal (as it seems in Parliament time) the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London present, That if she would come from Sanctuary, she should be provided for by an Honourable Allowance; and that her Daughters should have no harm done to their Persons, nor be put into the Tower, but that he would marry them to Gentlemen. And further he caused all this to be drawn up in a Form in perpetuum rei Memoriam: Which was to this Tenor;

"Memorandum, That I Richard by the Grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, in the presence of you my Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, and the Major and Aldermen of my Cite of London, promitte and Iwere verbo Regis, upon these holy Evangelies of God by me personelly touched, that if the Doughters of Dame Elizabeth Gray late calling her self Quene of England, that is to wit, Elizabeth, Cecil, Anne, Kaserin, and Briggis, wold come unto me out of the Sanctuarie of Westminster, and be guyded, ruled and demeaned after me; than I shal see that they shal be in Suertie of their Lyffes; and also not suffre any maner hurt by any maner persone or persones to them or any of them, in their Bodies and Persones, to be done, by wey of Ravishment or defouling, contrarie to their Willes. Nor them, or any of them, emprisoned within the Toure of London, or other prisonne; but that I shal put them in honest places of good name and fame, and them honestly and curtesly shal see to be founden and entreated; and to have al thynges requisite and necessary for their exhibicion, and findinges, as my kynneswomen: And that I shal do marie suche of them as now ben mariable to Gentilmen borne, and everiche of them geve in mariage, Landes and Tenements, to the yerely valewe of CC Mark for terme of their Lyves; and in likewise to the other doughters, when they come to lawful age of Mariage, if they lyff. And suche Gentilmen as shal happen to marie with them, I shal straitly charge from tyme to tyme lovyngly to love and entreate them as their Wiffes and my Kynneswomen, as they wold advoid and eschue my displeasur. And over this, that I shal yerely from hensfurth content and pay, or cause to be contented and paid, for the Exhibicion and finding of the same Dame Elizabeth Gray, during her natural liffe, at four termes of the Yere, that is to wit, at Pasche, Midsummer, Mickelmesse, and Christenmesse, to John Nesfelde, one of the Squieres for my body, for his finding to attend upon her, the Summe of DCC Mark of Lawful Money of England, by even porcions.

"And moreover I promitte to them, that if any surmyse or evyl report be made to me of them, or any of them, by any persone or persones, that than I shal not geve therunto faith ne credence, nor therefore put them to any maner punishment, before that they, or any of them, so accused may be at their lawful Defence and answer. In witnesse whereof to this Writing of my Othe and Promise aforesaid, in their said Presences made, I have set my Signe Manuel, the first Day of March the first Yere of my Reigne.

It may also be taken notice of what extraordinary Gratifications the King granted to Tyrrel, that common History reporteth to be the great Deviser, Procurer and Manager of this bloody Bulinefs, and to Brackenbury the Lieutenant of the Tower that was to conceal it. To this later were given the Manors of Mote Merden, Desling and Newenton, of Cramborne, and Cokered, and other Lands in Romney Marsh; all the Lands and Tenements in the County of Kent, and elsewhere, lately belonging to the Earl Rivers, the Chenies, and Walter Roberts, of the value of 117 l. 11 s. 4 d. And also the Manor of Mawdelyn near Berkhamsted in Bucks; And the Manor of Glassenbury, value 22 l. 5 s. 3 d. The King



1485. King appointed him also Receiver, for his Truth, Sadness and Discretion (as the Letters ran) of the King's Issues, Profits and Revenues of his Lordships of *Middleton* and *Merden* in *Kent*. He had also, with the Constableness of the *Tower*, the Office of Master and Operator of the Monies, and Keeper of the Exchange within the *Tower* during his Life. He had also the Keeping of the Lions, with the Fees.

Sir *James Tyrrel* who was Knight of the King's Body, had the Office of Steward of the Lordships of *Lanemiberry*, *Lanthefant*, *Newport*, *Wenloke*, and *Keveorb Merilith* in *Wales*, and the Marches, for the term of Life; with the Wages, Fees, &c. accustomed, and to make Officers under him: He was also Chief Governor of *Glamorganshire*. He had also granted him (with one *Richard Gold*) the Ward and Marriage of *Rob. Arundel Trevisse*, Son and Heir of *John Arundel Trevisse*, Esq; with the Keeping of the Lands, Tenements and Manors, &c. during his Minority. He appointed him the Rule and guiding of the Castle of *Guifnes*: to have and occupy the said Charge during Pleasure, and in the Absence of the *L. Mountjoy* Lieutenant there. And a Commission was made to the Lieutenant, Coroner, Knights, Esquires and other Officers of the Shires of *Glamorgan* and *Morgannok*; to accept the same Sir *James* as their Governor and Leader, as he had been heretofore, notwithstanding the King sent him to *Guifnes*: and they to be ready with Horses and Harness and Money, for Men to attend upon his Deputies, to do the King's Service, when they should be called. This was dated in *January*, Anno 2do. The King also sent him to *Flanders* for divers Matters concerning greatly the King's Weal. As the King thus gratified him with Gifts, and honoured him with Places and Offices of Trust, so he kept him as much at a distance as he could. He put him in great Trust in *Wales* against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Disturbances there. *Richard Vinors* Esq; the Chamberlain of *Carmarthen*, had order to content him Wages for Seventy Soldiers, being of Sir *James's* Retinue; that is, to each after the Rate of 6 d. a Day: And to pay him 100 Mark Sterling, which he spent in the King's Service at his late being in those Parts by the King's Commandment. And lastly, I find him one of the Commissioners, with the Earl of *Huntington*, *Morgan*, *Kidwelly*, and others, to enter into all the Castles of the Principality of *Wales*, Earldom of *March*, and Dukedom of *Buckingham*, and other Traitors, in North and South *Wales*, and the Marches, and to seize all the said Traitors Goods and Castles. And a certain Livelihood in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, being in Travers and Controversy, between Sir *James Tyrrel* and Sir *Tho. Arundel*; who being now a Traitor, the King sends to Sir *Piers S. Alhyn*, committing unto him full Power and Authority to seize and enter upon the said Livelihood and Appurtinences, to the use and behalf of the said Sir *James* his full trusty Knight.

*John Grene*, one of the Yeomen of the King's Chamber, commonly said to be the King's Messenger to *Tyrrel*, to recommend this black Work to him, was made Receiver of the Lordship of the Isle of *Wight*, and of the Castle and Lordship of *Portchester*.

*John Dighton*, *Tyrrel's* Horse-Keeper, that is said actually to assist at the Smothering of the Princes, had, by the King's Gift, the Bailiwick of *Aiton* in the County of *Stafford*, with the Wages accustomed, during his Life.

Further, it is a Circumstance that makes this King look like an Usurper, and one that came wrongfully to the Crown, that he was jealous of the Affection and Obedience of the People. Which appears in his altering the common Form of the Oath of Fealty: and in the room thereof requiring the Oath to be taken in these Words, *Viz.*

"I A. become true and feithful Liegeman unto my Sovereign Lord *Richard* the Third by the Grace of God King of *England*, &c. and to his Heirs Kings of *England*, and to him and them my feith and trouth shal bere during my liif natural; and with him and in his cause and quarrel. at al times shal take his part, and be redy to leve and dy ayenst al earthly creatures; and utterly endeavour me to the resistance and suppressing of his Enemies, Rebels and Traitors, if I shal any know, to the uttermost of my Power; and nothing concele that in any wise may be hurting to his noble and royal Person. So God me help and these holy Evangelies. J. S.

For true it is, there was much diligent Search made for their Bodies in the *Tower*: All places open'd and digg'd that was suppos'd, but not found. Then it was given out a certain Priest took up their Bodies and buried them in another Secret place not to be found; hereunto (but with better Decorum for the more Credit of this Assertion) they might have added it was done *sub sigillo confessionis*, which may not be revealed.

Sir *Thomas Moore*, seeing the Absurdities and Contrarieties of these Opinions, (as a Man puzzled and distracted with the Variety and Uncertainty thereof) concludeth their Bodies were bestow'd God wot where, and that it could never come to light what became of them; † *Hall*, *Hollingshed*, *Grafton* and the rest, confess, the very Truth hereof was never known: And (if there be a strict Inquiry into the Mystery) we shall discover, that they were neither buried in the *Tower* nor swallow'd in the Sea; for the Testimony and Relation of sundry grave and discreet Persons (and such as knew the young Duke of *York*) will resolve us how he was preserved and secretly convey'd into a foreign Country; also alive many Years after the Time of this Imaginary Murder; to which may be added strong Authorities having laid down some Conjectures that may Answer the Inquiry after the other. And first, whereas it is said the Lord Protector before his Coronation procur'd this Murder; to refel and contradict that, there be certain Proofs, that the Princes were both living in the Month of *February* following the Death of their Father, which was ten Months after; for King *Edward* died in *April* before, and this is plain in the Records of the Parliament of Anno 1 *Rich.* 3. where there is mention made of this Prince, as

then living; and Sir *Thomas Moore* confesseth that they were living long after that time before said; But I conjecture *Edward* the eldest Brother liv'd not long after, but di'd of Sickness and Infirmary, being of a weak and sickly Disposition, as also was his Brother, which the Queen their Mother intimated in her Speech to the Cardinal *Bourchier*; and the weak Constitutions and short Lives of their Sisters may be a natural Proof to infer it probable enough this Prince died in the *Tower*; which some Men of these Times are the rather brought to think, certain Bones like to the Bones of a Child being found lately in a high desolate Turret, supposed to be the Bones of one of these Princes; Others are of Opinion it was the Carcass of an Ape kept in the *Tower*, that in his old Age had happen'd into that place to die in, and having clamber'd up thither, according to the light and idle manner of those wanton Animals, after when he would have gone down, seeing the Way to be steep and the Precipice so terrible, durst not adventure to descend, but for fear stay'd and starv'd himself; and although he might be soon mis'd and long sought for, yet was not easily to be found; that Turret being reckon'd a vast and damn'd place for the height and hard access, nobody in many Years looking into it.

But it is of no great Consequence to our purpose, whether it were the Carcass of a Child or of an Ape, or whether this young Prince died in the *Tower* or no; for wheresoever he died, why should it not be as probable he died of a natural Sickness and Infirmary, as for his young Cousin-german the Son and Heir of King *Richard*? many Reasons conducing why the qualities and kind of their Death might be the same, and near one Time, being even Parallels

Moore,  
Hollings-  
hed, Graf-  
ton, Hall,  
Stow.

† *Philip de Commines* in his 6th Book says, *Il avoit fait Mourir les deux fils du Roi Edoard Son frere*. He caus'd the two Sons of King *Edward*, his Brother, to be murder'd.

almost



1485. almost, and in their Humane Constitutions and Corporal Habitude sympathizing, of one Linage and Family, of one Blood and Age, of the same Quality and Fortune; therefore not unlikely of the same Studies, Affections, Passions, Distemperatures, so consequently subject to the same Infirmities, to which may be added equal and common Constellations, the same compa-tient and commoriant Fates and Times, and then there is Reason and Natural Cause they might both Die of like Diseases and Infirmary, and were not *Bradenford*, taken away by Violence, Secret, or Overt: For it may with as much Argument be suspected the Son of King *Richard*, (being in the like Danger of secret Violence for the same Cause as his Cousin was) might suffer so.

But to open the Circumstance a little nearer; What Danger could the Lives of those two Princes be to *Richard*? who was accepted King by a just Title, and his Nephews declared Illegitimate by the High Court of Parliament, and whilst they were reputed such by so Great and General a Conclusion, why should he be less Secure of them, than *Henry II.* was of *Robert E.* of *Gloucester*, base Son to *Henry I.*? or *Richard I.* of his base Brother *Geoffrey Plantagenet*? So although *John of Gaunt* left base Sons, aspiring enough, yet they were of no Danger to the *Lancastrian* Kings; neither did *Henry VII.* or *Henry VIII.* stand in any Jealousie of *Arthur Plantagenet*: And surely *Richard III.* was as Valiant, Wife and Confident as any of his Predecessors, and had as little Cause to dread his Nephews, as they stood adjudged, or be more Cruel and Bloody; neither hath my Reading found any Bastards of *France* or *Spain*, who have aspired so publicly, only except *Don Enrique E.* of *Trastamara*, who was drawn into that Action by the violent Rages of the People, and by the Persuasions of the revolted States of *Castile*, to put down a Monster of Sovereignty the hateful and cruel Tyrant *Don Pedro*. But being *Sir Thomas Moore* and our best Chroniclers make it doubtful, whether these two Princes were so lost in King *Richard's* Time, or no, and infer that one of them was thought to be living many Years after his Death, that might be enough to acquit him; which Opinion I like the better, because it mentioneth the Survivance but of one of them.

Neither do our most credible Stories mention the Transportation of more than one into *Flanders*, nor had they reason; it will be sufficient if one of them survived him, more or less time: We will follow therefore the Examination of his Story, under the Opinion of those Times, and the Attestation of grave and credible Men, because it will be more conspicuous in the true and simple Narration of this one Brother; every Story being fraught with Reports concerning him, and few or none of his Brother, finding no mention of the Elder Brother's being in *Flanders*; but of the Younger's much, and of his other Adventures: The Prudent and Honorable Care of sending away his younger Brother, by some is ascribed to *Sir Robert Brakenbury*, by others to the Queen his Mother, and it may well be the Projection of them both, tho' no doubt there was the Advice and Assent of other well-affected Friends. And it is the more credible, the Queen wrought in it; for the Story of *Sir Thomas Moore* saith, she was before

1485. suspected to have had such a Purpose, which was objected to her by some of the Lords; and the Cardinal *Bourchier* told her the main Reason which made the Protector and Nobles so urging to have him sent to his Brother (being then in the Tower) was a Suspicion and Fear they had she would convey him forth of the Realm.

So then, it may be clearly suppos'd he was sent into a foreign Country, and that *Flanders* (as all our Stories testify), there commended to a liberal Education, under the Curature of a worthy Gentleman in *Warbeck*, a Town in *Flanders*, but kept very privately all the Life-time of his Uncle, his Friends not daring to make him of the Counsel. After his Death, knowing *Henry Richmond* a cruel Enemy to the House of *York*, for his better Safety was committed to the Care of † *Charles* of *Burgundy*, and his Dutcheſs the Lady *Margaret* Aunt to the Prince, as formerly the Dutcheſs of *York*, upon a like Cause of Fear and Jealousy had sent thither her two younger Sons *George* and *Richard*.

The Dutcheſs being very tender to let this young Duke have all Princely and Vertuous Education in *Torney* in *Antwerp*, and after in the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, as he had been in *Warbeck*, &c. And with the greater Circumspection, because the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy* had as jealous an Opinion of *Henry VII.* as the Queen Widow had of *Richard III.* Therefore, as yet, it was advised to conceal his Name and Quality: being not come to the Growth nor Age to have Experience in his own Affairs, much less to undertake an Attempt so Consequent and Mighty as the Recovery of a Kingdom: Neither were the Times and Opportunity yet ripe or propitious, to fashion such an Alteration as was projected and must be produced, tho' there was pregnant Hope of an Induction to a Change of Government stirr'd by the King's Covetousness and some Acts of Tyranny, Grievance and Rebellions in the North and West Parts; not long after (which lent a seasonable Hand to these Designs) great Unkindness fell out betwixt *Charles* the French King and *Henry VII.* who so far provok'd the French, that he besieg'd *Bulloign* with a great Army by Land and Sea, the Quarrel was of good Advancement to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy's* Plot, and brought the Duke of *York* better acquainted with foreign Princes and their Courts; who was sent into *France*, into *Portugal*, and other Places, where he was receiv'd and entertain'd like a Prince.

In which time such of the English Nobility as were interested in the Secret, and knew where this Prince resided, found some Opportunity to give him Assistance; and sent *Sir Robert Clifford* and *Sir William Barley* into *Flanders*, to give him a Visit and Intelligence of what Noble Friends he had ready to Serve him: tho' their more particular Errand was, to take a strict Observance of him, and such private Marks as he had been known by from his Cradle: there had been some Counterfeits, encouraged to take upon them the Persons of *Edward E.* of *Warwick*, and *Richard* Duke of *York*: But here the certainty of their Knowledge found him they look'd for, by his Face, Countenance, Lineaments and all Tokens familiarly and privately known to them; observing his Behaviour, naturaliz'd and heightened with a Princely grace, and in his Dis-

† This is an Errour, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* died An. 1477. Six Years before *Edward* the Fourth, and Duke *Richard* was in England when his Father King *Edward* died.



1485. course able to give them a ready Account of many Passages he had heard or seen whilst he was in England; with such things as had been done and discoursed very privately, speaking English very perfectly, and better than the Dutch or Wallonish: By which Sir Robert Clifford and the rest, found themselves so well satisfied, and were so well confirm'd, that they wrote to the Lord Fitzwater, to Sir Simon Mountford, and others (who had a good Opinion towards him) the full account of what they had observ'd *ex certa scientia, & supra visum corporis*. About this time (to intermix the Scene with more Variety, and fill the Stage) some principal Persons, well affecting the Earl of Warwick, and hoping to get him forth of the Tower, (in purpose to make him King) had enticed a handsome young Fellow, one Lambert Simnel of Lancashire, bred in the University of Oxford to become his Counterfeit, and so instructed him in the Royal Genealogy, that he was able to say as he was taught; maintain'd and abetted, chiefly, by the Viscount Lovel, the Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Sir Simon Preiss, &c. who being presented to the Duke and Dutches of Burgundy, and by them honourably entertain'd, drew to him in Flanders, one Martin Swartz, a Captain of very eminent Fame, and some Forces, with which he made over into Ireland, where they receiv'd him as Edward Earl of Warwick, as he was of many here at home: And when the Deceit was discover'd, the Excuse was, Those Lords but used this Counterfeit of the Earl for a Colour, whilst they could get him out of the Tower to make him King. But the Veil is easily taken from the Face of such Impostors, Examples giving us light in many; for tho' some Men may, all cannot be deceiv'd: So Pseudo-Agrippa in the Time of Tiberius, was soon found to be Clemens the Servant of Agrippa, tho' very like to him; and Pseudo-Nero in Otho's Time, who took upon him to be Nero reviv'd, was quickly unmask'd.

Dion, Tacitus, Suetonius. Counterfeit Princes.

Its written by the old Historians that King Harold was not slain at the Battel of Hastings by the Conquerors; but that he survived and went to Jerusalem, &c. But it not importeth whether he were the true Harold or Pseudo-Harold; because he never came to claim any thing in England.

Valerius Paterculus telleth of a certain ambitious Counterfeit in Macedonia, who call'd himself Philip, and would be reputed the next Heir of the Crown, but was discover'd and Nicknam'd Pseudo-Philippus: Also in the Reign of Commodus One pretended to be Sextus Claudianus, the Son of Maximus; with many such that are obvious in old Stories; and many of the like stamp have been here convicted in England; which bred the greater Jealousy of this Richard, when he came first to be heard of; tho' those Jealousies proceeded not from the detection of any Fraud in him, but of the late Imposture of the said Lambert, the Shoemaker's Son, and the Abuse of the Complotters; for the Kingdom having been abused with those Pseudo-Claresces, had reason to be doubtful of every unknown Person which assumed the name of Greatness; in regard whereof, many shrunk in their Opinions from this Perkin, or Richard; many others suspecting their Belief, were very curious to inform themselves, who the further they enquired, were the more confirm'd, that he was no other but the second Son of Edward IV. against whom, those of the harder Credulity, objected it as an Impossibility, that this young Duke could be convey'd out of the Tower, so long, and so conceal'd; which the wiser sort could easily answer by many ancient Examples, which give us divers Relations of Noble Children preserv'd more admirably. And this young Duke himself, in his own behalf, when such Objections were made against him, did alledge to James King of Scotland, the History of Joab, mention'd in the Book of the Kings, and that most special one of Moses:

Which the Dutches his Aunt, Sister German to his Father, was strongly confirm'd in, giving him all answerable and honourable Accommodation; so did the chief Nobility of those Parts, and as an Heir of the House of York, there was render'd him the Title of La-Rose-Blanch, the proper and ancient Device of the House of York; withal, a gallant guard of Souldiers was allowed him for Attendance, and much was he favour'd by the Arch-Duke Maximilian, King of the Romans, by Philip his Son Duke of Burgundy, Charles the French King, the King of Portugal and Scotland, by the chiefest of Ireland, and many Personages in England, who at extreme Peril and Hazard, avow'd him to be the second Son of Edward IV.

The Princes aforementioned, readily supplying him with Coin and Assistance towards his Achievements. King Henry actively apprehends what it threatned, and bestirs himself to take off their Inclinations, dispatching Dr. William Warham (after Archbishop of Canterbury) with Sir Edward Poynings, a grave and worthy Knight, to under-rate his Credit with those Princes; and such strong Perswasions were used, that Philip Duke of Burgundy (for his Father Maximilian was before return'd into Austria) utterly declines himself and his Subjects from his first Engagement, but excepted the Widow Dutches of Burgundy, over whom he had no Power of Command, because she had all Justice and Jurisdiction in those large Signiories, whereof her Dowry was compos'd.

And thus Richard was supplanted here; what hope of Aid he had, or did expect by his Voyage into Portugal, I cannot say, tho' his Entertainment there was honourable: But by reason of the distance of the Country, it may be thought he was to build little upon any from thence, his chief Confidence and Refuge being in England and Ireland, where he had a good Party, and sail'd with a pretty Fleet into Ireland; there he was welcom'd and receiv'd as the second Son of King Edward; some of the Geraldins and other Great Lords in Ireland, purposing to make him their King: To overtake him betimes there too, Dr. Henry Deane, Abbot of Lanthory (a very wise able Man) was sent and made Chancellor of Ireland; with him went the said Sir Edw. Poynings, who so actively bestir'd themselves, that in short time they drew the Irish from Perkin, so that now he must return Home; but by the Way, was encouraged to apply himself to James King of Scotland, whither forthwith he directs his Hopes, and found his Entertainment answerable to them; the King receiving him very nobly by his Title of Duke of York, calls him Cozen, with Promises to give him strong Footing in England, and (in earnest of his better Intents) bestow'd in Marriage upon him the most noble and fair Lady Katherine Gordon his near Kinswoman, Daughter of Alexander Earl of Huntly. This came home very sharply to King Henry, who knew King James to be a Prince so wise and valiant, that no easy Delusion cou'd abuse him.

And true it is, King James was very precise in his Consideration of this young Duke; but very clearly confirm'd before he would acknowledge him. King Henry is very studious how to thwart the Event of this Scene and unfasten the King, but casts his Confidence again upon the fortune of his Judgment, and sends many Protestations, with rich Promises to King James for Perkin (for so we shall now call him with the Times) which took small effect at first; but King Henry (being a Man pregnant to find any Advantage, and One whose Providence would

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The Practice of H. VII. with the Duke of Burgundy.

The Means used by H. VII. to prevent the Practices of Perkin in Ireland.

This Lady was so rarely fair and lovely that K. H. VII. wonder'd at her Beauty, and was enamour'd of her sending her to London to be safely kept till his return out of the West-Countries, where he then was and first saw her. K. Hen. was not of an amorous Complexion would



1485. would not let it die) remembers the strong Affinity and Friendship betwixt King James and *Ferdinando* King of *Castile*, one of the most Noble Princes then living. At that time too, it happen'd so happily, there was a Treaty and Intelligence betwixt *Henry VII.* and *Ferdinando*, for proposition of a Marriage of *Arthur* the Prince of *Wales* and *Katharine* Daughter of King *Ferdinando*. This Occasion no sooner offer'd it self to his Consideration, but a Post was dispatch'd to *Castile*, with Letters and Instructions, to give the King to know what had pass'd between him and King James of *Scotland*, urging him to use the Power and Credit he had with him, for the Delivery of *Perkin* to himself: Which *Ferdinando* undertook, and sends *Don Pedro Ayala* (not one *Peter Hialas*, or *Peter Hayles*) as our vulgar Stories have (a wise and learned Man, and of a very Noble House) who so ably used his Brain in this Employment, that King James pass'd to him his Promise, to dismiss *Perkin* to his own Fortunes, but would by no means deliver him to the King.

Don Pedro  
Ayala.

Hall in H.  
VII.

Thus *Perkin* was again supplanted *Virtute vel dolo*, and of necessity driven into *Ireland*, where he was formerly receiv'd and entertain'd; Whilst they were agitating their first Plot of setting him King, *Charles* the French King sends to him *Lois de Laques* and *Estienne Friant* to offer him his Friendship and Aid: With this good News *Perkin* hasten'd into *France*, where he found his Welcome very honourable, as befitting a Prince, a Guard appointed to attend him, of which *Monseigneur Congre-Salle* was Captain. Before this King *Henry* had threatned *France* with an Army, but now upon a better View and Deliberation, foreseeing what this had in it, he propounds very fair Conditions for a Peace with the French King, which the French King was willing to entertain, and so it was concluded. *Perkin* after this began to think the King shorten'd his Respects, and look'd upon him (as it were) but *Imagine lusca*, with half a Countenance; and fearing there might be some Capitulation in this new League, that might concern his Liberty, privately quits *Paris*, returning to his Aunt of *Burgundy*. Altho' *Perkin* was thus shorten'd in his Foreign Expectations, he had those both in *England* and *Ireland*, that much favour'd him and his Cause, making another Voyage into *Ireland*, but return'd with his first Comfort; for though they stood constantly affected and were willing, the King's Officers curb'd them so, they could not stir.

From *Ireland* he sail'd into *England*, landing at *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, the Cornish and Western Men thereabouts receiving him very gladly, proclaiming him King of *England* and of *France*, &c. by the Title of *Richard* the Fourth (as he had been proclaim'd before in the North Parts of *England*, by the Council and Countenance of the King of *Scots*). Out of *Cornwall* he marches into *Devonshire* to *Exeter*, to which he laid Siege, having then about 5000 Men in his Army; but the King's being at hand and far stronger, he was forc'd to rise from the Siege; upon which those few Friends he had left (finding his Want, and the King with greater Strength approaching) forsook him to provide for themselves. Thus abandon'd, no way before him but Flight, and being well mounted, with a Train of some Forty or Fifty resolute Gentlemen, recovers the Abbey of *Beaulieu* in *Hampshire*, where he took Sanctuary, from which the King's Party who pursued him, would violently have surpris'd him; Which the Abbot and Religious Persons would not indure as a thing too foul against their Priviledge. The King after sends to him

Proffers of Favours and Mercy, with Promises of such Honour and Condition as drew him to the Court, where the King look'd upon him with a very gracious and bountiful Usage as a Noble Person: But his prompting Jealousies and Fears soon cast a dulness over this first Favours and Promises; then a Guard must be set upon *Perkin* and his usual Freedom restrain'd: These were harsh Prefages (he thought) which so justly mov'd his Suspicion and Discontent that he thought Sanctuary again must be his best Safety, and passing by the Monastery of *Sbrene*, he suddenly slips into it from his Guard, whither the King sends unto him with Perswasions of the first courtly and honourable Tincture; but *Perkin* that had discern'd the Hook, was not easily to be tempted with the Bait this second time.

Then the King dealt with the Prior for him, who would not yield him, but upon faithful promise from the King to use him with all Favour and Grace, which was protested, although *Perkin* no sooner came into his Power again but he was sent to the Tower, where his Imprisonment was made so hard and rude, that it much dejected and troubled him, oftentimes in private and with peircing Groans, having been heard to wish himself born the Son of any Peasant; and indeed, every one could tell he far'd the worse for his Name, it being an Observation of those Times, that there was Three Men most fear'd of the King, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, *Perkin*, alias *Richard Plantagenet*, and *Edmond de la Poole*, Son of King *Edward's* Sister, all of the Family of *York*, but most of all *Perkin*, being of a more active Spirit, so more sensible of his Wrongs than the other, and cost the King more Consultation and Treasure in the working him into his Hands; therefore answerably aggravated his Miseries and Disgraces which now began to exceed; for he was not only sharply restrain'd in the Tower, but the Fame was the Question or \* *Gebenne* was given him: † Sometimes he was taken forth and carried in most ignominious manner abroad to be set in the Pillory, otherwhile in the Stocks; after all these bitter and cruel Punishments (to pull down his Stomach) there was sent some unto him of purpose to perswade his Submission to the King's Mercy; and by renouncing his Blood, Birth and Title, to confess himself no other but *Perkin Warbeck*, the Son of a base Flemming; which he scorn'd and denying, his Sufferings were made more rigorous, and he lodg'd poorly and basely, as meanly fed, worse clad, until at length by Torments and Extremities he was forc'd to say any thing, and content to unsay what they would have him, to accuse himself by a forc'd Recantation of his Family, Name, and Royal Parentage; this must be compell'd too under his Hand, then to be brought by the Officers unto the most publick Places of *London* and *Westminster*, to suffer as before related, and with a loud Voice to read the same, which might pass at present with the Multitude for current, who knew not how it was forced from him; nor had Judgment enough to know and consider, that Racks and Tortures have made very able Men accuse themselves and others unjustly. *Seneca* telleth of a Man who being suspected of Theft, was enforced by Torture to confess the Theft and his Fellow Theives; but having none, he accused the good and just *Cato*, to avoid the Torture; nay, (which is a thing of more horror) it maketh Men by false Oaths to blaspheme God; therefore *St. Augustine* inveigheth sharply against the cruel Use of it, and amongst many other Sins which he findeth in it, this is one,

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Perkin's  
Entertain-  
ment in  
the Court.

\* Rack.  
† The Ld.  
*Verulam*  
says he  
was only  
set in the  
Stocks.

The Force  
and Mis-  
chief of  
Torture.



1485. Tortus si diutius nolet sustinere Tormenta, quod non  
commisit, se commississe dicit.

August. in  
Civitate  
Det.

The tortured gladly doing this the sooner to exchange those Torments with Death, as the far less Pain.

And therefore this young Man may be excusable in what he did against himself, his Youth being ignorant of these high Points of Honour, and could not yet be confirm'd in any brave and firm Resolution, nor happily in Religion, and the worse also by the reason of his long Imprisonment and heavy Trouble, having no Counsel to strengthen him, nor so much as in Charity to comfort him, but left a miserable desperate forlorn Man, and fear'd to be so for ever, and at the best. And if learned grave Men, Men of Grace, having large Talents of Spirit and Science, for fear of such Punishments, have denied some chief Points of Christian Faith, yet have been excused for the Torture sake, (of which we have testimony in Ecclesiastical Stories) what may a tender and unexperienc'd Youth do? For which just Causes, the best Doctors of the Civil Law, and also of Theology, condemn and abhor the use of Torture, as having a further Mischief in it, and is *Arcanum Gebennæ* a secret of Torture or of Hell.

The  
French call  
Torture  
*la Gebenne*.

For when the Prisoner's Body by extreme Torment is brought into any mortal State or Symptom of Death, or made incurable and deadly, then to avoid the Imputation of Murder, the Prisoner by a short and private Process is condemn'd of some capital Crime, and presently executed, whilst there is yet some Life in him; and to that Censure *Perkin* at last came; for nothing could serve but his Blood, his Confession being only extorted from him to persuade the People he was an Impostor; and because they could not lay hold of his Life by the Course of Law or Justice (being not attainted nor condemn'd of any capital Crime). This Scruple being a little consider'd, there was found out a way to remove that, and Matter enough to make him guilty of a capital Offence: For which purpose it was devised there should a practice of Escape be offer'd him; and because the Case of *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was like unto his, and as well wish'd, being not attainted of any Crime, he also must desire to escape, that Device being the only matter of Guilt or capital Crime which was wanting, and might be (as it were) created for them the more colourably to effect their Executions; there not wanting Instruments for that purpose, to betray their innocent Confidence, whose Imprisonment had lain so heavily and cruelly upon them, that they were easily persuaded to catch at any hope of Liberty.

Some say the Earl of *Warwick* at his Arraignment was charg'd with persuading the other to make his Escape, but sure it is, they both gladly hearken'd to the Motion of it, and were soon after accused as guilty of Practice and Conspiracy to escape out of the *Tower*, so for the same arraignment and condemn'd to Die; tho' great difference was put in their Process and Execution; for the Earl of *Warwick* was try'd by his Noble Peers, and had the Supplice of a Nobleman, in an honourable Place, the *Tower of London*: *Per-*

Tork and  
*Warwick*  
Parallels.

*kin*, alias *Richard*, by a Common Jury, who are Men (many times) of little Honesty, and to suffer at the common and infamous Place, *Tyburn*, by the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, to confirm the People he was what they condemn'd him for: For his Nick-name was supposed to have utterly disnobled him, and (as it were) divested him of all his Noble Blood and Titles, the Condition of an Impostor serving best for a Cloak against that Purple Shower, which was at the Fall and Cruel Usage of this miserable Prince\*.

It may be thought the Earl of *Warwick* had as shamefully suffer'd, if the Wit and Malice of the Cardinal could have reach'd to have made him a Counterfeit: But all Men knew, he was not only a true and certain Prince, but free from all Practice, (b) yet he was restrain'd of his Liberty, and a Prisoner the most part of his Life, from the time of his Father's Attainder until he suffer'd; this was after they had surviv'd King *Richard* their Uncle about Fifteen Years.

Now for their Offence, the learned Judges will tell us of what Nature and Quality it is call'd in Law.

Some holding an Escape to be but an Error, The a natural dislike of Bondage, or a Forfeit of Simplicity, proceeding from a natural and very tolerable desire of Liberty, which Opinion is contingent to Right; and the Cause of these two Princes may also be the better receiv'd, if it be well consider'd, that this Plot of their Escape was not projected by themselves, but cunningly propounded to them by proper Instruments (being young and unexperienced) to entangle them in some capital Offence, and so of Death, of which kind of Offences they stood clear before, not once accused, having never been indicted or attainted of any thing Capital. Therefore now their Innocence must be made guilty; and in this I say no more than all our Historians or others say, who agree in one Opinion, That the King could not take away the Lives of *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick*, until this Practice of their Escape was laid to them, and they made guilty thereof. Therefore they were not Traytors before, neither was *Perkin* now to be thought a Counterfeit, but a Prince of the Blood, claiming the Crown; for otherwise, he was *Perkin of Flanders*, a base Fellow and a most culpable and notorious Traytor; then what need they look further for a Crime to put him to Death? And if he were not a Traytor, surely it was a Tyranny to make, of an innocent and guiltless Man, a guilty Felon, and by Trains and Acts to forge an Offence out of nothing. For doubtless an innocent and true Man may seek Freedom, and purpose an Act of Escape, also commit it, and yet be still an Honest Man, and a Faithful Good Subject; for Nature and Reason teacheth and alloweth all Men to eschew Injuries and Oppression.

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The French word Escape is to seek to be free; and the French Mentranslate Escape into the Latin *salvus*, Escape what.

Besides this Practice of those Young Men, to escape, was found (as *Polidore* well observeth) *Crimen Alienum*, and not *Crimen proprium*; then how much greater was the wrong, to take away their Lives.

But however it may be laid upon them, it was nothing but a Desire of Liberty out of Durance, in which they were kept for a small, or no Offence.

\* He openly read his Confession, and took it upon his Death to be true, that he was an Impostor. *Ld. Verulam, Hen. VII. Hollinshead* relates, That He and *John a Water*, Mayor of *Cork*, took it on their Deaths to be true, what they had confess'd, and ask'd the King's Pardon.

(b) A notorious Falsity; He was Tried for endeavouring to escape with *Perkin*, and to raise Sedition and destroy the King; to which Indictment he pleaded guilty. *Ld. Verulam Hen. VII.*



1485. The Civil Law holdeth Suspicion of Flight or Escape to be no Crime. *Suspicio fugæ quia, non solet detrimentum, reipublicæ adferre, non censetur crimen;* so Ulpian. And by the Laws of England, if a Prisoner do escape, who is not imprison'd for Treason or Felony, but some lesser Fault of Trespas, according to the Old Law of England.

*Just. Stanford in pleas de la Corone, lib. 1. cap. 26. 27.*

*Escapæ non adjudicabitur versus eum, qui Commissus est Prisonæ, pro transgressionē.* Escape shall not be adjudged for Felony or other Crime, in one who is committed for Trespas.

For the Offence of the Escape is made in the Common Law, to be of the same Nature and Guilt with the Crime whereof the Prisoner is attainted: And certainly, neither the Earl of Warwick, nor Richard, alias Perkin were attainted of Treason or Felony, &c. before.

But to close this Dispute and Tragedy, not long after, some of the Instruments that betray'd them into this, as *Walter Blunt, Thomas Astwood*, Servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, finished at *Tiburn*, because they should tell no Tales.

And to this succinct Relation, there can be no better Testimony than the Hands of those Witnesses, who have seal'd their Confession and Knowledge with their Bloods: Men of all Conditions and Estates, all maintaining at the last Gasps, that *Perkin* was the true Duke of York; whose Affirmations I will produce, give me but leave, by the way, to answer one Objection or Cavil brought against this Duke, call'd in scorn *Perkin Warbeck*. A new Writer affirming him to be an Impostor, whose Learning may be as much mistaken in this as other things, tho' he laid a great pretence to Knowledge, especially in the History of England and other Countries. Indeed his Judgment and Reading are much express'd alike in his Pamphlet, which he calls [The History of *Perkin Warbeck*,] wherein he forfeits all his Skill, to make him a Parallel in adverse Fortune and supposed base Quality, to the unhappy *Don Sebastian* late King of Portugal, who he also protests an Impostor. And to arrive at this huge Knowledge, he wou'd have us think, he took much pains in the sifting of Authors; and indeed I think he did sift them, concerning his Ignorance in the Case of *Don Sebastian* (if he be not too wise to be inform'd) I will urge some Reasons on *Don Sebastian's* side, who was King of Portugal; and invading the Kingdom of *Barbary*, Anno Dom. 1584, was overthrown in a fierce and bloody Battel in the Fields of *Alcazer*, by the King of *Morocco*, where it was thought he was slain, but escaped and fled secretly travestise or disguised; traveling in that manner through many parts of *Africa* and *Asia* some Thirty Years; in which Time and Travel he suffer'd much, liv'd in Captivity and Misery, but at last got away into *Europe*, with purpose to have got into *Portugal* (if possible) to repossess the Kingdom.

In his Return he came to *Venice*, there discover'd himself, and desires aid of the *Venetian* States: They entertain'd him as a Prince distress'd, gave him Good Words, but durst not lend him Assistance, fearing the King of *Spain*; yet the chief Senators and many of the wisest of the Signiory made no doubt of him.

Among them *Signieur Lorenzo Justiniano* of the Senators Order (a Man of wise and great Abilities) was appointed by the States, a Commissioner (with others) to hear and examine this Cause of *Don Sebastian*, in which they took much pains. And this *Signieur Lorenzo* (being lieger Ambassador in England) affirm'd and protested

solemnly, he and all the other Commissioners were clear and very confident he was *Don Sebastian* King of Portugal, notwithstanding they durst not give him Aid, but counsel'd him for France, where the King favour'd right, without fear of another's Displeasure. But taking Florence in his way, in the Habit of a Fryer, he was observ'd and discover'd by some Spies which the Grand Duke of Tuscany had set upon him from Venice; who to insinuate with the King of Spain, Philip the Second, and for some other commodious Considerations, deliver'd *Sebastian* to the Governour of *Orbasselli* (a Spanish Port in Tuscany) from thence sent him by Sea to the Count *De la Mos*, Vice-roy of Naples, who convey'd him into Spain: There for a while his Entertainment was no better than in the Gallies: What other Welcome he had I know not, but the same went certainly he was secretly made away after Philip the Third was King. The said Vice-roy of Naples confess'd in secret to a Friend of his, he verily believ'd his Prisoner was the true *Sebastian* King of Portugal; and was induced to be of that opinion, by the strong Testimonies and many strange and peculiar Marks, which some honourable Portugueses did know him by, all found about the Body of this *Sebastian*. And the French King Henry IV. it should seem, was perswaded no less: For when the News was told him the Duke of Florence had sent this *Sebastian* to the King of Spain, he told the Queen what an ill Deed her Uncle had done, in these words, *Nostre Uncle a fait un acte fort indigne de sa Personne*.

Dr. Stephen de Sampago, in a Letter to *Joseph Texere*, Counsellor and Almoner to the most Christian King, writes thus, "The King, *Don Sebastian*, is here in Venice, &c. So soon as he arriv'd here (where he hoped to find support) the Ambassador of Castile persecuted him very cruelly, perswading the Signiory that he was a Calabrou, &c. I swear to your Fatherhood, By the Passion of Jesus Christ, this Man is truly the King *Don Sebastian*; he hath all the Marks on his Body, without failing in any one, as he had in his Infancy, only the Wounds excepted, which he receiv'd in that Battel of *Africk*; he gives the reason of his Life, and account of all his Passages, &c. He is known and re-known by the Conciergres, by the Judges, by the greater part of the Senate, and by his own Confessor, &c. and a great deal more of him upon Knowledge he justifies: As much witnesses *John de Castro* Son to *Don De Alvaro de Castro*, one of the Four Governours that ruled the Kingdom conjunctly with the King *Don Sebastian*, who in his Letter to the same Man says thus; "The King *Don Sebastian* (whom the Enemies call a Calabrou) is the very same which is detain'd here, as certainly as you are Fryer *Joseph*, and my self *Don John*. He departed alive from the Battel, but very fore wounded; GOD having so delivered him with some other of his Company, amongst whom was the Duke *Anegro*, &c. As for the Exterior Marks of his Body he wants not one of them; he is wounded on the Brow of the Right Eye, and on the Head, as many witness'd when they saw him in the *Africk* Battel: His Hand-writing is still the same, observing the very same Method, as is very well remembred by divers.

There might be much more instanced in the behalf of this *Sebastian*, but this may serve for better Intelligence; to whom I may add, That Men experienced in the Affairs and Policy of State, know it a rare thing to find in any History,

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*Hic legatus hæc domino Baro- ni Darcey retulit.*

Whether *Don Sebastian* of Portugal were a Counterfeitor not.



1485. story, the Examples of a Prince, being seiz'd and possess'd of any Signiory or Principality (how unlawfully soever) who hath resign'd them, or any part to the true Heirs. Have we not Instances at Home, where the Son hath taken the Kingdom from the Father, and would not let it go again, but rather endeavour'd to haste his Father's Fate? Much after that manner, when *Henry Duke of Lancaster* had got the Kingdom, he held it and would not resign to the Right Heir *Richard* the Second, nor after his Death to the Earl of *March*, tho' these were no Impostors, neither was *Edward Earl of Warwick*; yet King *Henry* would not let his Hold go: And the Cardinal Favourite, finding he could not compass his Aims one way, contrived it another. By the *Machiavilian* Advice he gave to *Ferdinand K. of Castile*, not to conclude the Treaty of the Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and his Daughter *Katharine*, until this Earl and *Perkin* were disposed of, which *Ferdinando* follow'd and urg'd the King, pretending it the Security of his Estate and Issue. In brief, it is not possible to perswade a Private Man, tho' wrongfully possess'd to acknowledge the true Proprietary hath a better Title than he.

How unjustly have the Kings of *Spain* detain'd sundry Signiories and Principalities from the lawful Heirs? Yet if the Wrong done by such another dissembling Lord, be put to this former Usurper, *Mala fide* (as the Imperial *Juriconsults* will term him) his Sentence will be, Such a rapinuous Prince doth wrong.

But let us now take a more particular View of those Witnesses who stood for *Perkin*. And having formerly mention'd Sir *Robert Clifford*, a Knight of the Noble Family of the Barons *Cliffords*, I will proceed with that which may be the more remarkable in him, because he was of a Family that long hated the House of *York*, from the Battel of *Wakefield*, when and where they resolv'd an Enmity so deadly, as was not to be reconciled or satisfied whilst one of them remained; yet became Followers again of the White Rose Family; and this *Robert Clifford* served King *Edward* very near, and in good Credit, so could not but have an assured Knowledge of the King's Sons, and was therefore the more particularly sent to certify his Knowledge; who certainly affirm'd him to be the younger Son of *Edward IV.* and confirm'd many with him; such as had likewise served King *Edward*, and had been acquainted with the Prince's conveying beyond Sea, though much was done to alter Sir *Robert's* Opinion. The Lord *Fitz-Walter* was of the same Belief, and avow'd *Perkin* the true D. of *York* most constantly unto Death: As resolute was Sir *William Stanley*, though he were Ld. Chamberlain to *Henry VII.* and in great favour; with Sir *George Nevill*, Brother to the Earl of *Westmorland*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *William Daubeny*, Father to the Lord *Daubeny*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* of the House of the Baron *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *John Taylor*, Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, *Thomas Bagnal*, with many other Gentlemen of Quality, all maintaining him to be the Duke of *York*, Son of *Edward* the Fourth, and sundry of the Clergy, who had been Chaplains to the King his Father, or otherwise occasion'd to attend the Court, as Dr. *Rochford*, Dr. *Poyner*, Dr. *Sutton*, Dr. *Worsley* Dean of *St. Paul's*, Dr. *Leyborn*, Dr. *Lefty*, with many other learned Professors of Divinity, who would not endure to hear him call'd *Perkin*. The Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, Sir *William Daubeny* (as Martyrs of State) confirm'd their Testimony with their

\* He was the Noble Progenitor of the Earls of *York*.

1485. Bloods. So did the King's Serjeant *Ferrier*, who left the King's Service and apply'd himself to *Perkin*, for which he was executed as a Traytor: And one *Edwards*, who had served this Duke *Richard*, was cut in pieces for the same Cause; also *Corbet*, Sir *Quinton Betts*, and *Gage*, Gentlemen of good worth, with 200 more at least, put to Death in sundry Cities and Towns, particularly in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and about *London*, for their Confidence and Opinions in this Prince.

There were some Great Men (tho' they made no profession of their Knowledge of him) could whisper it one to another, which in general words is confess'd by all our better Writers; who say, That as well the Noblemen, as others, held the said *Perkin* to be the younger Son of *K. Edward* the Fourth.

And Sir *Thomas Moor*, after Dr. *Morton*, thus writeth; The Man, commonly call'd *Perkin Warbeck*, was as well with the Prince, as with the People, held to be the younger Son of *K. Edward* the Fourth.

*Richard Grafton* affirmeth the same; In *Flanders* (saith he) and most of all here in *England*, it was receiv'd for an undoubted Truth, not only of the People, but of the Nobles, that *Perkin* was the Son of King *Edward* the Fourth: And they all swore and affirmed this to be true. The learned and famous Mr. *Cambden* averreth, There were many wise, grave, and Persons of good Intelligence, (who lived in that Time and near it) that affirmed confidently, This *Perkin* was Second Son to King *Edward*: Then both the Brothers were not made away by King *Richard*; and surely it was little Reason or Policy, to cut off the One and spare the other; neither indeed was there ever any Proofs made by Testimony, Argument, or Presumption, nor by Reason, Honour, or Policy, that this Crime could be his, tho' many to the contrary; for he not only preserv'd his Nephew, the young Earl of *Warwick*, but in his Confidence (a special Note of his Magnanimity) gave him Liberty, Pleasure, and the Command of a stately House of his own.

Now if he had been so ambitious and bloody, he would have provided otherwise for him, knowing his Title was to take Place, if his Blood had not been attainted in his Father; in regard whereof, *K. Richard*, when his own Son was dead, caused his Nephew *John de la Poole*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and of the Dutches's his Sister, (then the next lawful Heir to the Crown) to be proclaim'd Heir apparent; an Argument of Respect to his Kindred and next Title to the Crown, in whomsoever it was; which other Men regarded not so much as the unhappy Sequel shew'd; and there was an impious Necessity in that, for whilst the Prince of *York* surviv'd, (especially the Males) no other Titular Lord, or Pretender, could be King by his own Right, or by colour of Right, nor by any other Means, unless he had married a Daughter, and the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth.

And altho' the Deaths and Manner of taking away these Princes (the Sons of King *Edward*) is held, by our Writers, uncertain and obscure, it is manifest (at least for the general Manner of their Death) to be either by the Publick Sword, that is, the Sword of Justice or of Battel, as were King *Richard*, the Children of the Duke of *Clarence* and the Duke of *Suffolk*, &c. or by the Private Sword; that is, by secret and close Slights, Treachery, (which the *Romans* call'd *Infidia dolus*) by Smothering, Strangling, Poison, Sorcery, &c. And that the Sword was used against the Family of *York*, there is more than

Publick Sword.

Private Sword. The Arts of Treachery.

Con-



1485. Conjecture, both by Testimony of Writers and Records, King Edward himself, (as credible Authors report) died of Poison.

In the Parliament, Anno 1 Richardi Tertii, there was accused and attainted of Sorcery and such other Devilish Practices, Dr. Lewis, Dr. Morton, William Knevit of Buckingham, the Countess of Richmond, Thomas Nandick of Cambridge, Conjurer, with others: There was also an Earl accused of the same Hellish Art; and an old Manuscript Book which I have seen, says, That Dr. Morton and a certain Countess, contriving the Death of King Edward and others, resolv'd it by Poison. Which are Conjectures and Proofs more positive and strong against them, than any they have against King Richard; but it was a great Neglect in their Malice, making King Richard so politick and treacherous as they did, not to charge him also with these Prince's Sisters; for it would not serve his Turn, to rid away the Brothers and not them, who were capable of the Crown, and had their Turn Royal before any Collateral Males. Then he had the Children of his elder Brother George Duke of Clarence, Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, and the Lady Margaret his Sister, after Countess of Salisbury, to make away; for they without their Father's Corruption of Blood (which might easily have been salved by Parliament, the Lords and Commons affecting them) had a Priority of Blood and Precedency of Title before the Protector.

Reasons why King Richard should not destroy his Nephews.

I would ask the Reason too, Why King Richard might not endure his Nephews (being by Parliament held and adjudged Illegitimate) as well as the Kings Henry VII. and Henry VIII. endured Arthur Plantagenet, the Bastard of the same King Edward their Natales and Cases being alike; or why Sir Thomas Moor and Dr. Morton, should in one place say, It was held in doubt, when, or how they were made away; and in another place to aver, That Tyrrel and Dighton, being examin'd, confess'd plainly, the Murder of them and all the Manner of it.

These be Contraries, which with a great Disadvantage, draws their Allegation into another Argument, Bicornes, or Crocodilites: For in revealing the Confession of these Men, it is implicatively granted, their Fault was not then to be punish'd, and so it appears no Fault, or not worth the consideration; the Confession of a Man being the greatest Evidence can be produced against him. Then, in regard the Confession of those was such as might not be open'd, nor the Crime call'd in question (as the same Authors acknowledge) it was but a feign'd Confession, and they had done better not to have mention'd such a thing, which begot but a Jealousy in the Falsity thereof, or privy of some Great Ones in it, and a just imputation of Injustice upon the Magistracy: For if Dighton, Tyrrel, Forest and Slater confess the Murder in Act and Manner, King Richard being dead (who was said to stubborn and protest 'em) necessarily, and in due course of Justice, (especially in the Act of so high a nature and notice as this was) the Punishment should have been expected with all extremity. But being for some unknown Causes deferr'd, and after a while quite omitted and pardon'd, it may be thought such strange Clemency and Impunity proceeded from a singular high Indulgence, or else, those Examinations and Confessions were but Buzzes and quaint Devices to amaze the People, and entertain them with expectation of a Justice, to be done in some more convenient time (which was never). This was after the Death of King Ri-

Other Great Ones privy to the Deaths of those Princes, especially of K. Edward's Sons.

chard: All that was done before, was to make him the Author of that horrible Crime, and no Body else; for Dighton and the rest were in Security and Liberty, yet it stood in good stead with the Lancastrians, to draw the Peoples Hate upon King Richard, not unlike that Story of Great Alexander; and a Noble Man in his Court, who stood so high in the Favour of his Nobles and People, that the King grew jealous and fearful of his Popularity, studying how he might decline it and him to Contempt, but could find no Colour or apt Occasion, because he was so strongly fix'd in the Peoples Liking, and was a Man of so great a Desert that no Crime could be charg'd upon him. The King unbosoming himself to the Counsel and Care of a Friend, one Medius, (of his Country, as I think) had this Advice,

"Sir, (quoth he) Let not this Man's Greatness trouble you, cause him to be accused of some Heinous Crime, (tho' falsely) and we will find Means to make him guilty, so formally and firmly, that the Brand of it shall stick upon him for ever; Which he delivered in these Terms, tho' divers, yet the same in effect; *Medeatur licet vulnere, qui morsus, au dilaniatus est, remanebit tamen Cicatrix.* And it is truly approved by an ancient Christian Poet, thus;

*Paulum distare videntur,  
Suspecti verèque rei.*

Ausonius.

The guilty and suspected Innocent;  
In Men's Esteem are little different.

For there is no more dangerous or fatal Destiny to Greatness, than to be intangled in the Multitude's Contempt, *Odium & Contemptus*, being the Two Evils that overthrow Kings and Kingdoms; the One, that is, Contempt, proceeding from the Vanity and Obstinacy of the Prince, the Other, from the Peoples Opinion of him and his Vices, and then he must neither reign nor live any longer. Ennius said with Cicero, *Quem oderunt perisse expetunt*: And so all that was practised upon the Fortune, Fame and Person of King Richard was by this Rule; (tho' in the Judgment and Equity of the most knowing in those Times) their cunning *Translatio Criminis* could take no Hold of him; neither appears it probable, that the Earl of Richmond himself (when he had got all Justice and Power in his Hand) did hold King Richard guilty of the Murder and Subornation of those Fellows, nor them the Assassins: For doubtless then, being so Wise and Religious a Prince, he would have done all Right to the Laws Divine and Humane, and that, I believe, in the extreamest and publickest way of Punishment, to make it more satisfactory and terrible to the People and Times: But they freely enjoy'd their Liberty with Security to natural Deaths, without any Question or Apprehension, Tyrrel excepted, who suffer'd for Treason not long after committed by him against King Henry himself. Neither was John Green (named a Party in this Murder) ever call'd in question; nor do the Historians of those Times (tho' mere Temporizers) charge him with this Practice against his Nephews, until after his Coronation, (some say, they surviv'd King Richard) and giving this respite of time, there was no Cause, why after that he should make them away, being then secure in his Throne and Title, and they long before pronounced incapable; First, by the Ecclesiastical Judges, then by the Barons and Parliament: And where was the cause

Ennius a-  
pud Cice-  
ronem Of-  
fic. lib. 2.

Sir Thomas  
Moor,  
Edm. Hall,  
Ralph Hol-  
linshead,  
Joh. Stow,  
&c.



1485. cause of fear? But if King Richard had been of of that bloody Constitution, the Man whose Life could be most prejudicial unto him was the Earl of Warwick lawful Son of George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to King Richard: Now there was a Necessity for the Lancastrian Faction (if they must have a King of that Family) to take those Princes away, not to leave King Richard or his Son, nor yet any Legitimate Issue of Lancaster, for all those were before any of the House of Beauforts, in the true order of Succession, and stood in their way; so did the Progeny of Brotherton, of Woodstock, of both the Clarences, Gloucester, &c. Tho' they fear'd few, or none of those Titular Lords, being modest Men, not affecting Sovereignty, but content with their own private Fate and feudal Estate, when all was one with the Lancastrians, who were so vehement in their royal Approaches, that besides King Edward IV. and his two Sons, King Richard and his Son, the Prince of Wales, there was afterward (and as occasion served) The Earl of Warwick and Duke of Suffolk, and others, both Male and Female of that Princely Family, laid in their cold Urns, and it must be so, else there could be no place for the Beauforts and Somersets, their turns being last (the Kings of Portugal, of Castile, and other being before them, if not excluded by Act of Parliament.)

In this Tragedy there was a Scene acted by John de Vere Earl of Oxenford, which may be worthy of our Observation for Example sake, and makes not against the cause of Perkin.

This Earl of Oxenford much affected and devoted to King Henry VII. was a great Enemy to this Richard (alias Perkin) and I think the only † Enemy he had of the great Nobility, how this dislike grew I cannot say, whether out of Ignorance or Incredulity, or out of Malice, hating King Edward, and all that had a near Relation to that Family, or else to apply himself to the Honour of the King; but he and the Cardinal are said to be the chief Urgers of Perkins Dispatch, and he, being High Constable, pronounced the Sentence against the young Earl of Warwick, (which much distast'd the Country) and near to Heveningham Castle, (that was his chiefest Seat) there lived in the Woods an old Hermit (a very Devout and Holy Man as the Fame of those Times admit him) who seem'd much troubled to hear this News, for the love he bare to the ancient and noble Family of Oxenford, of much Anguish of Spirit, saying, the Earl and his House would repent, and rue that guilty and bloody Pursuit of the innocent Princes; for the Event of which Phrophecy this hath been observ'd.

Not long after, the Earl was arrested for an Offence so small, that no Man (considering his Merit and Credit with the King) could have thought it worth the Question, for which he was Fined at Thirty thousand Pounds, (in those days a Kingly Sum) (a) after this he liv'd many Years in great Discontent, and died without Issue, or any Child lawfully begotten by him, and in much shorter time than his Life-time, that great and (b) stately Earldom of Oxenford, with the opulent and Princely Patrimony, was utterly dissipated, and como sal in agna (as the Spaniard saith in the Refran) yet this Earl was a very Wise, Magnificent, Learned and Religious Man in the Estimation of all that knew

him, and one more like to raise, and acquire a new Earldom. (c) But it thus fell and was wasted, the Castles and Mannors dilapidated, the Chappel wherein this John de Vere and all his Ancestors lay Intomb'd with their Monuments quite defaced to the Ground, their Bones left under the open Air in the Fields, and all this within less than Threescore Years after the Death of the said Earl John. About the same time these unhappy Gentlemen suffer'd, there was a base (d) Son of King Richard III. made away, having been kept long before in Prison. The Occasion as it seemeth, was the Attempt of certain Irish-men of the West and South Parts, who would have got him into their Power and made him their Chief; being strongly affected to any of the House of York, were they Legitimate or Natural, for Richard Duke of York's Sake, sometimes their Viceroy: And thus much in brief of that.

(e) Now to resolve a Question, why the King deferred so long the Death and Execution of the Earl of Warwick and Perkin, and took so much deliberation after he had resolv'd it; one Reason and the chiefest brought by some, is, That in regard Perkin was an Alien, and in the Allegiance of a foreign Prince, therefore he could not be Condemned, nor executed for Felony, nor Treason by our Laws: which is a ridiculous Evasion, for we have frequent Examples in our Stories, That the natural Subjects of France, of Scotland, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy, have had Judgment and Execution by our Laws, for Felony and Treason, as Peter de Gaveston a Frenchman, Sir Andrew Hareley a Scot, and lately Dr. Lopez a Portugal; therefore apparently that was not the Cause the King so doubtfully, and (as it were) timorously deferred their Arraignments and Executions. The Heathens perhaps would have defined it some inward Awe or conceal'd Scruple, such as they call'd Eumenides and Erynnies, and believ'd haunted those Men that had purpos'd or acted a Wick- edness: Upon which the Poet said well:

—Patiturque unus mens saucia Manes.

And assign'd to every Man his protecting Spirit, whom the Greeks call'd Damones, the Latines Genios; concluding, that when the Genius of him against whom the Mischief aims, is Stronger and more Active than his who is to act it, there the Plot hardly taketh Effect.

For example, Produce the mortal Enmity between Octavianus Caesar and M. Antonius, in which Anthony could never prevail by any Attempt; who consulting with his Soothsayers, they give the reason to be the power of Octavianus's Genius above his. It is reported the great Philosopher Apollonius had such a secret Protection and so strong, that the Emperor Domitian had no power over his Life, tho' he studied means to take it; Suidas adding that this Philosopher in confidence of his Genius when he left the Emperor, added this Verse,

Οὐ μὲν μὲν κλῆρον, ἔτι ἔτι μορσιμὸς εἶμι.

Me non occides quia fataliter protectus sum: which is that Flaminus Vopiscus calleth Majestatem Vopiscem in Apollonis (as I guess) and with it the Professors of Christian Religion agree in the Effects, not in the Causes; for those whom the Hea-

The E. of Oxon Persecutor of Perkin.

(a) This Earl John died Anno 4 H. 8. 1512. Dominus de Arundel viva voce. (b) I may call it a stately Earldom, for the E. of Oxenford, when he came to the possession of it, was offered by some 12000 l. per Ann. and leave to his Occupation all Mannors, Houses, Castles, Parks, Woods, Forrests, and all the Demefn Lands thereto belonging, which might be more worth by yearly value than many Earldoms in this Age.

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(c) The Mathematicians that calculated the Nativity of this Earl Edward, told the Earl his Father, that the Earldom would fall in his Sons time. (d) Bastards of K. Richard. Grafton & Chron. MS. in quarto apud Dr. Rob. Cotton. (e) Why the Publick Justice deferred the Death of the Princes.

Damones Genii.

Plutarch in Anton.

Philostat. in vita Apollon.

Aureliano.

† What were the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Darnley, the Earl of Rich. the Lord Abergavenny, the Lord Cobham, who all were in Arms to oppose him.

then



1485. then call *Δαίμονες* *Dæmones*, &c. *Genios*, the Christian Theologues call *Angels* or *Spirits*, whereof they hold good and bad.

Angels  
good and  
bad.

But to return to the Matters further Allegate and Probate. The industrious Antiquary Master *John Stow*, being requir'd to deliver his Opinion concerning the Proofs of this Murther, affirmed it was never prov'd by any credible Evidence, no not by probable Suspicions, or so much as by the Knights of the Post, that King *Richard* was guilty of it. And Sir *Thomas Moore* (being puzzled with his Equivocations) says, that it could never come to light what became of the Bodies of these two Princes. *Grafton*, *Hall*, and *Hollinshead* \* agreeing in the same report, that the Truth hereof was utterly unknown. Then where is their far seeing Knowledge, that will have them transported into foreign Countries or Drowned, or their Gigantick Proofs, that say peremptorily, they were both Murthered and Buried in the Tower by those Four nam'd before: If so, we need go no further for the Truth. But these are Splenetick Reaches, and the *Parachronism* is too gross as the *Comædian* said,

Terentius  
in Phor-  
mio.

*Quod dictum, indictum est,  
Quod modo ratum, irritum est,*

What was said, is unsaid again;  
What was prov'd, revers'd.

Besides, if *Perkin* were not the second Son of King *Edward*, he must be nothing; for the *Flemish*, *French*, and *Walloons* acknowledged no such Noble young Man to be Born in *Warbecke*, or in *Tourney* ||; but make honourable mention of a young Son of the King of *England*, who was brought to the Dutcheß of *Burgundy* his Aunt,

being then in *Flanders*, and how he was in 1485. *France* and in other Kingdoms. And surely so many Noble and Discreet *English*, if they had not known him to be the same by most certain Tokens, and Evidence, would not so confidently have laid down their Lives to confirm their Knowledge of him, or hazarded their Judgments and Honours upon an Imposture, or Vanity, especially those who had Places of Quality and Eminency near the King then living, and were in favour at Court. Therefore I would be resolv'd from our *Anti-Richards*, what Aim those Noblemen could have, in averring him the Son of *Edward IV.* by the hazard of their Lives and Estates (if the King pleased) and how could they expect less; for tho' they were enough to justify it a Truth, they were too few to maintain it against him, there could be no Aim or Hope to super-induce young *Richard* to be King: but merely I am perswaded in point of Truth and Honour, as they thought themselves bound to do, they freely tendred their Lives to make good what their Conscience and Knowledge witnessed, for it would be an Imposture of a miraculous Deception, so many worthy and wise Persons both of the Nobility and Clergy, some of them having served the King his Father and himself, that they all in their particular and general Intelligence and Understandings, should be Mistaken and Cheated. I say, it was a strange Delusion if it could be so; but indeed those that would have it so, leave it in Question, and know not well what to make of their own Relations, or how to resolve his History; and if we mark Sir *Francis Bacon* in the Life of *Henry VII.* (tho' his Speculation be tender, and as favourable as he can that way) touching the History of this young Duke, he gently slides from it.

\* *Hollinshead*, as well as Sir *Thomas Moor*, says, Sir *James Tyrrel*, order'd them to be Buried under the Stairs, and when he brought word to King *Richard* what he had done with them, the King dislik'd the place of their Burial, because they were King's Sons; upon which Sir *Robert Brackenbury*'s Chaplain removed their Bones to another place that was not then found out.

|| The Lord *Verulam* in his reign of King *Henry VII.* gives a full Account of his Pedigree from *John Osbeck*, a Convert Jew of *Tournay*, which *Perkin* in his Confession acknowledges. *Hol.* p. 786.

## BOOK IV.

### The ARGUMENT of the Fourth Book of the LIFE and REIGN of RICHARD III.

Upon what Occasion the Sentence of Bastardy was given upon the Children of King *Edward the Fourth*, and why. The sundry Loves, Wooings, Contracts and Marriages of King *Edward IV.* His divers Concubines, His Device of the Fetterlock, and the Faulcon. His Wooing the Lady *Elianor Talbott* alias *Butler*, the Lady *Bona of Savoy*, and the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* Widow, and his Marriage with her. His former Marriage or Contract with the said *Elianor*, her Wrongs and her Death. Kings must not marry the Daughters of their Vassals, nor other without the consent of their Barons. Dr. *Stillington* Bishop of Bath Imprison'd for speaking of King *Edward's* Marriage with the Lady *Elianor Talbott*, *Spuria vitulina*. How King *Edward* might have salv'd those Errors and prevented all the Mischiefs following them. The Children of King *Edward IV.* declared and adjudged Illegitimate. King *Edward's* Death suspected by Poison; the Mortality of the *Plantagenets*. The Authority of Parliament; Parliaments how so called and derived; Parliaments against Parliaments. The first Parliament of

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King



1485.

King Henry VII. What Treason is; Whether Sovereign Princes may be said to commit Treason against their Subjects; The Treaty of Marriage between King Richard III. and the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, and chiefly sought by her self and the Queen her Mother; The Entertainment of the Lady Elizabeth at the Court; the first Libel of Divorce; The Scruples of the Lady Elizabeth; King Richard never meant to marry her. The Marriages of Nieces allowed by the Pope, and usual; The true Cause of Sir Thomas Moore's Condemnation and Execution.

1485.

THE Title King Richard III. had to the Crown, accrued to him by the Illegitimacy of the Children of King Edward IV. and the Attainder of the Duke of Clarence, with the Corruption of his Blood, and Forfeiture of the Title in him and in his Heirs, of which there was no Question: But of the Forfeiture and Disinheritance of the Sons of Edward IV. there hath been much. The true Cause hath not nor cannot be well known, without the Narration of King Edward's sundry Loves and Wooings, specially his Contracts and Marriages.

How extreme his Desires were, you may see in the Speech of the D. of Buckingham, set down by Sir Thomas Moor.

I shall not need to intimate how Amorous and Wanton this King was, his many Mistresses or *Amasia's* he kept, in several private Places; whereof the most famous was *Katharine de Clarrington*, *Elizabeth Wyatt* alias *Lucy*, *Jane Shore*, the Lady *Eleanor Talbot*. And it is worth the remembering (in the Concourse of such Matters as these) there was another fair Creature so dear unto him, that his too much Affection begat Suspicion; of which he gave her a Kind Expression, by a quaint Device sent unto her in a rich Jewel, fashion'd much after the manner of the trivial Hieroglyphs us'd in France, and call'd *Rebus de Picardy*. The Device was, A Faulcon encompass'd with a Fetter-lock: The Mott, *Au Faulcon Serrure*. The Caution lying in the Ambiguity and double sense of Faulcon: which being whole and proper, signifieth a Hawk; but divided, hath an obscene Signification, and so Faulcon becometh an *equivoque*.

The King afterward was so affected with this Device, that he would have it carv'd and painted, in many of his Royal Works yet to be seen at *Fotheringhay* and elsewhere.

Yet altho' the King's Jealousie was thus particular to her, his Affection was as general to others; being a frank Gamester, and he that would cast at all, fairly set. Above all, for a time he was much speld with *Eleanor Talbot*, Daughter of *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* (called in the Act of Parliament 1 Rich 3. The old Earl of *Shrewsbury*) her Mother was the Lady *Katharine Stafford*, Daughter of *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, and she the Widow of *Thomas Lord Butler* Baron of *Sudeley*. Her Beauty and sweetness of Disposition drew his Desire so vehemently, and with such respect, that he was suddenly Contracted, and after Married by Dr. *Thomas Stillington* Bishop of *Bath*, Councillor of State (one much favour'd by the King, and often employ'd by him in great Af-

fairs.) This is witnessed by our English Writers, and veritable *Philip de Comines*, in these words: *Le Evêque de Bath (lequel avoit esté Conseiller du Roy Edward) disoit que le dit Roy avoit promis foy de Mariage a une Dame d'Angleterre, & qu'il avoit nommé, & que le Roy avoit fait la promesse entre les mains dudit Evêque, & dit aussi c'est Evêque, qu'il avoit apres espousé, & n'y avoit que luy & ceux deux* †.

*Philip de Comines, in Lud. 11. Cap. 112. & 122.*

In English thus:

The Bishop of *Bath*, a Privy Councillor of King *Edward* said, That the King had plighted his Faith to marry a Lady of *England*, whom the Bishop named the Lady *Eleanor Talbot*; and that this Contract was made in the hands of the Bishop, who said that afterwards he married them, no Persons being present but they twain and he, the King charging him strictly not to reveal it.

Which Contract and Marriage are related in the Act of Parliament aforesaid, where it is differently called a former Marriage, and the King had a Child by her. But where Desires are unlawful, they will be unlimited. We are ever young enough to sin; never old enough to repent: never constant, never satisfied in our nearest Desires. Though to Morrow shew us the Sting of to Day, the third shall betray us again; and we are taken (like Children in a Shop of Trinkets) by the Eye, liking all things, from one to another, until Pleasure dull Pleasure, and we grow weary of them. As in the Dotages of this King, who had now received others into the bosom of his Fancy; especially the Fame (which was then in every Courtier's Ear and Mouth) of an excellent Lady in the Court of France, with the Queen *Charelots*, Wife of King *Lewis XI.* and Sister to this Lady whose Name was *Bona* the Daughter of *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*. And so suddenly and strongly had he taken fire and apprehension of her Report (the bent of his affection being merely wanton to every new Object, thinking Love a cold Composition, without the Privilege of Variety) that he straight falls into terms of engagement and capitulation of Marriage; to which purpose the great and renowned *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, and Captain of *Calais* (then in the Esteem of his best and most trusty Friend) had a Commission of Treaty, and with all speed was sent Ambassador into France; who, with all Honour and Magnificence to his Wife effects it;

The great Earl of Warwick.

† This is a patch'd Quotation out of the 5th Book of *Phil. de Comines*; Let the Reader see a true one out of the 6th Book of the same Author.

*Le duc de Glocestre avoit fait Hommage a son neveu comme a son Roi & Souverain Seigneur & incontinent apres commit ce cas & en pleine Parlement d'Angleterre fait degrader deux Filles du Roi Edward & declarer bastardes, sous couleur de quelque cas qu'il prouva par un Evêque de Bath en Angleterre, qui autre fois avoit eu grand credit avec le Roi Edward, & puis le desappointa & tint en Prison & le rançonna d'une Somme d'Argent; Lequel Evêque disoit, que Ledit Edward avoit promis foy de Mariage a une Dame d'Angleterre qu'il nommoit (pour ce qu'elle estoit amoureuse), pour en avoir son plaisir & en avoit fait la promesse entre les mains du dit Evêque, & sur cette promesse coucha avec elle & ne le faisoit que pour la tromper.—The Duke of Gloucester had done Homage to his Nephew, as his King and Sovereign, and a little after did this thing by him and his Brother. (avait fait mourir, kill'd them) and had King Edward's two Daughters bastardis'd in full Parliament, pretending the Bishop of Bath prov'd that when he was in favour with King Edward, who afterwards imprison'd him, The said King Edward had Promis'd Marriage to a certain English Lady, whom he nam'd, on purpose to have his Will of her; That he gave her this Promise before him the said Bishop, upon which he lay with her and deceiv'd her. Ces Mauvais Evêque, continues he, garda cette vengeance en son cœur, &c. This wicked Bishop kept Revenge in his Mind 20 Year.*

with



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The Lady Bona was afterward married to John Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan and Ruefour.

with the more noble and easy dispatch, the Earl of Warwick being a Man eminent through all the Parts of Europe, for his Valour, Wisdom, and Heroical Vertues. Expecting a Welcom at his Return answerable to the period of his Employment, but finds an Alteration not only of the King's Affection, but of his Countenance: for in the interim he had (in an instant or particle of time as it were) wooed and wedded the Lady Elizabeth Gray, Relict of Sir John Gray, Daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, and of Jaquetta, sometime Dutches of Bedford, and the Daughter of the Earl of St. Poole. Her Husband was one Gray a Knight of Grooby, who became a very vehement Lancastrian, revolting from the House of York, and therefore the more hateful to those of that Family, and the Well-wishers thereof (so to the Earl of Warwick.) He was Slain at the Battle of St. Alban's: Of whom, and of this Lady his Wife, as of this Marriage, Philip de Comines relates something, which I shall leave to the Interpretation of the better knowing, and desire not to understand it in the words: *Or de puis le dict Roy Eduart espousa la fille d'un Chevalier de Angleterre femme veufue, qui avoit deux filz & aussi per Amorettes.*

But neither the despised state of Widowhood, nor the meanness of her Quality and Condition, the earnest Dissuasion of the Dutches his Mother and best Friends, could make him withdraw his Affection, so deeply and obstinately he was surprized with her Beauty: yet if he could have enjoy'd his Longings otherwise, he had not married her. But she was of so pregnant and reserv'd a Wit, (seconded by the Caution and Counsel of the Dutches her Mother) that his highest Temptations and sweetest Batteries could not win upon her; protesting never to yield to any dishonourable Parley or unchaste Motion, altho' it might warrant the safety of her Life; and humbly implored his Grace not to think her so exorbitantly and vainly Ambitious to wish her self a Queen, or to have the Hope and Presumption to be any thing higher than what she was, His poor and humble Vassal: Nor was she of so low and lost a Mind, as to violate her Chastity, or be a Concubine to the greatest King.

When the King perceiv'd there was no other Remedy but that he must shift his Sail to that scantling of Wind, he complies with her, and protests it was his Desire and Suit to marry her, notwithstanding her Inequality: for in his esteem, her Love, her Beauty, and her Vertue, made her Fortunes and Dowry great, and high enough for any King. Nor did he defer it any longer than there was Necessity; but marry her he did, and with such dispatch, that he stay'd not for the Advice of any, either Councillor, Kinsman, or other whatsoever.

Nay, his speed admitted not the approved Ceremony of the Banes asking. And such was the want of Reverend Bishops then, that he was fain to take an ordinary Priest to marry them, in a Chamber too, instead of a Church, and that in a Lodge or Forrest-House; no body being present but the Dutches, and some few of her Company. So where he first saw her (and by chance) there at the next Interview he married her; an Act of as high Exception as Improvidence. For his Barony thought it a most unworthy and unequal Match, distasting it the more, as done without their Consent, which they assever'd the King ought to have by their ancient Privileges: and were the more exasperated, considering the great Inequality between her Condition and the Imperial Majesty of England, be-

ing the Relict but of a poor Knight, his mortal Enemy too. Above all, the Earl of Warwick took it for an high Indignity and Scandal to his Honour, which stood so far engaged in France to the Lady Bona and her Princely Friends; knowing the French would be as sensible of the Scorn, besides the great Charge he had been at, to manage the Employment. In the heat of these Disgraces (for transcendent Spirits have their answerable Passions; and it is as dangerous to stand in their way, as in the Reaches of an angry Tide) he forsook the King, and soon after takes up Arms against him; an Induction to those succeeding Evils which pursu'd that inconsiderate Marriage: of which the judicious Polidor (lib. 24.) maketh this Censure.

Rex Edwardus mutato Concilio de ducenda uxorem Bona, filia Ducis Sabaudie, Elizabetham viduam Johannis Gray Militis, in Matrimonium duxit; & de eo Matrimonio ob mulieris humilitatem non modo necessarios Principes, verum etiam Richardum Woodvillum Patrem mulieris celat: qua causa cognita cuncti protinus mirari, Principes fremere, Passimque voces emittere indignationis, & Regem non ex sua dignitate fecisse, easque nuptias se crimini dare & dedecori assignare, quod caco amore non ratione ductus esset; sed inde initium profectum est similitatis orta inter Regem Edwardum & Richardum Comitem Warwici, &c.

In English thus:

"King Edward, having changed his Purpose of taking to Wife the Lady Bona Daughter to the Duke of Savoy, married Elizabeth the Widow of John Gray Knight; concealing upon the Account of the Meanness of her Birth, what he had done, not only from his Princely Relations, but even from Richard Woodville her Father: Which thing when it came to be known, was matter of Admiration to every one; The Nobles murmured thereat, and by their Words every where bewray'd the Indignation of their Heart, that the King had not acted suitably to his Dignity, and that they accounted this Marriage blame-worthy and dishonourable, because he was led thereto by blind Love, not by Reason. It was this which gave a Beginning to that Hatred and Enmity betwixt King Edward, and Richard the renowned Earl of Warwick, &c.

But if you will not give credit to him, you shall hear an English Prelate living in those Times.

Edwardus Rex fretus propria electione cujusdam Militis relictam nomine Elizabeth, inconsultis Regni proceribus clandestino sibi destinavit Matrimonio; postea ipsam in reginam Coronari fecit: quod quidem Regni optimates agre tulerunt, quia de tam mediocri stirpe faminam procreatam ad Regni Consortium secum præpropere sublimaret. That is,

"King Edward, without consulting with the Nobles of his Realm, and relying solely upon his own Choice, secretly married the Widow of a certain Knight, by Name Elizabeth; causing her afterwards to be crowned Queen: By which the Peers of the Kingdom were highly disgusted, because he had so unadvisedly exalted a Woman so meanly descended to a Partnership in Sovereignty.

Thus this amorous King lost his Honour, with many of his Best and great Friends: yet escap'd well, that he had no more real and present feeling of the Errour; being the first King of England that ever mingled his Royal Blood and Majesty in the Alliance of so private and mean a Family.

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The

1485.

L'indignité de ce Marriage du Roy Edw. avec un simple gentilhomme, femme, dis-plaisant au Comte de Warwick, & aux principaux Seigneurs de Angleterre, & offensa tellement le Roy Lewis II. qu'ils font consederacion, contre le Roy Eduart, &c. Jean ne Tillet, Part 2.

This Marriage was in the Forrest of Whitchwood.



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The Story of *Arragon* mentions a King depos'd for marrying the Daughter of his Subject; and King *Edward* was something near it; for soon after, he was expuls'd his Kingdom: But being a Man that kept an industrious and invincible Courage above his Troubles, he happily recover'd that Loss, never his Honour and Friends, which he might have preserv'd, and prevented all those Calamities that overtook him in his Issue, by the Advice of the Dutche's his Mother, who upon the secret Advertisement of his Love to this Lady *Gray*, us'd all the Perswasions and Authority of a Mother, to return him to the Lady *Elizabet Talbot* his former Love and Wife (at least his contracted) to finish and consummate what he was bound to by publick Solemnity of Marriage; and press'd it with such ingenious Engagements, that for the Arguments sake, I have transcrib'd the Passage out of Sir *Thomas Moor* and the rest of our *English* Writers. Thus she dissuades him.

The  
Speech of  
the Dutche's  
of York  
to K. *Edw.*  
IV.

"MY Liege Lord, and my Dear Son;  
It is very commonly reported you  
are purposed to marry the Lady *Gray*, a Wi-  
dow and a mean Gentlewoman, which you  
cannot but conceive will redound to your  
Disparagement and Dishonour: All the Wise,  
Great and Noblest Persons of your Kingdom,  
thinking it far more to the Advantage of  
your Honour, Profit and Safety, to seek the  
Alliance of a Noble Progeny, and rather in  
a Foreign Country than your own; as well in  
regard, thereupon may depend great Strength  
to your Estate, and great possibility to en-  
large your Possessions by such Affinity. Also  
(if well consider'd) you may not safely marry  
any other than the Lady *Bona*, the Earl of  
*Warwick* having proceeded so far in the Cur-  
rent of that Match already, that 'tis likely he  
will not sit down contented, if his trouble-  
some and costly Negotiation should be so slight-  
ly blown off and frustrated.  
Besides, Sir, consider it is not Princely for  
a King to Marry his own Subject, (at least no  
great and important Occasion leading him  
thereunto, nor Possessions or other Commo-  
dity depending thereupon) but will be less  
tolerable to all Opinion, than if a Rich Man  
should marry his Maid, only for a little  
wanton Dotage upon her Person; in which  
kind of Marriages, many Men commend more  
the Maid's Fortune than the Master's Discre-  
tion. Yet there must needs be more Honesty  
in such a Marriage, than can be Honour in  
this which you affect: For the difference is  
not so great betwixt a rich Merchant and his  
Servant, as you must think between the King  
and the Widow *Gray*; in whose Person (albeit  
there be nothing to be misliked) there is no-  
thing so excellent, but it may be found in  
divers other Women, much more Noble and  
many ways Exceeding her, and more compa-  
ratively to your Estate (those also Virgins,  
who must be thought of a much more honour-  
able Estimation than Widows) wherefore  
the Widowhood only of *Elizabeth Gray* (tho'  
in all other things she were convenient for  
you) were not enough to restrain you, being  
a King, and so great a King.  
And it must stick as a foul Disparagement  
to the sacred Majesty of a Prince (who ought  
as nearly to approach the Priesthood in Pure-  
ness and Cleanness, as he doth in Dignity) to  
be defiled with Bigamy in his first Marri-  
age.

Thus far the King could with Attention hear the Dutche's; but being extremely far gone in Love, or rather in the hot Passion of Love, he was resolute to marry her; and partly in earnest, and partly in play (as one that well wist he was out of the Check of a Mother) yet reverently thus replied;

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MADAM,

"ALTHO' Marriage, being a spiritual thing, ought rather to be made according to the Will and Ordinance of Almighty God, where he by his Grace inclineth either Parties to love mutually and virtuously (as I hope and trust he doth work in ours) and not for the regard of any temporal Advantage; yet, nevertheless, this Marriage (as it seemeth to me, being consider'd, even after the World's account) is not unprofitable nor without fruits: For I reckon not the Alliance and Amity of any earthly Nation or foreign Prince so necessary for me, as the Friendship and Love of mine own Subjects; who, as I hope, will be the more induced to love me, and acknowledge mine to them, seeing I disdain not to marry one of my own Land; when (if a foreign Alliance were thought so requisite) I could find the Means of that much better by other of my Kin (where all those Parties would be content) but to marry my self to one whom I should, peradventure, never love; and for the possibility of more Possessions, lose the Fruit and Pleasure of this I have already: For small Pleasure taketh a Man of all he hath, or can have, if he be Wived against his Appetite.

The An-  
swer of K.  
*Edw.* IV.  
to the  
Dutche's  
of York  
his Mo-  
ther.

"And I doubt not but there be (as you say, Madam) other Women in every point comparable to the Lady *Gray*; therefore I lett not other Men to Wed them, no more than have they reason to mislike where it liketh me.

"Nor doubt I my Cousin of *Warwick's* Love can be so slightly settled to me, as to grudge at that which I affect; nor so unreasonable, to look, that in my Choice of a Wife I should rather be ruled by his Eye than mine own; that were to make me a Ward, and bind me to marry by the Appointment of a Guardian; with such servile and hard Conditions I would not be a King.

"As for the possibility you urge of more Inheritance by new Affinity in strange Lands, that is not always certain; but contrariwise, it is oftentimes the occasion of more Trouble than Profit. Besides, we have already a Title and Seignie so good and great, as may suffice to be gotten, and so to be kept by one Man, and in one Man's Days.

"For your Objection, That the Lady *Gray* hath been a Wife, and is now a Widow, and hath already Children; Why, (By God's blessed Lady) I that am a Batchelor have some Children too; and so, for our better comfort, there is proof that neither of us is like to be barren. And I trust in God, Madam, you shall live to see her bring forth a young Prince, and your pretty Son, that shall be a Joy and Pleasure to you.

"For the Bigamy objected, let the Bishop lay it hardly in my way, when I come to take Orders of Priesthood; for I confess I understand Bigamy is forbidden to a Priest, but I never wist it yet forbidden to a Prince; therefore I pray you, Good Madam, trouble your self and me no further in this Matter.

Then



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Then she urged his Contract (a) with the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, and his having had a Child by her, (as she said) and thought her self bound in Conscience to charge him with. Mr. Moor, Grafion, Stow and the rest, say, The King utterly denied that Contract, and protested it a Slander; which well and justly he might do, and these Authors may retract what they have written. For the truth is, he was never contracted to her, tho' he loved her well, being of an affable and witty Temper; nor did she ever alledge the King was betrothed to her, but that he had entangled her by sweet and tempting Language: And who knoweth not *Credula res Amor est*? But true it is, he had a Child by her, which was the Bastard Arthur, called commonly (but unduly) *Arthur Plantagenet*, afterward made Viscount Lisle by H. VIII.

Elizabeth Lucy.

In this Relation, the Historians have much and foully err'd; not only corrupting the Story, but have injured the Dutcheſs of York in her Judgment and Knowledge of these Matters; and the tenor of her former Speech, making her to charge the King as contracted to this Elizabeth Lucy (of Birth and Quality much meaner than the Lady Grey whom she conceived so basely of; for Elizabeth Lucy was the Daughter of one Wyat of Southampton, a mean Gentleman, (if he were one) and the Wife of one Lucy, as mean a Man as Wyat. True it is, the King kept her as his Concubine, and she was One of those most famous Three who had peculiar Epithets, being call'd his Witty Leman). For that they would have her say the King was never betrothed to her, it importeth nothing, and therefore, I conceive, it was never extracted from her. But truly to save the Story and Error of these Writers, we must know, that Lady to whom the King was first betrothed and married, was *Elianaor Talbot*, Daughter of a Great Peer of this Realm, of a most noble and illustrious Family, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who is also called in authentick Writings the Lady *Butler*, because she was then the Widow of the Lord *Butler*, (a Lady of a very eminent Beauty and answerable Virtue) to whom the King was contracted, married, and had a Child by her. This is that Lady (not Elizabeth Lucy) the Queen spoke of to her Son; and (to note *Obiter*) the King's Breach with this Lady, was a Cause the subtil Widow would not listen unto him before Marriage, having learned *Credulitas damno solet esse puella*. This Marriage cast the Lady *Elianaor Butler* into so perplex a Melancholy, that she spent her self in a solitary Life ever after: And how she died is not certainly known; but out of doubt, Kindness was not the cause, he having a Kindness for every new Face, and was so become exceedingly fancied to his new Wife the Lady *Gray*, no Court or Pleasure now, but where she is. In this continuance of his amorous Indulgence, (which was many Years, and rendred a fruitful Issue to him) no question, that Party of her Kindred made their best Advantage from it: Yet the Remembrance of that Pre-contract after a time, moved him by such sensible Apprehensions, he could not brook to have it mention'd; which was the cause of his Displeasure against his ancient Chaplain *Dr. Stillington* of *Bath*, because he did what his Conscience urg'd, to God and the Kingdom, in discovering the Marriage, occasion'd by the Lady's sudden Indisposition and pressing

Ovid.

Sorrow; who not able to contain her self, had open'd it to a Lady her Sister; or, as some say, to her Mother the Countess of *Shrewsbury*; she, to the Earl her Husband; he consults it with his noblest Kinsfolks and Friends, as it was a general Scandal to them all: They to inform themselves the better, had Conference with *Dr. Stillington*, who affirmed the Contract and Marriage, with whom they advise; that as he was a Bishop and a Privy Counsellor, it behoved him to prepare it to the King's Consideration for some Redress and Satisfaction. But the Bishop (tho' willing) durst not deal with the King in that manner; rather wish'd they would apply it to the Duke of Gloucester, as the Man most inward with the King; whereof *Philip de Comines* thus writeth; *Cestuy Evesque d' Bath, mit Philip de Comines en avant a ce Dux Gloucester, que le dit Roy Edouart estoit fort amoureux, d'un Dame, d' Angleterre, & luy promise de l' espouser pour veu qu'il couchat avec illa, elle s'y consentit: & dit ceste Evesque, qu'il les avoit Espousees, & n'y avoit que luy & eux deux.*

The Duke of Gloucester, as they desir'd, pres'd it to the King, who became more incens'd against the Bishop, saying, He had not only betray'd his Trust, but his Children; and upon that Heat puts him from the Council-Table under a strict Imprisonment for a long time, which at length he redeem'd himself from by a heavy Fine, as is testified by *Dr. Goodwin* Bishop of *Hereford*, in his *Catalogus Episcoporum*, who writeth thus; *Philip de Comines, le Roy Edw. de supposé l'Evesque, & le tient in prison, & le Ransom de un bon somme d' Argent.* Which was taken for a peice of more Passion than Justice; the Bishop not deserving so to suffer in this case, where his Conscience might very well excuse what he did.

Not long after, King *Edward* died; of what Disease it is doubtfully suggested: Some thought of an Apoplexy or Dead Palsie. *Polidor Virgil* saith, of a Disease utterly unknown to all the Physicians, which leaves it to a further Construction. The Author of the History of *Britain*, delivers plainly, that King *Edward* was kill'd by Poison (as the common Report in *France* went). *Aucuns disoient que le Roy de Angleterre Edouart, avoit esté Empoisonné au mois d' avril en l' an. 1463.* And *Euguerant de Monstrolet* writeth, That some said he died of an Apoplexy; others, He was Poison'd in Wine of *Creu*, which King *Lewis* the Eleventh sent to him. *Philip de Comines*, to that purpose, says, *Aucuns disent que le Roy Edouart, mourut d'un Catarrhe*; that is, Some say that King *Edward* died of a *Catarrhe*; for that is their Phrase in *France* when a Great Man is made away by Poison. Of such a venomous *Catarrhe* died the young King *Edward VI.* But by whose Hand King *Edward IV.* had his Death, it is not said; certain it is, he was generally beloved of all his Subjects, except those of the *Lancastrian* Faction. As soon as he was dead, the Silence brake into a general Muttering against his Marriage, then into loud and publick Inveighing against it: All Tongues were at liberty, and Pardons were hoped for all Offences; the general and common Opinion being quite against it and the Children. And *Dr. Morton* affirmed, The Duke of *Buckingham*, with other Noble Lords, saw and read certain authentick Instruments made and sign'd by learned Doctors, Proctors and Notaries, with the Depositions

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Philip de Comines.

How K. Edward died.

Lib. 4. in Hist. Brit.

Monstrolet, Part 3. de ce Chron.

Dr. Morton Sir Thomas Moor, Grafion, Hollinshed, Stow.

(a) *Hollinshed* says she only caused a Præ-contract to be alledg'd made by him with the Lady Elizabeth Lucy; "But all Doubts removed, all Things made clear, and all Cavillations avoided, he privily in the Morning married her. Pag. 668.



1485. of sundry credible Persons, importing and testifying the Children of *Edward IV.* were Bastards: with which opinion the City of *London* was also possessed; and *Dr. Shaw*, *Frier Pinke*, and other Preachers in the Pulpits declar'd them *Spuria vitulamina*. To this consented all the People of the North Parts in their Supplicatory Scroll before-mention'd; which the Court of Parliament adjudged and decreed to be so. A fault of Improvidence in their Father, who might have prevented all Quarrels and Questions about that and future Claims, repair'd all Flaws and Defects of Titles; also have taken away the Errour and Inconveniency of the Post-contract, or later Marriage, that gave the imputation of Bastards to his Children; and so have avoided all the ensuing Mischiefs and Calamities. If first he had procured a Divorce of the former Contract with the Lady *Eliaenor* from the Pope, who was then held to have all Power both of Heaven and Earth.

Or if after the second Marriage (and while he flourished, which was by the space of Fourteen Years) he had either by a due Consideration, or Counsel of his best Friends, wrought the Pope's Pardon for breach of the Pre-contract with the Lady *Eliaenor*; then, his Apostolical Bull of Dispensation, for his Post-contract, or Matrimony superinducted (as they call it) which might easily have been obtain'd at *Rome*, for Money. And after that, to have summon'd a Parliament, requiring the three Estates to have ratify'd and confirm'd these Bulls, for the Approbation of the said Marriage with the Lady *Gray*, and the Legitimation of his Children, and made them lawful by Act of Parliament (according to the Pope's Indulgence (which was then a Sacred and most Inviolable thing.) Lastly, to have declared, pronounced and decreed in Parliament, That the said Children of the King, being so made Legitimate, were also capable of all Honours, Dignities, Estates, publick and private, of which the King stood seised, or which were any ways appertaining and proper to the Kingdom of *England*, and of *France*. I say, If he had done this, he had compos'd all Defects, and prevented all succeeding Dangers of Claims and Practices, which might have been done with small or no trouble. A Course by another afterward opportunely thought on.

And surely (it may be conjectur'd) if this King had not been too Secure, and lost in his Sensualities, he would by the like Parliamentary Power have rectified those Errours, these great, high and difficult Works, being (indeed) proper to Parliaments, and pregnant and strong Proofs of their great and transcendent Power, holding in themselves a just Desert and Claim of such Power and Authority (if assembled and held as they ought) being a General Assembly and Convocation of the most Wise, Honourable, Just, and Religious Persons of the Kingdom. Therefore the word Parliament (saith one) is compounded of *Parium* and *lamentum*, because (as he thinketh) the Peers of the Country did at these Meetings complain each to other of the Enormities of their Country. But the better opinion is, That Parliament is simply from the French word *parler* (and that from the Greek *παρλαμε*, both signifying to speak) and so by adding the termination, *ment* (which is common in the French Tongue, as well to many Nouns as Adverbs) do make up *Parliament*; meaning thereby an Assembly of Men called together to speak or confer, &c.

And it may not unfitly be call'd Parliament, for that each Man should *parler*, *lament*, speak

his Mind. But *Laurence Valla* misliketh that Etymology. 1485.

It may be guess'd the word *Parliament* (being transported out of *France*) began shortly after the *Norman* Conquest. One of the first authentical Reports of that Name, is found in the Statute 3 E. 1. commonly call'd *Westminster Parliament*; that Assembly being said to be *Primier generall apres Coronament le Roy*. But that is not the first word: for in the Statutes call'd *Articuli Cleri*, publish'd 9 E. 2, these words are read: *Temporibus progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Anglie Parliamentis suis, &c.* Which words *Progenitorum & quondam*, must needs reach higher than E. 1. that was but Father to him that spake it.

But at what time soever after the Conquest this Court began to be call'd a Parliament, the same was before known to the Saxons or Englishmen, by the word *Sinoth*, and *Micell Sinoth*, of the Greek *συνοδος*, now appropriated to Ecclesiastical Meetings only; and sometimes by these terms, *Micell*, *Gemote*, *Witengemott*, and *Calca Witengemott*; that is, the meeting of Wifemen, or of all the Wifemen: for *witena* signifieth Wife men, *Calca*, all, and *Gemott*, a Meeting: Of which last words the Names *Shire-motts*, *Eolmotts*, and *Halymotts*; that is, the meeting or assembling of the Men of a Shire, of a Town, and of the Tenants of a Hall or Manor, had their beginning also.

Now as *Sinoth* is more used in the Parliaments themselves; so *Gemott* is more familiar to the Historians.

And this Parliament of *Anno 1 Rich. 3.* could be of no less Power and Vertue; witness the many and good Laws made in it, (albeit the second Marriage of King *Edward* was adjudged unlawful, and the Acts of that Parliament for the most part repeal'd and abrogated afterward) yet the Evidence is clear enough, that the Judges and Law-makers of that Parliament, were wise and religious Men, and their Laws upright and just.

Therefore whatsoever was adjudged by them, was to be received and held as authentick and inviolable (how roughly soever it was afterward handled.) And in this case of the disabling of King *Edward's* Sons, there is least reason to suspect them, the Cause being so new, so plain, and notoriously known, that no Man could be ignorant therein: Therefore to have given any other Judgment, but according to the truth of Evidence, and certainty of Knowledge, it might justly have been censur'd an act of Errour and Ignorance, or Partiality and Injustice.

For it was not the Opinion of a few, nor raised out of a weak Judgment and perverted Knowledge; but a strong and general Evidence, by the ablest and best knowing.

If it be objected, The Case was obscure and doubtful: That cannot be; for the Estates had all Substantial and ready Means to inform themselves of the Truth, and every Circumstance whereby they might be fully satisfy'd and clear'd in all the Niceties and Doubts: for all the Witnesses and Dealers in that Cause, and such Persons as were acquainted with it, were then living; and they must and would have truly and certainly inform'd the Court of Parliament: For the special and reverend Care of this Court is, The advancing of Justice and Right. Therefore all Subjects (by Nature or Grace) are bound in their Allegiance, to give Pious and Religious credit to Parliaments, and to believe in their Authority and Power, as the former Times did in

How King Edward might have prevented all after-questions.

The Authority of Parliament.

Parliament, how so called and derived.

Laurence Valla.



1485. in Oracles. We must also confidently hold the high and transcendent Quality and Vertue of that Court, to have all Power and Authority: And no question to repeal a good and just Law made in Parliament, is a Wrong and Scandal to that General Council, and to the universal Wisdom, Providence, Justice and Piety of the Kingdom.

In the Parliament 1 H. 7. there is an Act, attainting the King R. III. of High Treason, for bearing Arms against the Earl of Richmond, Intituled, *The Sovereign Lord* (this was at his proceeding from *Milford-Haven* into *Leicester*;) But when he came to fight the Battel, he was then no King, nor Sovereign, but a Chief of such as made Head against their Sovereign. In which Paragraph there appears three gross Faults.

First, Certain it is, *Richard* during his Reign was a Sovereign, therefore no Subject.

Next, There was no Enemy in the Field who was then a Sovereign, but all Liege Subjects to the Crown.

And *Richard* being the King and Sovereign, could not be adjudged a Traytor, nor lawfully attainted of High Treason. Then let it be consider'd whether a Person of Sacred Majesty (that is, an anointed Sovereign) may commit the Crime of Treason. Also in this Parliament, all the Barons, Knights and Gentlemen that bore Arms in the Field for the King, were attainted of Treason, their Goods and Lands confiscate: And one *Thomas Nandick* (a Necromancer and Sorcerer, who with others had been condemned to die, for using that hellish Art) was in this Parliament pardon'd the horrible Things he had committed. And it seem'd he had not then left his Black Trade: for he hath in that Act of Parliament still the Stile of Conjurer: *Viz.*

*Thomas Nandick* of *Cambridge*, Conjurer: which had been a fitter Stile for his Gibbet than his Pardon; although he had not by his Sorcery or Inchantment hurt or destroy'd any Human, yet for his Renouncing and Abjuration of Almighty God: for it is the Opinion of a Learned and Religious Doctor:

*Magos & Incantores* (saith he) *hominum genus indignum, quod vel ob solam Dei, O. M. abjurati- nem capitali supplicio afficiatur; i. e.* Magicians and Inchanters, a wretched sort of Men, that even upon the Account of their Abjuring of Almighty God, deserve to undergo a Capital Punishment.

Other such things there be in that Parliament, which detract it in the opinion of some; those of the Best and Wisest repute.

The Treaty of Marriage between K. R. 3. and his Niece the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet. Now let us come to examine that Treaty the King had about marrying the Lady *Plantagenet*; which is censured to be a thing not only Detestable, but much more Cruel and Abominable to be put in Agitation.

Item, *That all Men, and the Maid her self most of all, detested this unlawful Copulation.*

Item, *That he made away the Queen his Wife, to make way for this Marriage; and that he propounded not the Treaty of Marriage, until the Queen his Wife was Dead.*

That there was such a Motion for the Marriage of this Lady to the King, is true; and (which is more, and most certain) it was entertain'd, and well-lik'd by the King and his Friends, a good while; also by the Lady *Elizabeth*, and by the Queen her Mother; who

received it with so much content and liking, 1485. that presently she sent into *France* for her Son the Marquess of *Dorset*, that was there with the Earl of *Richmond*, earnestly soliciting him to renounce the Faction, and return home to the King's Favour and Advancement, which she assured him: and sends † the Lady *Elizabeth* to Attend the Queen at Court, or to place her more in the eye, so in the Heart of the King. The *Christmas* following (which was kept in *Westminster-Hall*) for the better colour of sending her eldest Daughter, she sends her other four thither, who were received with all honourable courtesie by the King and Queen Regent; especially the Lady *Elizabeth* was ranked most familiarly in the Queen's Favour, and with as little distinction as Sisters. But Society, nor all the Pomp and Festivity of those Times, could cure that sad Wound and Languor in the Queen's Breast, which the Death of her only Son had left. The Address of those Ladies to Court (albeit the feign'd wooing of the King was in a politick and close way) gave cause of Suspicion to the Earl of *Richmond*'s intelligencing Friends, that the King had a Purpose to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*; which must prevent the Earl both of his Hope to her, and to the Crown by her Title: a Clause that made them mutter very broadly against it (for indeed, what more concern'd them?) therefore the King treats it more privately and coldly; but the Queen-Widow and the Lady stood constant in their Desires and Expectation; only the Objection was, The King had a Wife; as tho' he could not marry another whilst she liv'd; not remembering how usual it was, not only for Kings, but private Men, to put away one Wife and marry another, for venial Crimes, as well as Adultery and Treason.

The *Romans* might repudiate their Wives, for conversing with Men that were not of their Kindred, and for going to see Plays and Cirque Spectacles, (their Husbands not being with them) or if the Wife were unquiet or curst of her Tongue, &c. *Henry VIII.* put away Queen *Katharine* of *Castile*, and Queen *Anne* of *Cleve*; the one, because she was too old and cold for Pleasure; the other, because she was not fruitful or wanton enough. Sometimes Men have put away their Wives for being Sluts, for having unfavoury Breaths, or some Infectious Disease, without a Necessity of taking away their Lives; and it was lawful for either of them to marry when they would.

Pope *Clement VII.* so ratify'd the Divorce of King *Henry VIII.* against *Katharine* of *Castile*, as he defy'd all Laws (Divine and Human) that should contradict and impugn his Power and Dispensation, in these words:

*Non obstante Jure Divino nec Humano, nec quibuscunque Constitutionibus repugnantibus, aut in contrarium Edictis.* That is, "Any Law of God or Man; or whatsoever Constitutions inconsistent, and to the contrary, notwithstanding."

There was a formal Bill or Libel of Separation prescribed by *Moses*, with the manner of Divorces and Repudiations, in this tenour, as *Andreas Osiander* (who translated it out of Hebrew into Latin) affirmeth: which for the Rarity I have here transcribed.

Bulla Papæ Clementis 5. apud D. Ro. Cotton.

Osiander in Annotation. in 4 Evang. Harmon. Evang.

† The King sent the Queen, says *Holinshed*, divers and often Messengers, and also to her Son the Marquis of *Dorset* to bring her into a Fool's Paradise. 750.



1485.

Die tertia Hebdomadis, 29 die mensis Octobris,  
Anno ab orbe condito, 4349.

*E*Go Joachim cognominatus N. filius Nathanis,  
qui consisto hodie in urbe N. in Regno N. Te N.  
uxorem meam, cognominatam N. filiam N. qua fu-  
isti uxor mea ante hac nunc demisi, & liberavi, &  
repudiavi te tibi, ut sis tui juris & domina animæ  
tuæ, & ad abeundum, ut ducaris abs quolibet viro,  
quem volueris, & ne vir quisquam prohibeat, quo-  
minus sis in manu tua, ito hoc die & in æternum.  
Et ecce, permitta es unicuique viro, & hic esto tibi  
à me datus Libellus repudii, & Epistola dimissoria,  
& Instrumentum libertatis juxta Legem Moysi &  
Israelis.

Which Verbal Latin Translation is thus Word  
for Word rendred into English.

“ Upon the third Day of the Week and 29th of  
“ the Month of October, in the Year of the  
“ World, 4349.

“ *I* Joachim surnamed N. the Son of Nathan,  
“ who at this Day sojourn in the Town of  
“ N. in the Kingdom of N. have, thee N. my  
“ Wife, surnamed N. the Daughter of N. who  
“ hast hitherto been my Wife, now discharged,  
“ and liberated, and repudiated thee to thy self,  
“ that thou may’st be in thy own Power and  
“ Mistress of thy own Life, and to depart and  
“ to be married by any other Man, as shall  
“ seem good in thine Eyes, and that no Man  
“ may hinder thee, from being at thy own  
“ Disposal, Go thou for this Day and for ever.  
“ And behold, thou art permitted to any Man,  
“ and be this a Bill of Divorce, and Epistle di-  
“ missory, and Instrument of Liberty given un-  
“ to thee by me according to the Law of Moses  
“ and of Israel.

But the Answer which was made in the Name  
of the King to the Lady Elizabeth concerning  
his Queen, was, That she could be no Impedi-  
ment of long continuance, being a very weak  
Woman in a Consumption, and past hopes of  
Recovery; her Physicians giving their Opinions,  
she could not live past the middle of February  
next following: nor guessed they much amiss;  
for she died in the next Month, March. When  
the midst and last of February was past, the  
Lady Elizabeth being more impatient and jea-  
lous of the Success than every one knew or  
conceived, writes a Letter to the Duke of Nor-  
folk, intimating first, that he was the Man in  
whom she affied, in respect of that love her  
Father had ever bore him, &c. Then she Con-  
gratulates his many Courtesies, in continuance  
of which, she desires him to be a Mediator for  
her to the King, in the behalf of the Marriage  
propounded between them; who, as she wrote,  
was her only Joy and Maker in this World, and  
that she was his in Heart and Thought: withal  
insinuating, that the better part of February  
was past, and that she feared the Queen would  
never Die.

All these be her own Words, written with  
her own Hand; and this is the sum of her  
Letter, which remains in the Autograph, or  
Original Draft, under her own Hand, in the  
magnificent Cabinet of Thomas Earl of Arundel  
and Surrey: By which it may be observed, that

that this young Lady was ignorant that a Man  
having a Wife living might marry another, and  
suffer her to live. But the truth is, the King  
had no real intent to make her his Wife, from  
the beginning; only in Policy entertain’d this  
Treaty, as it appear’d afterward, when his  
Queen was Dead, and he had all fit Accesses  
without any Impediment to marry her, yet did  
not; professing he wooed her not to that end,  
but for some other Causes; and made Prote-  
station (in the great Hall at Saint Jones near  
Smithfield, before all the Knights of Malta, and  
a great Assembly of Noblemen; the Lord Maior,  
Aldermen, and many Citizens being present)  
that he had no purpose nor intent to marry the  
Lady Elizabeth: avowing, *Quod ea res (viz.) Vo-*

*luntas contrabendi Matrimonium cum Consangu-*  
*nea Germana sua, nunquam ei venerat in mentem:*  
that is, ‘That this Matter, viz. a Design of  
‘contracting Matrimony with his Kinswoman  
‘Elizabeth, had never entred into his Mind.

For so it is testify’d by the Prior of Croyland.  
Yet it may not be denied, he pretended love  
to her, and a proffer of Marriage; which he  
projected in Policy, to divert her Affection  
from Richmond (whose Party the King appre-  
hended privately wrought that way; of which  
the said Author thus saith, *Non aliter videbat*  
*Richardus Rex regnum sibi confirmari, neque spem*  
*competitoris sui auferri posse, nisi in Matrimonio,*  
*cum dicta Elizabeth, contrabendo vel simulando.*  
In English thus: ‘King Richard did not see how  
‘otherways the Kingdom could be confirmed to  
‘himself, and his Competitor be deprived of all  
‘Hope, than by contracting a Marriage with the  
‘said Elizabeth, or pretending it. And it is most  
likely the King had no other Aim but merely  
of Prevention: neither was there any Cause  
(had he been so wicked) to do it by Blood, The Q. di-  
nor any just Reason to frame so hard an Ar-  
gument against him, being always so affectio-  
nately inclined to his Wife, that he was rather  
thought uxorious than otherwise; † which ap-  
peared unfeignedly at her Death, in the ex-  
pression of Sorrow and magnificent Exequies  
for her. *Non cum immorte bonore quam Reginam*  
*dicunt, as the Prior of Croyland testifieth.* Let  
us look therefore with clearer Consideration  
upon the Motion or Pretence of this Marriage:  
to call it Detestable and Cruel, is Ignorant and  
Malicious (tho’ she were so near of kin to him)  
for Marriages between Uncles and Nieces,  
have been very frequent and allowed in other  
Countries by the Church. In our time, the  
Daughter and Heir of Duke Infantazgo in Spain,  
was married to his Brother Don Alde Mendoza:  
and more lately, the Earl of Miranda married  
his Brother’s Daughter.

In the House of Austria, Marriages in this  
kind have been very usual, and thought lawful,  
the Pope dispensing with them; for they say in  
Spain, *Que el padre santo quiere Dios loquiere:* There-  
fore how could it be so highly unlawful in K.  
Richard? Or if his Intents had been so forward,  
where was the Bar when his Wife was dead,  
and he absolute, unless the Lady’s Averseness?  
But that Suggestion is answer’d by her own Let-  
ter and other Testimonies. So the Account will  
be (if rightly sum’d by what hath been pro-  
duced) that he had never any serious Determi-  
nation of Marriage; only took the advantage  
of his Gain, by looking into her Hand; then no  
cause to make away his Queen; which his Ac-

The cre-  
dit of the  
Duke of  
Norfolk  
with King  
Richard,  
and with  
the Lady  
Elizabeth;  
and her  
Letter to  
him.

† This is Another notorious Falshood; he abandon’d her Bed, and sent her word twas out of aversion to her Barren-  
ness; if he did not poison her, he certainly was not Sorry for her Death. Holinsh.



1485. cufers themselves directly and peremptorily charge him not with, but doubtfully fay, The Queen (however it fortun'd) departed out of this Life the 16th of March, in the Lent Season. But 'altho' he had the Commendations of a loving and indulgent Husband, I say not he lived always continently; for I find he had some Bastards, two of them I have mention'd; yet peradventure he might have them before his Marriage, and then the fault was less. So then, let them that affect not blind and traditory Opinion, more than Justice and Reason, but equally examine his Slanders, they shall find Malice and Ignorance have been the King's greatest Accusers, which can only lay Suspicion to his charge: and Suspicion in Law, is no more Guilt than Imagination: For tho' Suspicion many times, lay a great Blame upon a Man, (Men holding him to be guilty whom Men suspect to be so, tho' injuriously) yet the Law holds it not a Crime, because Suspicion, many times, supposeth those to be culpable which are not: For an Instrument may as easily be condemn'd as a Malefactor, being an Evil grown from the Error of Men. Wherefore Suspicion of it self bringeth no Sentence by Law, Natural or Moral, Civil or Divine, according to that of the old *Minographus*, *Suspicio grave est hominibus malum*. And the Divine *Chrysostom* saith, *A Good Man hardly suspecteth another to be Evil; but an Evil Man scarcely supposeth any to be Good*; far from the Counsel of this Epigram:

*Suspicio est opinio mali ex levibus signis. B. Th. Aquinas. Suspicio est actus per quem in dubitationem trahimur.*

*Culpare in quoquam quæ non sunt nota, malignum. (est; 1485.)*  
*Preferim si quum cognita sint bona sunt.*  
*Non pateant faciles duris rumoribus aures*  
*Quæ nescire juvat, credere non libeat.*  
*Linguantur secreta Deo, qui quicquid opertum est*  
*Inspicit, & nullis indiget indicibus.*

Accuse no Man of Faults to thee unknown,  
 And much less him from whom good Fruits  
 have grown:  
 Lend not thine Ears to scandalous Reports;  
 Believe not that, which known, nought thee  
 imports.  
 Leave secret Things to God, who knows all  
 Hearts,  
 And hath no need of the Promoter's Arts.

But as *Julius Caesar* (who had many excellent Observations) was wont to say, *Vir bonus tam suspicione quam crimine carere oportet*: That a good Man must be as well without Suspicion as Crime. Yet none so innocent but may fall under the Lash of the Malicious: For such, like the *Polypus*, will take any Colour, or make any tincture of a Crime to serve their Ends. Of such a Virtue is the never-understanding Vulgar, that like Kites and Daws can digest nought but Stench and Filth; their Ignorance being their Faith, and that drawn from loose Pamphlets, and the Vomit of mercenary and mimic Pens; to which, and their incurable Fits, I leave them.

*Meos tam suspicione quam crimine judicio carere oportere. Suet. in vita Jul. Cæs.*

## BOOK V.

### The ARGUMENT of the Fifth Book of the LIFE and REIGN of RICHARD III.

*What a Tyrant is, and how a Tyrant and King Richard differ. The Destruction of the Plantagenets. The Daughters of King Edward how bestow'd. The Death of the Queen their Mother. The Virtues of King Richard the Third. The Elogy of the Three Brothers, King Edward the Fourth, George and Richard. The Magnificent, Publick and Charitable Buildings of King Richard the Third: His good Laws, and other good Works. That to die in the Wars is no Dishonour, but an Honour: Artes Regiæ Crimen regale: His Comparison with other Kings accounted good. King James's gracious Demeanour to his Cousins. A Character and Elogy of King Richard the Third. The Title of the Norman Race and of York defended. The sundry Titles of King James. The Wedding Ring of England. Lapis Regno fatalis. King Richard's Sepulchre and Epitaph. The Author's Scope; Peroratio & Votum.*

What a Tyrant is.

**W**E will next endeavour to understand that Vocabule or Term *Tyrannus* (that is, a Tyrant, or an Evil King) cast upon King Richard; which, indeed, comprehendeth all Scandals and Impieties whatsoever.

*Tyrannus est qui suis propriis Commodis studet, & publicis adversatur. And, Tyrannus est qui dominatu crudeliter abutitur. That is,*

"A Tyrant is one who endeavoureth only his own Advantage, and is an Enemy to that of the Publick. And again, A Tyrant is one that abuseth his Authority to Cruelty.

A Tyrant is, by another Wise Man, compar'd to a Dragon, who becometh not a Dragon un-

til he hath devoured many Serpents: Of which Conceit this Epigram was wittily framed.

*Post plures Coluber Serpentes Draco fit esus,*  
*Gustata humanâ carne fit Homo Lupus.*

The Dragon which doth many Serpents eat,  
 Becomes a Dragon of huge shape and strength;  
 And so the Man which makes his Flesh Man's  
 Meat,  
 Transformed is into a Wolf at length.

Another Philosopher differeth not much from these, who saith, That of all Tame Beasts the Flatterer is most pernicious; and of all Wild the Tyrant, who forbeareth not for any respect of Good or Ill, but studies Oppressions, Wrongs,  
 Vol. I. D d d Exactions,

*Bis apud Plut. Lib. de adulat. 37.*



1485. Exactions, Robberies, Sacriledges, Blood-shed, Murder, Adultery, Incest, Rape, Riot, Gluttony, Luxuriouſneſs, Prodigality, and all manner of Exceſſes: Theſe be his Arts of Reigning, and theſe be his Virtues,

Lucan. *Invident Tyranni claris fortisque trucidant.*

Tyrants with envious Eyes the Brave behold,  
And murder in cool Blood the Valiant and the Bold.

Another ſaith,

Seneca. *Tyrannus miſerum vetat perire, felicem jubet.*

Hercules.

Eurens.

They force the Wretch to live, the happy Man to die.

So it was truly ſaid by the famous Orator of Athens,

Demosth. *Liberalitas Tyranni nihil aliud eſt quam tranſlatio pecuniarum à juſtis Dominis, ad alienos idque indignos.* That is,

“ The Liberality of a Tyrant is nothing elſe  
“ but the Taking away from the rightful Owners  
“ that which belongs to ‘em, and giving it unto  
“ others, and thoſe unworthy thereof.

His Thirſt and Covetouſneſs, for his largitious Riots and Luſts, are ſo inordinate, that nothing can quench it.

Claudian. *in Ruſſis.*

*Non Tartarici illum ſatiaret arenis  
Tempeſtas pretioſa Tagi, non ſtagna rubentis,  
Aurea Pactoli, totumque exauſerit Hermum,  
Ardebit majore ſiti, &c.*

Not Tagus golden Tide can e’re aſſwage,  
Nor red Pactolus quench his avaricious Rage.  
Give him whole Hermus at a Draught; his Thirſt  
Inflam’d demands yet more ———

*Quicquid conſpicuum pulchrumque ex Equore toto,  
Res ſiſci eſt, &c.*

Theſe may ſerve for the Notions of a Tyrant: to any of which Impieties our King Richard was very little, or not at all obnoxious.

Parliam. Ann. 1 Rich. III.

The D. of Buckingh.

Said, That

the name of Benevo-

lence, as it

was taken

in the

Time of

K. Edward

IV. ſigni-

fied that

every Man

ſhould

pay, not

what he

of his own

good Will

liſt, but

what the

King of

his good

Will liſt

to take.

D. Buck. a-

pud. Thom.

Moor.

For Firſt, Whereas a Tyrant impoſeth many grievous Taxes and Oppreſſions upon his Subjects, he took away ſuch Grievances, and particularly, by Act of Parliament, a hateful Tax (tho’ diſguiſed with the name of a Benevolence) forbearing to impoſe any upon the People.

Then, a Tyrant doth not only rapine his Subjects, but ſpoils and robs Churches and Church-men; but King Richard did many good Things both for the Publick Good, advancing God’s Service, and maintainance of his Miniſters and Church-men.

*Tyrannum pium eſſe non eſt facile,* (as Sophocles well obſerv’d.) And the Oracle pronounc’d, *Porta felicitatis ad Tyrannidem clauiſa.* Tyrants be cruel and bloody; but this King, by the Teſtimony of his Enemies, was very Merciful and Mild; who confeſs he was of himſelf Gentle and affably diſpoſed. Theſe be their own Words.

Therefore, where tyrannical Acts be objected againſt him, they muſt be conceiv’d done by other Men, or by their Practice, or elſe before he was King; and what he did then, was not, nor cou’d be properly call’d Tyranny.

Amongſt thoſe they impute to him when he was King, which are call’d Tyrannies, the Be-

heading Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham was the chiefeſt; yet that Act, the Cauſe and juſt Motives of it being well perufed, cannot be cenſured Tyranny; rather due and neceſſary Juſtice: For if the King had not put down the Duke, the Duke would have put down the King.

Then it is objected, he bare a tyrannical Hand over his Nephew Edward Earl of Warwick. True it is, he ſent him to Sbery-Hutton, a goodly and pleaſant Houſe of his own in Yorkſhire, where he had Liberty, large Diet, all Pleaſure and Safety; and if that were Imprifonment, it was a Priſon Curtoife (as John Froiſard ſaith) yet this muſt not be leſs than Tyranny, according to the Stile of Sir Thomas Moor. When King Henry VII. as ſoon as he had got the Crown, ſent this young Prince to the Tower, and afterwards cut off his Head; yet that was no Tyranny, after Sir Thomas Moor. But our King James (of ever happy Memory) hath thought it an Act of ſo much deteſtation, that particularly he proteſted againſt it, and ſhewed another temper of Juſtice and Power in his Royal Clemency to certain Noble Perſons in one of his Kingdoms, who being Regal Titulars, and pretending Title to the Crown there (as deſcended from ſome King of that Country) his gracious and pious Inclination was ſo far from ſeeking their Ruin (or ſo much as the reſtraining them) that he ſuffer’d their Liberty, with poſſeſſion of what they had.

Then they call the Punishment of Jane Shore a Tyranny: A common and notorious Adultereſs (as the Duke of Buckingham, who knew her very well, cenſured her) which ſhe deſerv’d ſo juſtly, that it was rather favourable, than ſevere or tyrannous.

Next, the Death of William Collingborn is made one of his Tyrannies; who (as ſome trivial Romancers ſay) was hanged for making a Satyrical Rhime; when the truth is, he had committed Treason, and was arraign’d and condemn’d of High Treason, as may be yet ſeen in the Record; and then it was Juſtice and not Tyranny.

Another Proof againſt their groſs Paralogiſms, take from this Obſervation made by Demosthenes: *Tyrannus res eſt inimica Civibus, legibus contraria.* But K. Richard was ever indulgent to his People, careful to have the Laws duly obſerv’d; his making ſo many good ones, being an evident argument of his love to Law and Juſtice. It is further obſerv’d, that Tyrants contemn good Counſel, are opinionated of their own Wiſdoms, and obſtinate to determine all Matters by themſelves.

The Plaintiffs being call’d by the Greeks *ἱδρόφατοι*, that is, Self-councillors, who ſay they are *Natura plerumque occulti & inſidioſi, & Arte, & Aſtu, ea Tegere, & diſſimulare conantur, quæ agunt, non communicantes quicquid de ſuis Conciliis, ſententia aut rebus cum aliis, nec ab aliis Concilium petentes, neq; Arribica, admittentes, ſed tantum ſua Concilia ſequuntur.*

That is,

“ By Nature for the moſt part ſecret and  
“ cloſe, and alſo treacherous; and by Deceit  
“ and Artifice endeavour to cover and diſſemble  
“ what they do, not communicating any of  
“ their Deſigns or Affairs to others, nor asking  
“ or admitting of any Advice, but are only  
“ manag’d by their own Counſels.

Alſo Erasmus hath this Axiom; *Nullo Concilio quicquam magnæ rei aggredi, tyrannicum eſt.*

But King Richard neither did, nor would do any thing of importance, without Conſultation with the wiſeſt and nobleſt. And if in any Matters he had deliver’d his Judgment, yet his manner (as

1485.

Comes A-  
rund. viva  
voco.

K. James.

Jane Shore.

Annonymus  
Furtis pe-  
ritus in A-  
pologia  
K. R. III.

Axiom. po-  
lit. cap.  
219.



1485. (as his Detractors confess) was, to say in the End and Conclusion; *My Lord, this is my mind; if any of you know what may else be better, I shall be ready to change it: for I am not wedded to my own will.* Thus Sir Thomas Moor.

*Caligula* Lastly, Largition and excessive Expences are thought Vices proper to Tyrants; the rather, because the Roman Tyrants, for their extreme Excesses, were call'd *Monstra & prodigia, & lues Imperii, pestes reipublicæ, &c.* As *Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, Heliogabalus, Caligula, &c.*

King Richard was ever held to be frugal, with the preservation of his Honour; nor can they tax him with Palliardise, Luxury, Epicurism, nor Gluttony, Vices following many Tyrants; but moderate and temperate in all his Actions and Appetites; which is confess'd, and therefore needeth no further Proof. Indeed, it had been Advantage and Safety to him in the Event, if he had been a Tyrant a while; for then he might have preserv'd his Life and Kingdom, and given a timely Check to the Practice of Bishop

Morton, the Marquess Dorset, Earl of Devon, and his Brother the Bishop, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Stanley, and his Brother Sir William Stanley, with the Countess of Richmond his Wife, and the rest. But his Remissness and Patience bred his Ruin, not his Tyranny; that had been his Protection.

And now the black Curtain of Malice and Detraction is drawn, let us see this King in his proper Royalty and Virtues, casting up the general and particular Notions of a good King and happy Government; then peruse what was wanting in him.

First then, There is necessarily required proper to Empire, Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, Beauty, Magnificence, Temperance, and Piety.

That he had Wisdom and Prudence, need no other witness, than his wise and provident managing, both of his own private Affairs and Government of the Publick. Also in the military Actions, in which he was try'd, both as a Subject and a King; his Adversaries can allow him to be a wise, prudent, politick, and heroical Prince; his Wisdom appearing with his Justice, very clearly in the good Laws he made, acknowledg'd and honourably predicated by our Reverend and most Learned Professors of the Laws.

For his further knowledge and love of Justice, there can be no fairer Argument than his Desire and Custom to sit in the Courts of Justice, hearing and distributing Justice indifferently to all

Justice Shelly commendeth the Laws of K. Rich. 3. to Cardinal Woolsey. Vide Joh. Stow in H. Men. 8. p. 882. Chron. MS. in Quarto, apud Dom. K. Cotton.

And when he made his Progress into Yorkshire, being inform'd there of some Extortioners and foul Offenders, who were apprehended, not tried, he caus'd the Law to take the just current, giving strict Charge and Commandment to all Officers of Justice, for just Administration to all Men, without Partiality or private Respects.

The Fortitude and Magnanimity of this Prince (tho' low of Stature) were so great and famous, as they need no Trumpet or Præcony, being bred from his youth in martial Actions: And the Battels of *Barnet, Exham, Doncaster*; the second of *St. Albans* and of *Tewksbury*, will give him the reputation of a Souldier and Captain.

Being made General of the King's Armies into Scotland, he prevail'd happily in his Expedition, and particularly recover'd that famous and

strong Hold of *Berwick*, which King Henry VI. had so weakly let go.

And in this you shall hear the Elogy of One that was loth to speak much in his favour, yet occasion forc'd him to speak his knowledge, tho' coldly and sparingly; "King Richard was no ill Captain in the War; he had sundry Victories, and sometimes Overthrows, but never by his own Default, for want of Hardiness or Politick Order. Whereunto he addeth, concerning his Bounty; "Free, was he call'd, of Dispencc, and Liberal somewhat above his power. To which I will add one Elogy more, above all for credit and authority, recorded in an Act of Parliament, and address'd to him in the name of the whole High Court of Parliament, in these Words; "We consider your great Wit, Prudence, Justice, and Courage; and we know by experience, the memorable and laudable Acts done by you in several Battels for the Salvation and Defence of this Realm.

Here followeth another general and memorable Testimony of him, and of more regard and honour, because it is averr'd by One that knew him from his Youth, the Duke of Buckingham, who (after Richard was made King, and this Duke became ill affected) acknowledg'd to Bp. Morton, in private Speeches between them, (a) "That he thought King Richard, from his first knowledge even to that time, a Man clean without Dissimulation, tractable, and without Injury; and that for these Respects he was very desirous to advance him, and labour'd earnestly to make him Protector. Therefore, whatsoever the Duke said after in reproach of the King, it may justly be thought to proceed from Spleen and Malice.

There is this Commendation of his Eloquence and pleasing Speech; which tho' no Regal Virtue, yet it is an Ornament to the greatest Princes and commendable. The Prior of *Croyland* repeating the Dispute of a Controversie between the two Brothers, George Duke of Clarence and this Richard of Gloucester, at the Council-Table before the King their Brother, sitting in his Chair of State, relates it thus:

*Post suscitatas, inter Duces Fratres, discordias, tot utrinque rationes acutissimæ allegatæ sunt in presentia Regis (sedentis pro Tribunalis in Camera Concilii) quod omnes circumstantes, etiam periti Legum eam orationis abundantiam ipsis principibus in suis propriis causis adesse mirabantur, &c.*

That is,

"A Dispute arising betwixt the two Dukes, being Brothers, so many pregnant Reasons were adduced by them on either Side, in the Presence of the King, sitting in his Chair of State in the Council Chamber, that all who were there, even such as were well skill'd in the Laws, did admire that fluency of Speech which the Princes had in Readiness in their own Cause, &c.

Then speaking of the excellent Wits, extraordinary Knowledge and Gifts of these three Brothers, maketh this honourable Præcony: *Hi tres Germani, Rex, & duo Duces, tam excellenti ingenio valebant, ut si discordare non voluissent, suum ille triplex difficillime rumperetur. i. e.*

(a) His kissing the two young Princes when they were deliver'd up to him by their Mother, and his shewing his wither'd Arm as he with'd, are no great Proofs of his Sincerity.



1485.

" These three Brothers, the King, and the  
" two Dukes, were of a Wit so excellling, that  
" if they had not disagreed amongst themselves,  
" such a threefold Cord cou'd not, without the  
" greatest difficulty, have been broken afunder.

The good  
Works of  
King Rich-  
ard.  
Fob. Stow,  
Annal.

Let us look upon his charitable, religious and  
magnificent Works.

He founded a Collegiate Church of Priests in  
Middicham in Yorkshire; another College of Priests  
in London in Tower-street, near to the Church  
call'd Our Lady Berking. He built a Church or  
Chapel in Towton in Gloucestershire, a Monument  
of his Thankfulness to Almighty God, for the  
happy and great Victory his Brother had upon  
the Partisans of the Family of Lancaster, and the  
Sons of Henry VI. who before slew Richard Duke  
of York, King designate, and Father of these  
two Kings.

Polid. lib.  
25.

He founded a College in York, convenient for  
the Entertainment of an Hundred Priests.

Richard  
lov'd not  
Wickwood  
for his  
Brothers  
unhappy  
Marriage.

He disforested a great part of the Forest of  
Wickwood, and other vast Woods between Wood-  
stock and Bristow, for the Good and Benefit of  
the People of Oxfordshire and the Places adja-  
cent.

He built the high Stone Tower at Westminster,  
(which at this Day is a Work of good use.) And  
when he had repair'd and fortify'd the Castle of  
Carlisle, he founded and built the Castle of Penrith  
in Cumberland.

He manumifed many Bond-men.

In Rot. in  
Lomo Con-  
versorum,  
Ann. 1. R.

For the better encouragement of the Easter-  
ling-Hanfes (their Trade being beneficial and  
profitable to this Kingdom) he granted them  
some good Privileges, as Polidor writeth.

Charles  
the Great  
instituted  
the Col-  
lege and  
Society of  
Armors  
calling  
them He-  
rals of  
Arms and  
Halten,  
(Dutch or  
Franchis  
words)  
and not of  
Hero's.

He also first founded the College and Society  
of Heralds, and made them a Corporation; and  
(as the words in the Charter are) he ordain'd  
it, *Ut sint in perpetuum Corpus Corporatum in re &  
nomine, habeant Successionem perpetuam, &c.* (a  
taste of his love to Honour, and his noble Care  
for the conservation of Nobility, Chevalry and  
Gentry.) Which Corporation this King esta-  
blish'd by his Royal Charter, and plac'd the He-  
ralds in an ancient fair House, which was call'd  
Yorkime sometimes, after commonly Cole-barbour,  
situate upon the Thames; ordaining four Kings  
at Arms, by the Names and Titles of John  
Writb, Garter; Thomas Holme, Clarenceux; John  
Moor, Norway; and Richard Champney, Glou-  
cester.

For Wales, I have seen the Charter wherewith  
the King created first Richard Champney, Esq;  
King at Arms, by the Title and Name of Glou-  
cester, dated Anno 1. R. III. at Westminster, in the  
Month of March, when the Charter of the Foun-  
dation was granted.

He further establish'd, That these four Kings  
at Arms and the rest of the Heralds, who are  
in the Charter call'd *Heraldi & Prosecutores sive  
Pursuandis*, should lodge, live and common to-  
gether, in that House, where the Rolls, Monu-  
ments and Writings (appertaining to the Office  
and Art of Heraldry and Armory) should be  
kept; giving also Lands and Tenements for the  
perpetual maintaining of a Chaplain or Chantry  
Priest, to say and sing Service every Day, and  
to pray for the King, Queen and Prince, and  
for their Souls when they were dead.

Lastly, He gave sundry good Privileges and  
Immunities to the said Corporation: Which  
Charter was kept continually in the Office until  
within these few Years, but now is in another  
place: The want of it importeth nothing, be-  
ing the Duplicate is upon Record in the Archives,

kept in the Convert-house, now call'd the Rolls. 1485.  
It was confirm'd by the Parliament, and dated  
2°. die Martii, anno Regni primo, apud Westmo-  
nasterium, Baron: And underneath was writ-  
ten, *Per breve de privato Sigillo, de datu predicto,  
autoritati Parliamenti.*

He also built or repair'd some part of the  
Tower of London towards the Thames; in memo-  
ry whereof, there be yet his Arms impaled with  
those of the Queen his Wife, standing upon the  
Arch adjoyning to the Sluce-gate.

He began many other good Works, which his  
sudden Fate prevented; as Polidor thus witnes-  
seth.

Richardus Tertius multa opera publica & priva-  
ta inchoavit, quæ immatura morte præceptus non per-  
fecit. Which Works and Monuments of Piety  
shew not the Acts of a Tyrant. Polidor Virgil,  
being neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian, speaks much  
in commendation of his pious and charitable  
Disposition; to which I refer the Readers, and  
put it to their indifferent Judgments, How ma-  
ny of those call'd Good Kings, have exceeded  
him in their longer and prosperous Time, be-  
ing in quiet possession too of their Crown and  
Kingdoms? Let me add for a Corollary, what  
that of the worthy Prelate Archibald Lubitlaw  
(Chief Secretary, and a Privy Councillor of  
Scotland) in his Oration, when he was One of  
the Commissioners for a conclusion of a Peace  
and Marriage between Prince James, eldest Son  
to the King of Scotland, and the Lady Ann,  
Daughter to John de la Poole; from whence I  
have collected these.

#### Serenissime Princeps,

UNA me res consolatur, & juvat, tua (scil.) in omni  
virtutū genere celeberrima fama per omnem Orbis ter-  
rarum ambitum disseminata, tuæ etiam innatæ benignita-  
tis clarissima præstantq; humanitas, tuæ mansuetudo, libera-  
litas, fides, summa justitia, incredibilis animi magnitudo,  
tua non humana, sed pene divina sapientia, te non modo  
singulis facilem, verum vulgo & popularibus affabilem præ-  
bes & quibus virtutibus altæque prudentiæ cuncta & pronun-  
ciata & dicta in meliora commutata. Serenissimus Princeps  
Rex Scotorum, Dominus meus, qui te alto amore profe-  
quitur, te desiderat, tuam, amicitiam & affinitatem af-  
fectat, supra captum cogitationis meæ; si quid a me erratum  
erit, tuis & divinis virtutibus, quibus commercium cum  
Cælestibus numinibus & societatem contraxeris, tribuendum  
putato.

Faciem tuam summo Imperio & Principatu dignam in- Richardus  
spicit, quam moralis & Heroica virtus illustrat, de te dici fuit statu-  
predicarique potest quod Thebanorum Principi inclitissimo ra parva.  
Poeta his verbis attribuit.

Nanquam tantum animum natura minori corpore, nec  
tantas visa est includere vires. Major in exiguo regnabat  
corpore virtus. In te enim sunt rei militaris, virtus, periti-  
tia, felicitas, & autoritas, quæ omnia in optimo exerci-  
tus principe Cicero requirit.

In te (Serenissime Princeps) præclari Regis & Impera-  
toris præcepta ita concurrunt, ut nihil ad tuam Bellicam,  
aut domesticam virtutem cujusquam oratoris virbis apponi  
possit.

Tu igitur (Serenissime Domine & Princeps) de ineunda  
inter te & nostrum Principem charitate & amicitia, sic age,  
ut Angli & Scoti dilectionis respectu nullum penitus discri-  
men habeatur, sed in unum amoris & benevolentie vincu-  
lum videantur esse comexi, sic numerabiles commoditates  
ex tui, & nostri populi delectatione, dulci connubio, unione,  
Matrimonio, & Affinitate consurgant.

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbra  
Lustrabunt, connexa polus dum sidera pascet.

Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum Pifeis amabit,  
Dumque Thymo pascuntur apes, dum rore cicade,  
Semper bonos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

In



1484.

In English thus ;

Most Serene Prince,

“ ONE thing is to me at this time favourable and encouraging, which is your Majesty's most high Renown in every Kind of excell'g Qualities, extended even into the remotest Corners of the World ; also the most illustrious and surpassing Excellency of your innate Goodness and Generosity, your Clemency, Liberality, Truth, great Justice, Magnanimity surpassing Belief, your not human, but almost divine Wisdom ; you shew your self gentle to all, and affable, even to the meanest of your People ; by which Virtues, and by your great Prudence, whatever is spoken and pronounc'd is by your Majesty favourably construed and accepted. The most Serene Prince the K. of the *Scots*, my Master, out of the high Love and Esteem he has for your Majesty, is desirous of your Friendship and Alliance, even beyond what I am able to express ; the Faults that I may chance to commit, they find a Cause as well as an Excuse in your Divine Virtues, whereby you are become like unto, and are, as it were, entred into the Society of, the celestial Inhabitants.

“ He beholds in your Face a princely Majesty and Authority Royal, sparkling with the illustrious Beams of all Moral and Heroical Virtues. To you may not unfitly be apply'd, what was said by the Poet of a most renowned Prince of the *Thebans* ;

—So great a Soul, such Strength of Mind  
Sage Nature ne'r to a less Body joyn'd.

“ For in your Majesty are Military Prowess, Skill, Success, and Authority ; all which are by *Cicero* requir'd in an able General of an Army.

“ In you (most Serene Prince) all the Excellent Qualifications of a Good King and Great Commander are happily united, insomuch, that to the Perfection of your Military and Civil Accomplishments, nothing could be added, even by the highest Rhetorical Flights of a most consummate Orator.

“ You therefore (most Serene Prince) will be pleas'd in your Royal Wisdom, to take such Measures, upon your Part, for establishing a Love and Friendship betwixt you and our Prince, that with respect to mutual Love, the Difference betwixt an *English* and a *Scottish* Man may not henceforth be remembred, but both Nations may be united by the Bond of Love and Benevolence. So, from the Love, sweet Agreement, Union, Alliance, and as it were Marriage of your People and these of ours, unto both innumerable Advantages shall accrue.

“ While Clouds to th' Sea do roul, and Mountains high

“ Cast fable Shades, Stars sparkle in the Sky,  
“ Wild Boars on Hills, Fish wanton in the Streams,

“ Bees feed on Thyme, at Titan's later Beams  
“ Locusts on Dew, your high renowned Name  
“ Shall ever live, and fly on Wings of Fame.

But what is this, or more, to Malice and Detraction, that haunt him to his Death ; and after that, making the Catastrophe, or last tragical Act of his Life at *Bosworth-field*, an immediate Stroke of the Divine Vengeance, for such Of-

fences as they please to particular from Women or superstitious Clerks, whose Natures startle at the noise of War and Martial Trial, to whose Fears and Weakness such Reasons would sound tolerable. But if Bishop *Morton* and Sir *Thomas Moor* (altho' they were Men of the long Robe) had consider'd with whom they conversed, and where they most liv'd ; how could they forget, that to Die valiantly in the Field, for Country, Life and Friends, was always held a glorious Farewel to the World ; or what infinite numbers of virtuous and most noble Captains have fallen so by the Sword and fate of War.

*Lampridius* affirmeth, That all the best Men have died violent Deaths : And what higher Quarrel could call any heroical Spirit, than *King Richard's* fighting for a Crown, Kingdom, and all his happy Fortunes here ? God hath many times taken away Princes, and changed the Government of Kingdoms for the Iniquities of the People ; why then should not *King Richard's* Fate be held in a modest Scale until we can better know or judge it ? Nor can it be safe to enquire, or peremptorily to determine further after God's Proceedings in such Cases. He that owes him no Malice (things look'd upon thro' judgment and charity) may with more justice say, He died valiantly and in a just Quarrel, when many of his Enemies fell by Death's more vile, and shameful Executions.

But he that hath but a reasonable pittance of Humanity, will censure no Man's Life by the manner of his Death ; for many good and holy Men have suffer'd by violent Deaths ; tho' it be this Prince's fortune to fall under the ill Affections of envious Pens, more than many that committed more publick and prov'd Crimes than he, which wanted much of his Virtues and Desert.

Examine him with *Henry I.* the good Clerk and learned Prince, but so covetous and ambitious, that he could not be content to usurp in this Kingdom the Right and Primogeniture of his elder Brother *Robert Courthouse*, but by force took the Dukedom of *Normandy* from him : And to make his Injuries more exact and monstrous, cast him into the Castle of *Gloucester*, there kept him in cruel Durance, and caused his Eyes to be put out ; so wearied him to most miserable Death.

*King John*, by the general voice, is charg'd with the Murder of *Arthur Plantagenet*, the Son of his eldest Brother, and so the next Prince in right of Blood to *King Richard I.*

And it is written by good Authors, That *Edward III.* was not only privy and consenting to the deposing the King his Father (a King anointed) but also to his Massacre. And because *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Kent*, Protector, and his Uncle, moved him to restore the Crown to his Father *Edward II.* he call'd him Traytor, and cut off his Head at *Westminster*.

How *King Henry IV.* caused *King Richard II.* (the true and anointed King) to be cruelly butcher'd at *Pomfret*, is too notorious ; and this was *Scelera sceleribus tueri*.

*King Edward IV.* is accused of the Murder and Death of the King Saint *Henry*, and of *Edward Prince of Wales* his Son. (*Ut supra*)

*King Henry VII.* (altho' amongst the best of Kings in his general Character) is not thought guiltless of that *Crimen sacrum vel regale*, in cutting off *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, an Innocent.

*Edwardum Filium Ducis Clarencie, Puerum & Infantem, in suam, & suorum securitatem capite plexit.*

And

1485.  
To be slain in War is no evil or unhappy Death.

*Optimos quosq; violenta morte consumptos esse affirmat. Lam. Alexander.*

*K. Richard was slain Aug. 22. 1493. when he had reigned 2 years and 5 Months, accounting his Protectorship; and about the 37th year of his Age. K. Hen. 1.*

*King John.*

*K. Edw. 3.*

*K. Hen. 4.*

*K. Edw. 4.*

*Seneca de Clementia*

*K. Hen. 7.*

*Gul. Camb. den in Brit. & Corn.*



1485. And to secure his Estate, had more than learnt other smart Rules of Policy. That reach of State upon *Philip of Aufrich*, Duke of *Burgundy*, King of *Castile* and *Arragon*, is not the least memorable.

Grafton.  
Holin-  
head.

This Prince *Philip* was by cross Fortune put into the King's Hands: Purposing out of *Flanders* to go into *Spain*, with the Queen his Wife, took Shipping at *Sluce*, and passing by the Coasts of *England*, was by a Tempest forced for his Safety to put into the Port of *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*: The Queen being ill, and distemper'd much with the Storm, was compell'd to make some stay there.

Sir *John Carew*, and Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (principal Men in those Parts) gave speedy Intelligence of this to the King, who was glad of the Accident, and purpos'd to make good use of it, as speedily returning his Command to give them all honourable Entertainment; but not suffer them to depart, until he had seen and saluted them.

The Duke ignorant of this, as soon as the Queen and the rest had recover'd and refresh'd themselves, thought he was only to give those Knights Thanks, and take his Leave; which they by way of courtesie and request interpose, in behalf of the King's vehement desire to salute him and the Queen: a Motion the Duke much preft to be excus'd from, as the Necessity of his Journey stood; but the Intreaty was so imperious, he must stay, and alter his Journey for *Windsor*, to meet the King, who received him there in a Magnificent manner; and at the height of a Feast, propounds a Suit to the Duke for *Edmund de la Pool* (then in his Dominions) a Pretender to the Crown of *England*, and not so soundly affected to him: A Suit of a harsh Exposition, as the Duke apprehended it, and to the blemish of his Honour and Piety, as he nobly urg'd: but no Argument had Vertue, nor no Vertue Argument enough to excuse it; the King must have him, or the Duke must stay. Cast upon this Extream (and foreseeing what Disadvantages were upon him, some honourable Conditions granted, that he should neither lay Punishment nor Death upon him) he gave his Promise to send him, and the King strictly and religiously bound himself to the Exceptions.

The Duke accordingly sent this *de la Pool* into *England*; who upon his Arrival was deliver'd to the Tower; but his Life not toucht until the King lay a Dying; then he equivocated his Vow by a Mental Reservation, enjoyning his Son after his Death to cut off his Head; which was done when he came to be King, and was held some taint to them both; though the Son held himself acquit and warranted by the Example of King *Solomon*, who was made the Instrument of such another subtil Slaughter by his Father *David*, that thought he kept himself by Equivocation: Examples not to be imitated by any Christian Prince, being a Sin; and Sins are to be avoided, not imitated.

The eldest Brother of these *de la Pools*, *John de la Pool*, Heir to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Head of this Family, was Slain casually at the Battel of *Stoke*; and is he who, as nearest Kinsman to King *Richard III.* was Proclaim'd Heir apparent. The Sister of these Princely *de la Pools*, the Lady *Katharine*, was kept close Prisoner in the Tower, until Grief and Sorrow bowed her to the Grave.

Grafton.

Nor is it much from our Purpose to note, that the chief *Plantagenets*, namely, the Children of King *Edward IV.* had but cold Influences then; for the Lady *Bridget* was thrust into a Nunnery at *Darford*, chiefly (as it was

thought) that she should live Sterile, and die without Issue. The Lady *Cecily* was married to a base Fellow, that so her Issue might be ignoble and contemptible; the Wrong being the greater, in regard she was offer'd Matches to her Quality; the King of *Scotland* propounding Prince *James* unto her; and the French King *Lewis* demanded her for the Dauphin *Charles* of *France*.

It was observed too, That this King was but an Unkind and Severe Husband to his Queen (indeed:) they had all but short Lives; and our Stories report he pick'd a Quarrel with the Queen Dowager-Mother, for an old and venial Errour, because she deliver'd her Son *Richard* to the Protector; for which there was a Confiscation upon all her Goods, Chattels and Revenues, and she confin'd to *Bermondsey-Abbey*, where she liv'd not long, Care and Grief twisting the Thread of her sad Fate. And when Death had seized him from all the Glories and Policies of this World, his Son succeeds; and then, *Residuum Locusta, Bruchus comedit; & residuum Bruchi comedit Rubigo*: for, what remain'd of the House of *York*, he gave the last blow to: and after the dispatch of the aforefaid *Edmund de la Pool*, caus'd the Lady *Margaret Plantagenet* Countess of *Salisbury*, then Daughter and Heir of *George Duke of Clarence*, to be Attainted of Treason by Act of Parliament, and condemn'd Unheard being dragged to the Block barbarously by the Hair of her Head, tho' above Threescore Years in Age, Anno 3; H8. Not long after, Sir *Henry Pool* her eldest Son was put to Death, and her Son *Reynold Pool* was attainted of Treason with her (no Man knowing what the Treason was) but got suddenly out of the Kingdom into *Italy*, where he became much favoured by the Princes there, and by the Popes afterward made Cardinal, and highly renowned (in those Times) for his Learning, Piety and other noble Merits. *Richard Pool*, another Son of the Countess of *Salisbury*, fled, and liv'd a banish'd Man in foreign Countries; yet at the height of a good Reputation, until he was Slain at the Battel of *Pavia*.

These be sad Pauses, which my Pen but touches at, to note the Partiality of some on one side, and the Malignity of some on the other side, who have made King *Richard* the worst of all Princes; when other of our own have had as great an Appetite of Empire, whose Fames and sacred Names we gratulate with Honour.

Nor let my just and plain Meaning be mistaken, which urges nothing in Dislike or Exprobation that King *Henry* the Seventh had the Crown, whom our Age must acknowledge a Wife, Provident and Religious Prince, The Restorer of the ancient Line of the *British* Kings to their Reign and Kingdom, Nephew of King *Henry* the Sixth by his Grandmother Queen *Katharine*, Widow of King *Henry* the Fifth, and Mother of King *Henry* the Sixth, and of his Brother Uterine *Edmund Teudor* Earl of *Richmond*, the Father of this King *Henry* the Seventh; and so he was Nephew also to *Charles* the Seventh King of *France*. I only conceive he took it by too violent a hand, not staying *temper bene placiti*.

And here I may fitly take occasion to make up a Defect or Brack covertly imputed to the Titles of the *Normans*, and Princes of *York*, by our vulgar Historians and Chroniclers.

And first, we are to suppose, If there be, it grew by the Errour of King *Edward's* Marriage, by which they hold that Title was weakned (at the least blemish'd) but that could have no continuance, *England*.

1485.

Polidor.  
lib. 4.

Altho' the Lady *Anne* and the Lady *Katharine* were well married, that may not be alledged here; for they were bestowed in the Time of *Rich. 3.* the one to the Lord *Howard*, after D. of *Norfolk*, the other to the Earl of *Devon.* *Robert Glover.* *Joel, c. 1.*

*Dominus*  
*fr. Baro.*  
*Lumley,*  
*viva voce.*

The sun-  
dry great  
Titles of  
our King  
to the  
Crown of  
*England*.



1485. *tinuance, being made sound again as soon as King Richard came to reign, and after cured and confirmed by the mighty Power of sundry Parliaments, by which it was made as strong and firm as ever; besides the aid of the Dispensations Apostolical (in those times Sacred and Authentick.) And without that (if need were) our King now reigning hath other Royal Rights, more than funiculus Triplex; some more ancient, authentick and just, therefore more secured, and of more prosperous Hopes than that Norman Title, which was a violent acquist of the Sword, and a Purchase made by Blood, so consequently none of the Best; which was well conceived by that great Macedon, when he said, Non est diuturna possessio in quam gladio inducimur. Neither would it avail in this behalf to cite or avouch the Donation of this Kingdom, which the Confessor is said to have made to William the Conqueror, being to no Purpose, because that Gift or Legacy was disclaimed and disallow'd by the Barons of this Land, and found to be void.*

*Alex. apud Curtium, lib. 8.*

Yet Time now, and Prescription, have also made that Title good; for Prescription hath power to Ratify and Confirm the Titles both of Princes and of Private Men.

*Clyto, that is, a Prince of the Blood.*

But our King is the immediate and sole Lawful Heir of King Egbert, (who first gave the Name of England to this Land, and was absolute Lord of it) from him, by the glorious Kings, Edgar, Edmund, Athelstan, Alfred, and many others, as well Saxons and Angles, as Anglo-Saxons, the Right and Title of this Kingdom is duely descended and devolved to Edmund Ironside King of England, who was Father to the most Noble Clyto, Edward surnam'd Exul, whose fair Daughter and Heir (a religious Lady) the Princess Margaret of England, was married to Malcom Canmore King of Scotland; from which Ancient and happy Alliance, the King our Sovereign Lord is directly and certainly descended, and is the true and only Heir to the Rights and Titles which were without flaw; so the most ancient and famous Title, and Right of the first Kings of Britain are in him, being the next Heir of our last British King Henry Tudor, whose Genealogy I have seen derived from the Antick Kings of Britain, and from divers other British Princes. And this Henry Tudor (or the Seventh) to confirm all the Titles of this Kingdom unto his Claim, by the strongest and greatest Authority, procur'd them Decreed to him and to his Issue (so established in himself and his Posterity for ever) by Act of Parliament, in this manner and words.

*Anno 1 H. 7. in Parliament in Novemb.*

**T**he Pleasure of Almighty God, and for the Wealth, and Prosperity, and Surety of this Realm of England, to the singular Comfort of all the Subjects of the same, and for avoiding all Ambiguities and Questions:

Be it Ordained, Established and Enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realm of England, and also of France, with all the Pre-eminencies and Dignities Royal to the same appertaining, and all Liegances to the King belonging beyond the Seas, with the Appurtenances thereunto in any wise due or appertaining, To be, rest, remain and abide in the most Royal Person of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Seventh, and in the Heirs of his Body lawfully coming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and so to endure, and in no other.

Which is also another Title to our King, Heir to Henry the Seventh.

And this Act was renew'd and firmly established, for our Sovereign Lord King James, Anno regni primo.

Yet King Henry the Seventh obtain'd of the Pope another Title, *Jure Belli*.

All which Titles and Rights (which ever were appertaining to this Kingdom, and to the Empire of Britain) are coalesced and met in our Sovereign King; for he hath not only the Claims of the ancient Kings of Britain, of the Saxons, and Anglo-Saxons Kings, and of the Norman Race; but also the Titles and Rights of the Royal Families of York, of Lancaster, and of Wales, &c.

And (not as the least, in reference with these) he hath in possession also, those singular and particular Monuments of Empire and Reign, by some call'd *Fata Regni*, and *Instrumenta & Monumenta Regni, & Imperio destinata*.

One being the Ring of the accounted Holy King Edward, the Son of King Etheldred, which was consecrated and extraordinarily blessed by St. John Baptist in Palestine, and sent back by the King (as old Writers tell) which hath been religiously kept in the Abbey of Westminster, and is (as Tradition goes) the Ring which the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Inauguration and Consecration of the Kings, puts upon their Finger; call'd in our Stories, *The Wedding Ring of England*.

The other Monument of the British Empire, is the Marble Stone whereupon Jacob laid his Head, when he had those Coelestial and Mystical Visions mention'd in Holy Writ; which Stone was brought out of Palestine into Ireland, and from thence carried into Scotland by King Kenneth; after translated to the City of Scone, and used for the Chair wherein the Kings fate at their Coronation; brought out of Scotland by Edward the First into England, as the best Historians of Scotland and England relate.

*Cathedram Marmoream Regibus Scotorum fatalem (in qua insidentes Scotorum Reges Coronare consueverant.) Rex Edwardus primus à Scona Londinum transtulit, & in Westmonasterio (ubi bodie visitur) deposuit.*

*Heitor, Boetius lib. 4. Ex Geo. Buchan. Gul. Cambden.*

That is, "The Marble Chair fatal to the Scottish Kings, and in which they used to sit when they were crown'd, was by King Edward I. removed from Scone to London, and placed in Westminster-Abbey, where it yet remains."

It is set or born in a Chair of Wood, and for a perpetual Honour (upon a Table hanging in the Chappel at Westminster) this is writ:

—*Si quid habet veri vel Chronica cana, fidesue clauditur hac Cathedra, Nobilis ille lapis, — Ad caput, eximius Jacob quondam Patriarcha, Quem posuit cernens numina mirifica; Quem tulit à Scotis Edwardus primus, &c.*

—If old Records say true, this Chair

That noble Stone inclos'd does bear,  
On which the Patriarch did his Head recline  
When he view'd Scenes all wondrous & divine;  
This the first Edward did from Scotland bring.

George Buchanan saith, The People are seriously perswaded that in this Stone (which he calleth *Lapidem Marmoreum rudem*) the Fate of the Kingdom is contained, and that *fatum Regni* is thus understood; viz. What King of Scotland soever is Lord of that Stone, and Sovereignly possessed thereof, shall be King, and reign in

*In hoc lapide fatum regni Scotia continetur. Gor. Buchan.*



1485. in the Country where he findeth that Stone :  
Thus told in a Prophetical Distich.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scotus quocunque locatum  
Inveniet lapidem, regnare tenetur ibidem.*

Unless old Saws do fail, and Wizzards Wits  
go blind,  
The Scots shall have the Rule where e'er this  
Stone they find.

*Scotus pri-  
mus Rex  
Scotie, ut  
Anglus  
Gallus Vi-  
spanus,  
Ecce pro  
Rege An-  
glie Galie  
Hispanie.*

Which Prophecy was accomplish'd in King  
James, when he came first into England: for  
his Titles were not only *funiculus triplex qui dif-  
ficile rumpitur*; but also *funiculus multiplex qui  
nunquam rumpitur*. And may those Titles for  
ever be establish'd in his Loins, according to  
that of the Heavenly Messenger, *Regnum perpe-  
tuum, & ejus non est finis*. Amen.

Thus I have led you thorough the various  
Relations, and Tragical Interchanges of this  
Prince's Life, to his last Act and Place, where,  
(after Revenge and Rage had satiated their bar-  
barous Cruelties upon his dead Body) they gave  
his Royal Earth a Bed of Earth, honourably,  
appointed by the Order of King Henry the  
Seventh, in the chief Church of Leicester, call'd  
St. Maries, belonging to the Order and Society  
of the Grey Friars; the King in short time af-  
ter causing a fair Tomb of mingled colour'd  
Marble, adorn'd with his Statue to be erected  
thereupon, to which some grateful Pen had  
also destined an Epitaph, the Copy whereof  
(never fixt to his Stone) I have seen in a re-  
corded Manuscript-Book chain'd to a Table in  
a Chamber in the Guild-hall of London: which  
(the Faults and Corruptions being amended) is  
thus represented, together with the Title there-  
unto prefix'd as I found it.

Could this King be brought off from the horrid Imputation that lies upon his Memory, of much Bloodshed,  
Oppression and gross Hypocrisy, to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him a good King. For in several  
Passages of his Reign, and Publick Declarations by him made, he express'd a Care of the good Estate of his People,  
and a Concern to have Sin and Wickedness checked, and carried himself with a Regard to Learning and Religion.  
Here follow a few Instances.

Upon the hurting of a Constable of Gloucester in the Execution of his Office, the King taking particular Notice  
thereof, and of the Occasion, sent a Special Letter to the chief Officers there, *Viz.*

"RICHARD, &c. To the Maior, Sheriffs and Aldermen of our Town of Gloucester, that now be, or that  
hereafter for the time shal be, Greeting. Forasmuch as we wel understand, that by means of Retaindors, and re-  
ceyving and wearyng of Lyveries, of clothing Baieux, and other Signes, contrary to the Effects of the Statutes by  
our Noble Progenitors heretofore ordeyned and establissh'd in that behalf, grete and manie Divyions and Incon-  
veniences have ryfen and grown in dyvers places within this oure Realme, to the grete troubles and annoyance of  
oure Subjects of the same: And especiallie now of late among you within our said Towne by evyl dysposed Gen-  
telmen, Jamys Gyse, John Burdet, Edmard Brigge, and others in making Affault upon oure Officers, a Constable of  
oure said Towne, not onely beaten and grevously maimed, but also partly in dyspairof his Lyfe, as it is to us  
shewed, to oure full grete dyspleasur. Wherefor We woll and charge you, that if ye have comytted them or any  
of them to Prison, yee do surely kepe them there without Bayle or Mainprize, to soche tyme as ye shal undre-  
stonde oure further pleasur in that behaulf. And if No, to endeavour you thereunto. And over thys, that yee in  
nowyse from henceforth suffre any Person dwellyng among you in oure said Town or Franchises, for to use or wear  
Lyvery of Clothyng bagien, signe or other Connizance, of the Gyft of any Maner of Person of whate State, De-  
gree or Condition soever he be, but only Oures. And that upon the Peine of Forfeitures of their Lyberties, and  
Franchises. And if ye shal know any presuming, or attempting so to do, that yee forthwith without delay com-  
myt him in lykewise to sure Prison, and so remayne as above. Fayle yee not to accomplysh this at your uttermost  
peryl. Yeven at London the 6th of December.

For the checking of Vice and promoting of Sobriety and Vertue, both in Temporal and Spiritual Men, the King  
wrote this Circular Letter to the Bishops.

"Reverend Padre in God, Right Trustie and Welbeloved, We grete you wele; Ascertainyng you that amonges  
othre oure secular besynesces and Cares, oure principal Entent and fervent desire is to see vertue and clennes of  
Lyving to be avaunced, encreased and multiplied, and vices and all othre thyngs repugnant to vertue, provoking  
the high Indignation and fereful Displeasure of God, to be repressed and adnulled. And this perfetly followed  
and put in execution by Persones of high Estate, Pre-eminence & Dignitie not oonly enduceth Persones of lower  
degree to take therof example, and to ensue the same, but also thereby the great and infinite Goodnesse of God is  
made placable, and gracioussly enclyned to the exaudition of our Petitions and Prayers. And forasmuche as it is nota-  
rily knowen, that in every Jurisdiction, as wele in their Pastoral Cure, as othre, there be many, as wele of the Spi-  
rituell Partie, as of the Temporall, delyring from the true weye of vertue and good lyving to the pernicious ex-  
ample of othre, and lothesomnes of every weledisposed Person; WEE therefore woll and desire you, and on  
Goddess behalf inwardly exhort and require you, that according to the Charge of your Profession, ye woll see,  
within th' Auctoritie of your Jurisdiction, al suche Persones as set aparte Vertue and promote the dampnable  
execution of Sinne and Vices, to be reformed, repressed and punysshed condignely after their demerits; not  
sparing for any love, favour, drede or affection; whether th'offendour be Spirituel or Temporell. Wherein ye  
may be assured we shall yeve unto you oure favour, aide and assistance, if the Caas shall so require, and see to  
the sharpe Punysshment of the Repugnatours and Interruptours, if any suche be.

"And if ye woll diligently applie you to the execution and perfourmyng of this Matere, ye shall not oonly doo  
unto God right acceptable pleasure, but over that we shall see suche Persones Spirituell as ben undre your Pasto-  
rell Cure, noon otherwise to be entreated or punysshed for their Offenses, but according to the Ordenaunces  
and Lawes of holy Church. And if for the due execution of the Premises any Complaint or Subgection be made  
unto us of you, We shall remytte the determynation therof unto the Courts of our Cousin tharchebishop of Canterbury  
Cardinal. And thus proceeding to the execution hereof, ye shal doo unto your Self grete honour, and unto us right  
singler pleasure. Yeven, &c. at Westmynster the X. day of Mareche.

And his Care of the good Government and Ease of his Subjects, part of his Proclamation against his Rebels in  
Kent wil shew; *Viz.*

"And over this, the Kinges Highness is fully determyned to se due Administration of Justice throughout this  
his Realme to be had: And to reforme, punyshe, and to subdue al Extortion and Oppressions in the same. And  
for that Cause woll, that at his comyng now into the said County of Kent, that every Person dwelling within the  
same, that fyndeth hym grieved, oppressed, or unlawfullie wronged, doo make a Byll of hys Complaynt, and put  
it to hys Highnesse, and he shal be heard, and without delay have suche convenient remedie as shall accord with  
hys Lawes. For hys Grace is utterlie determyned, that al hys true Subjects shall lyve in rest and quiet, & peace-  
ably enjoy their Landes, Livelodes and Goodes accordyng to the Lawes of this hys Lande, which they be naturally  
born to enherytt. And therefore the King chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner Man of whatsoever Condi-  
tion or Degree he be, trouble, hurt or spoyle any of hys said Subjects, in their Bodies or Goodes, upon paine of  
Death. And also, that no maner Man make ryke, or contrive any Quarrells to either for any old or new ran-  
cour, hate, malyce or cause, or offere make, upon paine of Death. Nor also take Man's meat, Horse meat, or any  
Vittall or Stuff, without he pay truly therefore to the Owner therof, upon paine of lesing of his Horse harnessse,  
Goods, and his Body to Prison at the Kinges Wyll. And overthys, that no maner Man trouble or vex any Farmour,  
or Occupier of any of the Landes that apperteyned to the abovenamed Rebels and Traitors, otherwys than by the  
Kinges Commaundement or Auctoritie. And that al such Fermours and Occupiers retheyne and kepe stil in their  
own hand the Revenews and Mony grown, and to grow of the said Landes, unto the tyme they know the Kinges  
pleasure in that behalf. And the Kyng our said Sovereign Lord chargeth strait all his Mynisters, Officers and Sub-  
jects within the same County, to resist and withstand al Persones that woll attempt any thing contrary to thys  
Proclamation, and them take and surely kepe in Prison, unto they have from the Kinges Highness otherwys in  
commaundement for their Delivery. *¶ 5.*

To



1485. To give you him in his equal Draught and Composition: He was of a mean or low Compact, but without Disproportion and Unevenness either in Lineaments or Parts (as his several Pictures present him) His Aspect had most of the Soldier in it; So his Natural Inclination (Complexions not uncertainly expounding our Dispositions) but what wants of the Court-Planet, Effeminate Censurers think must needs be harsh and crabbed (and Envy will pick Quarrels with an Hair, rather than want Subject). The Judgment and Courage of his Sword-Actions, rendred him of a full Honour and Experience, which Fortune gratify'd with many Victories; never any Overthrows through his own Default, for lack of Valour or Policy. At

1485. Court, and in his general Deportment, of an affable Respect and tractable Clearness. In his Dispencc, of a magnificent liberal Hand, somewhat above his Power (as Sir Tho. Moor sets down). And surely the many Churches, with other good Works he Founded, (more than any one former King did in so short a time) must commend him Charitable and Religious, as the excellent Laws he made, do his Wisdom and Strain of Government, which all Men confess of the best. So having (even from those his bitterest times) the Esteem of a Valiant, Wise, Noble, Charitable and Religious Prince, why should ours deprave him so much upon Trust, and deny Works their Character and Place?

1485.  
Sir Thomas  
Moor.  
Duke Buckingham in  
his Speech  
to Mr.  
Morton.

Epitaphium Regis RICHARDI Tertii,  
Sepulti ad Leicestriam, jussu, & sumptibus  
Sti Regis Henrici Septimi.

HIC ego, quem vario Tellus sub Marmore claudit,  
Tertius a justa voce Richardus eram;  
Tutor eram Patria, Patrius pro jure Nepotis;  
Dirupta, tenui regna Britannia, fide.  
Sexaginta dies binis duntaxat adeptis  
Etatesque, tuli tunc mea Sceptra, duas.  
Fortiter in Bello certans desertus ab Anglis,  
Rex Henrice, tibi, septime, succubui.  
At sumptu, pius ipse, tuo, sic ossa dicaras,  
Regem olimque facis Regis honore Coli.  
Quatuor exceptis jam tantum, quinq; bis annis  
Acta trecenta quidem, lustra salutis erant,  
Antequam Septembris undena luce Kalendas,  
Redideram rubra jura petita Rosa.  
At mea, quisquis eris, propter commissa precare,  
Sit Minor ut precibus poena levata tuis.

Anno Dom.  
1484.  
Die 21  
Aug.

Deo O. M. Trino & Uno, sit laus  
& gloria aeterna. Amen.

Epitaph of Richard III. bury'd at Leicester  
by the Order, and at the Expence of King  
Henry the Seventh.

I Who am lay'd beneath this Marble Stone,  
Richard the Third, possess'd the British Throne;  
My Country's Guardian in my Nephew's Claim,  
By Trust betray'd I to the Kingdom came.  
Two Years and sixty Days, save two, I reign'd,  
And bravely strove in Fight, but unsustain'd  
My English left me in the luckless Field,  
Where I to Henry's Arms was forc'd to yield.  
Yet at his Charge, my Coarse this Tomb obtains  
Who piously interr'd me, and ordains  
That Regal Honours wait a King's Remains.  
Th' Year fourteen hundred 'twas & eighty four  
The twenty first of August, when its Pow'r  
And all its Rights I did to the Red Rose restore.  
Reader, whoe'er thou art, thy Pray'rs bestow  
T' atone my Crimes, and ease my Pain below.

Epigramma in RICHARDOS Angliae  
Reges, ex vet. lib. M.S. transcriptum.

Tres sunt Richardi quorum fortuna erat aequa,  
In tribus aescariis sua cujus propria sors est,  
Nam Concors horum finis sine posteritate  
Corporis, atque rapax vita modus, & violentus  
Interitus fuerat; sed major gloria primi,  
Pralia terrarum qui gesserat & redeuntem  
Tela Balistarum feriunt apud extera regna.  
Alter depositus regno, qui carcere Clausus,  
Mensibus extiterat certis, fame velle perire  
Elegit potius, quam fama probra videre.  
Tertius exhausto statim amplo divitiarum  
Edwardi cumulo, proscribens auxiliares  
Henrici partes, post annos denique binos  
Suscepti regni, Bello confectus eisdem  
Mundanam vitam, tum perdidit atque Coronam:  
Anno millesimo; Centum quater octuagena,  
Adjunctis quinque, & cum lux Sextilis ad est,  
Undena duplex, dentes apri stupuerunt,  
Et vindex alba Rosa Rubra refloret in orbe.

Epigram on the Three Richards, Kings of  
England; the Latin transcrib'd from an  
Old Manuscript.

Three Richards did in England wear the Crown;  
An equal Fortune in the three was shown;  
All Childless dy'd, and left no Race behind,  
Rapacious were their Lives, to Force alike inclin'd;  
Their Deaths were violent. The first excell'd  
The Rest in Fame, and \* Triumphs of the Field,  
Returning home, he on a foreign Plain  
Was by the fatal Darts of Archers slain.  
The Second was from Sov'reign Sway depos'd.  
For several Months in strict Confinement clos'd,  
He chose to Starve, rather than see his Shame,  
And bear the Insults of reproaching Fame.  
The Third profusely spent the treasur'd Store  
That Edward rais'd, but when with warlike Pow'r  
To crush brave Henry's Partisans he try'd,  
Wounded in Fight, he fell himself and dy'd.  
Thus the Red Roses, their Opposers slain,  
Reviv'd and flourish'd in the World again.

\* His Expedition  
into the  
Holy Land.



T H E  
L I F E and R E I G N  
O F  
K. H E N R Y V I I.

By the Right Honourable *FRANCIS*  
Lord *Verulam*, Viscount *S. Alban*.

1485.  
Richard  
the Third  
a Tyrant.

Bosworth  
Battel.

K. Henry's  
Piety.

The Ob-  
sequies  
due to Ty-  
rants.  
King Ri-  
chard's Ig-  
nominious  
Burial.

He mur-  
der'd his  
two Ne-  
phews,  
King Ed-  
ward's  
Sons.

His Vices  
overbal-  
lanc'd his  
Virtues.

**A**FTER that *Richard* the Third of that Name, King in Fact only, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all Times since, was by the Divine Revenge, favouring the Design of an exil'd Man, Overthrown and Slain at *Bosworth* Field: There succeeded in the Kingdom the Earl of *Richmond*, thenceforth styl'd *Henry* the Seventh. The King immediately after the Victory, as one that had been bred under a devout Mother, and was in his Nature a great Observer of Religious Forms, caused *Te Deum Laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole Army upon the place, and was himself with general Applause and great Cries of Joy, in a Kind of Militar Election or Recognition, saluted King. Mean while the Body of *Richard* after many Indignities and Reproaches (the *Dirigies* and *Obsequies* of the common People towards Tyrants) was obscurely buried. For tho' the King of his Nobleness gave Charge unto the Friars of *Leicester* to see an honourable Interrment to be given to it, yet the Religious People themselves (being not free from the Humours of the Vulgar) neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any Man's Blame or Censure. No Man thinking any Ignominy or Contumely unworthy of him, that had been the Executioner of King *Henry VI.* (that Innocent Prince) with his own Hands; the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two Nephews (one of them his lawful King in the Present, and the other in the Future, failing of him) and vehemently suspected to have been the Impoisoner of his Wife, thereby to make Vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the Degrees forbidden. And altho' he were a Prince in Militar Vertue approv'd, Jealous of the Honour of the *English* Nation, and likewise a good Law-maker, for the Ease and Solace of the common People: Yet his Cruelties and Parricides in the Opinion of all Men, weigh'd down his Vertues and Merits; and in the Opinion of wise Men, even those Vertues themselves were conceived to be rather feign'd, and affected things

to serve his Ambition, than true Qualities ingenerate in his Judgment or Nature. And therefore it was noted by Men of great Understanding (who seeing his after Acts, look'd back upon his former Proceedings) that even in the Time of King *Edward* his Brother, he was not without secret Trains and Mines to turn Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Government; as having an Expectation and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reason of his many Disorders, could not be of long Life, but was like to leave his Sons of tender Years; and then he knew well how easie a Step it was from the Place of a Protector, and first Prince of the Blood, to the Crown. And that out of this deep Root of Ambition it sprang, that as well at the Treaty of Peace that passed between *Edward IV.* and *Lewis XI.* of *France*, concluded by Interview of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as upon all other Occasions, *Richard* then Duke of *Gloucester*, stood ever upon the Side of Honour, raising his own Reputation to the Disadvantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the Eyes of all (especially of the Nobles and Soldiers) upon himself; as if the King by his Voluptuous Life and mean Marriage, were become Effeminate and less sensible of Honour and Reason of State, than was fit for a King. And as for the Politick and wholsome Laws which were enacted in his Time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocade of an Usurper, thereby to wooe and win the Hearts of the People, as being conscious to himself, that the true Obligations of Sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King *Henry* in the very Entrance of his Reign, and the instant of time, when the Kingdom was cast into his Arms, met with a Point of great Difficulty and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest King in the newness of his Estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a Deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined.

There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent to his Person, three several Titles to the Imperial Crown; the first, the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with the

1485.

K. Richard  
Jealous of  
his Honour.

Made  
good Laws  
to win the  
Peoples  
Love.

K. Henry's  
Three Ti-  
tles to the  
Crown.











1485. the Party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed Title (both by Plea and Arms) of the House of *Lancaster*, to which he was Inheritor in his own Person. The third, the Title of the *Sword*, or *Conquest*, for that he came in by Victory of Battel, and that the King in possession was slain in the Field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give Contentment to the People, who by Two and Twenty Years Reign of King *Edward IV.* had been fully made capable of the Clearness of the Title of the White Rose, or House of *York*; and by the mild and plausible Reign of the same King toward his later Time, were become affectionate to that Line. But then it lay plain before his Eyes, that if he relied upon that Title, he could be but a King at courtesy; and have rather a matrimonial than a regal Power; the Right remaining in his Queen; upon whose Decease, either with Issue, or without Issue, he was to give place and be removed. And tho' he should obtain by Parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a King that holdeth his Crown by a Civil Act of Estates, and One that holdeth it originally by the Law of Nature and Descent of Blood. Neither wanted there even at that time, secret Rumours and Whisperings (which afterwards gather'd strength, and turn'd to great Troubles) that the two young Sons of King *Edward IV.* or one of them (which were said to be destroy'd in the *Tower*) were not indeed murder'd, but convey'd secretly away, and were yet living: Which if it had been true, had prevented the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*. On the other side, if he stood upon his own Title of the House of *Lancaster*, inherent in his Person, he knew it was a Title condemn'd by Parliament, and generally pre-judg'd in the common Opinion of the Realm, and that it tended directly to the Disinheritance of the Line of *York*, held then the indubiate Heirs of the Crown. So that if he should have no Issue by the Lady *Elizabeth*, which should be Discendants of the Double Line, then the ancient Flames of Discord and intestine Wars upon the Competition of both Houses, would again return and revive.

As for Conquest, notwithstanding Sir *William Stanley*, after some Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Field, had put a Crown of Ornament (which *Richard* wore in the Battel, and was found among the Spoils) upon King *Henry's* Head, as if there were his chief Title; yet he remember'd well upon what Conditions and Agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as Conqueror, was to put as well his own Party, as the rest, into Terror and Fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of Laws, and disposing of Men's Fortunes and Estates, and the like Points of absolute Power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that *William* himself, commonly call'd the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the Power of a Conqueror to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbore to use that Claim in the beginning, but mixed it with a titular Pretence, grounded upon the Will and Designation of *Edward* the Confessor. But the King, out of the Greatness of his own Mind, presently cast the Die, and the Inconveniencies appearing unto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any Inter-reign, or Suspension of Title; and preferring his Affection to his own Line and Blood; and liking that Title best that made him independent; and being in his Nature and Constitution of Mind not very apprehensive or fore-

casting of future Events afar off, but an Enter-tainer of Fortune by the Day, resolv'd to rest upon the Title of *Lancaster* as the main, and to use the other two, that of Marriage and that of Battel, but as Supporters; the one to appease secret Discontents, and the other to beat down open Murmur and Dispute; not forgetting that the same Title of *Lancaster* had formerly maintain'd a possession of Three Descents in the Crown, and might have proved a Perpetuity, had it not ended in the Weakness and Inability of the last Prince. Whereupon the King presently, that very Day, being the 22th of *August*, assumed the Stile of King in his own Name, without mention of the Lady *Elizabeth* at all, or any relation thereunto; in which Course he ever after persisted, which did spin him a Thread of many Seditions and Troubles. The King full of these Thoughts, before his Departure from *Leicester*, dispatch'd Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriff-Hutton* in *Yorkshire*, where were kept in safe Custody, by *K. Richard's* Commandment, both the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *Edward*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*. This *Edward* was, by the King's War-rant deliver'd from the Constable of the Castle to the Hand of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, and by him, with all safety and diligence, convey'd to the *Tower of London*, where he was shut up close Prisoner: Which Act of the King's (being an Act merely of Policy and Power) proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Doctor *Shaw's* Tale at *Paul's-Cross*, for the bastarding of *Edward* the Fourth's Issues, in which case this young Gentleman was to succeed (for that Fable was ever exploded) but upon a settled Dis-position to depress all Eminent Persons of the Line of *York*; wherein, still the King out of strength of Will, or weakness of Judgment, did use to shew a little more of the Party than of the King.

For the Lady *Elizabeth* she received also a Direction to repair with all convenient speed to *London*, and there to remain with the Queen Dowager her Mother; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many Noblemen and Ladies of Honour. In the mean Season the King set forwards by easy Journeys to the City of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauses of the People as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very Demonstrations and Fulness of the Cry: For they thought generally, that he was a Prince as ordain'd and sent down from Heaven, to unite and put to an end the long Dissension of the two Houses; which altho' they had in the Times of *Henry IV.* *Henry V.* and part of *Henry VI.* on the one side, and the Times of *Edward IV.* on the other, lucid Intervals and happy Pauses; yet they did ever hang over the Kingdom, ready to break forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his Victory gave him the Knee, so his Purpose of Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* gave him the Heart; so that both Knee and Heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great Wisdom (not ignorant of the Affections and Fears of the People) to disperse the Conceit and Terror of a Conquest, had given order that there should be nothing in his Journey like unto a warlike March or Manner, but rather like unto the Progress of a King in full Peace and Assurance.

He entred into the City upon a *Saturday*, as he had also obtain'd the Victory upon a *Saturday*, which Day of the Week, first upon an Obser-

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E e e e 2

vation,

The Title of the White Rose.

The Lancaster Title condemn'd by Parliament.

Sir Will. Stanley Crowns K. Henry in the Field.

1485.

Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, Son of George Duke of Clarence imprison'd.

K. Henry resolves to depress all the Chief Persons of the Line of York.

The Title of Conquest unpleasant to the People.



1485. vation, and after upon Memory and Fancy, he accounted and chose as a Day prosperous unto him.

Why K.  
Hen. en-  
tered Lon-  
don in a  
close Cha-  
riot.

The Mayor and Companies of the City receiv'd him at *Shore-ditch*; whence, with great and honourable Attendance and Troops of Noblemen, and Persons of Quality he entred the City; himself not being on Horseback, or in any Open Chair, or Throne, but in a Close Chariot, as One that having been sometimes an Enemy to the whole State, and a proscrib'd Person, chose rather to keep State, and strike a Reverence into the People then to fawn upon them.

He went first into *St. Paul's Church*, where not meaning that the People should forget too soon that he came in by Battel, he made Offer-tory of his Standards, and had *Orisons* and *Te Deum* again sung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the Bishop of *London's* Palace, where he stay'd for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his Council and other principal Persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his Promise to marry with the Lady *Elizabeth*. This he did the rather, because, having at his coming out of *Brittaine* given artificially, for serving of his own Turn, some Hopes, in case he obtain'd the Kingdom, to marry *Anne* Inheretress to the Dutchy of *Brittaine*, whom *Charles* the Eighth of *France* soon after married; it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fix'd in going on with the Match of *England* so much desir'd: Which Conceit also, tho' it were but Talk and Discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady *Elizabeth* her self. But, howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so believ'd, (the better to extinguish Envy and Contradiction to his other Purposes) yet was he resolv'd in himself not to proceed to the Consummation thereof till his Coronation and a Parliament were past; the one, least a joynt Coronation of himself and his Queen might give any Countenance of participation of Title; the other, least in the intailing of the Crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by Parliament, the Votes of the Parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

Sweating  
Sickness.

About this time, in Autumn, towards the end of *September*, there began and reign'd in the City and other Parts of the Kingdom, a Disease then new; which of the Accidents and Manner thereof, they call'd the Sweating Sickness. This Disease had a swift Course both in the Sick Body and in the Time and Period of the lasting thereof: For they that were taken with it, upon Four and Twenty Hours escaping, were thought almost assur'd: And as to the Time of the Malice and Reign of the Disease ere it ceased; it began about the 21<sup>st</sup> of *September*, and clear'd up before the end of *October*; inso-much as it was no hindrance to the King's Coronation, which was the Last of *October*; nor (which was more) to the holding of the Parliament, which began but Seven Days after. It was a pestilent Fever, but as it seem'd not seated in the Veins or Humours, for that their follow'd no Carbuncle, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Mass of the Body being not tainted; only a malign Vapour flew to the Heart, and seized the vital Spirits; which stirr'd Nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme Sweat. And it appear'd by experience that this Disease was rather a Surprise of Nature, than obstinate to Remedies, if it were in time look'd unto: For if the Patient were kept in an equal Temper, both for Cloaths, Fire, and

Its Cure.

Drink moderately warm, with temperate Cordials, whereby Nature's Work were neither irritated by Heat, nor turn'd back by Cold, he commonly recover'd. But infinite Persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the Cure and Attendance was known. It was conceiv'd not to be an Epidemick Disease, but to proceed from a Malignity in the Constitution of the Air, gathered by the Pre-dispositions of Seasons; and the speedy Cessation declared as much.

On *Simon* and *Jude's* Even the King dined with *Thomas Bourchier*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Cardinal; and from *Lambeth* went by Land over the Bridge to the *Tower*, where the Morrow after he made Twelve Knights-Bannerets. But for Creations he dispensed them with a sparing Hand: For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a Coronation so near at hand, he only created Three: *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke* (the King's Uncle) was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* the Lord *Stanley* (the King's Father in Law) Earl of *Darby*; and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devon*; tho' the King had then nevertheless a Purpose in himself to make more in time of Parliament, bearing a wife and decent respect to distribute his Creations, some to honour his Coronation, and some his Parliament.

The Coronation follow'd two Days after, K. Henry upon the 30<sup>th</sup> Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1485; at which time *Innocent* the Eighth was Pope of *Rome*; *Frederick* the Third, Emperor of *Almaine*; and *Maximilian* his Son, newly chosen King of the *Romans*; *Charles* the Eighth King of *France*; *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* Kings of *Spain*; and *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*; with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time at good Peace and Amity. At which Day also (as if the Crown upon his Head had put Perils into his Thoughts) he did institute, for the better security of his Person, a Band of Fifty Archers under a Cap- tain to attend him, by the Name of Yeomen of his Guard: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of Dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of Diffidence appropriate to his own Case, he made it to be understood for an Ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after.

The Seventh of *November* the King held his Parliament at *Westminster*, which he had summon'd immediately after his coming to *London*. His Ends in calling a Parliament (and that so speedily) were chiefly Three; First, to procure the Crown to be intail'd upon himself: Next, To have the Attainders of all of his Party (which were in no small number) reversed, and all acts of Hostility by them done in his Quarrel, remitted and discharged; and on the other side to attaint by Parliament, the Heads and Principals of his Enemies. The Third, To calm and quiet the Fears of the rest of that Party by a General Pardon: Not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his Subjects, when most of his Subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his Danger. Unto these Three special Motives of a Parliament, was added, That he, as a prudent and moderate Prince, made this Judgment; That it was fit for him to hasten to let his People see that he meant to govern by Law, howsoever he came in by the Sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their King, whom they had so lately talk'd of as an Enemy or Banish'd Man. For that which concern'd the Entailing of the Crown, (more than that he was true to his own Will, that he wou'd not endure any mention of the

1485.

Creations  
of Noble-  
men.

K. Henry  
crown'd.

Yeomen  
of the  
Guard  
first insti-  
tuted.

A Parlia-  
ment cal-  
led.

The  
Crown en-  
tailed on  
K. Henry.

Qui terret,  
plus ipse ti-  
met.



1485. the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of Special Entail) he carried it otherwise with great Wisdom and Measure: For he did not press to have the Act penn'd by way of Declaration or Recognition of Right; as on the other side he avoided to have it by New Law or Ordinance; but chose rather a kind of middle-way, by way of Establishment, and that under Covert and indifferent Words; *That the Inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King, &c.* which Words might equally be apply'd; That the Crown should continue to him; but whether as having former Right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it then in Fact and Possession (which no Man denied) was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the Limitation of the Entail, he did not press it to go further than to himself and to the Heirs of his Body, not speaking of his Right Heirs; but leaving that to the Law to decide: So as the Entail might seem rather a personal Favour to him and his Children, than a total Dis-inheritance to the House of York. And in this Form was the Law drawn and pass'd; which Statute he procured to be confirm'd by the Pope's Bull the Year following, with mention, nevertheless, (by way of Recital) of his other Titles, both of Descent and Conquest: So as now the Wreath of Three was made a Wreath of Five; for to the three first Titles of the Two Houses, or Lines, and Conquest, were added Two more, the Authorities Parliamentary and Papal.

Persons attainted excepted against as Members of Parliament.

The King likewise in the Reversal of the Attainders of his Partakers, and discharging them of all Offences incident to his Service and Succour, had his Will, and Acts did pass accordingly: In the Passage whereof, Exception was taken to divers Persons in the House of Commons for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in Parliament, being disabled in the highest degree; and that it should be a great Incongruity to have them to make Laws, who themselves were not inlaw'd. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the Time of King Richard been strongest and most declared for the King's Party, were return'd Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament; whether by Care or Recommendation from the State, or the voluntary Inclination of the People; many of which had been by Richard III. attainted by Outlawries, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this: For tho' it had a grave and specious Shew, yet it reflected upon his Party. But wisely not shewing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a Case in Law, and wish'd the Judges to be advis'd thereupon; who, for that purpose, were forthwith assembled in the Exchequer-Chamber (which is the Council-Chamber of the Judges) and upon deliberation, they gave a grave and safe Opinion and Advice, mix'd with Law and Convenience; which was, That the Knights and Burgesses attainted by the Course of Law, should forbear to come into the House, till a Law were made for the Reversal of their Attainders.

Attainder of the Blood reaches not the Crown.

It was at that time incidently moved among the Judges in their Consultation, what should be done for the King himself, who likewise was attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolv'd, *That the Crown takes away all Defects and*

*Stops in Blood; and that from the time the King did assume the Crown, the Fountain was clear'd, and all Attainders and Corruption of Blood discharged.* But nevertheless, for Honour's sake, it was ordain'd by Parliament, that all Records wherein there was any memory or mention of the King's Attainder, should be defaced, cancel'd, and taken off the File.

But on the Part of the King's Enemies, there were by Parliament attainted the late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of Degree and (a) Quality. In which Bills of Attainders, nevertheless there were contain'd many just and temperate Clauses, Savings, and Proviso's, well shewing and fore-tokening the Wisdom, Stay, and Moderation of the King's Spirit of Government. And for the Pardon of the rest, that had stood against the King; the King, upon a second Advice, thought it not fit it should pass by Parliament, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the Thanks to himself, using only the Opportunity of a Parliament time, the better to disperse it into the Veins of the Kingdom: Therefore during the Parliament, he publish'd his Royal Proclamation, offering Pardon and Grace of Restitution to all such as had taken Arms, or been Participant of any Attempts against him; so as they submitted themselves to his Mercy by a Day, and took the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to him: Whereupon many came out of Sanctuary, and many more came out of Fear, no less guilty than those that had taken Sanctuary.

As for Money or Treasure, the King thought it not seasonable, or fit to demand any of his Subjects at this Parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in Matters of so great Importance: And because he could not remunerate them with any General Pardon, being prevented therein by the Coronation Pardon, pass'd immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every Man's Eye, what great Forfeitures and Confiscations he had at that present to help himself; whereby those Casualties of the Crown, might in reason spare the Purfes of the Subject, especially in a time when he was in Peace with all his Neighbours. Some few Laws pass'd at that Parliament, almost for form sake: amongst which, there was One To reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay Strangers Customs; and another, To draw to himself the Seifures and Compositions of *Italians* Goods, for not Employment, being Points of Profit to his Coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful, and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early Providence (which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his People) could likewise have attempt'd his Nature therein. He added, during Parliament, to his former Creations, the Innoblement or Advancement in Nobility of a few others: The *Chandos of Brittain* was made Earl of Bath; and Sir *Giles Daubeny* was made Lord *Daubeny*; and Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brooke*.

The King did also with great Nobleness and Bounty (which Virtues at that time had their turns in his Nature) restore *Edward Stafford* (eldest Son to *Henry Duke of Buckingham*; attainted

A Pardon put forth.

Forfeitures and Confiscations supply the King's Wants.

The Lord Stafford restored to the Honours and Estate of his Father the late Duke of Buckingham.

(a) Amongst whom was *John Buck*, a Relation of *George Buck* the Author of the Life of King *Richard III.* which perhaps was the reason why that Historian, in opposition to other Writers on the same Subject, endeavours to have it believed, That King *Richard* was both a Great and a Good Man. This *John Buck* was a Creature of the Duke of Norfolk, a fast Friend to *K. Richard III.* *Buck* lost his Head at *Bosworth*.



1485. in the Time of King Richard) not only to his Dignities, but to his Fortunes and Possessions, which were great; to which he was moved also by a kind of Gratitude, for that the Duke was the Man that mov'd the first Stone against the Tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the King a Bridge to the Crown upon his own Ruins. Thus the Parliament brake up.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, the King sent forthwith Money to redeem the Marquess Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left as his Pledges at Paris, for Money which he had borrow'd when he made his Expedition for England. And thereupon he took a fit Occasion to send the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Bray (whom he used as Councillor) to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring of the City a Prest of Six thousand Marks: But after many Parleys, he could obtain but Two thousand Pounds. Which nevertheless the King took in good part; as Men use to do that practise to borrow Money when they have no need. About this time, the King called unto his Privy-Council John Morton and Richard Fox, the one Bishop of Ely, the other Bishop of Exeter, vigilant Men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all Men else. They had been both vers'd in his Affairs, before he came to the Crown, and were Partakers of his adverse Fortune. This Morton soon after upon the Death of Bourchier, he made Archbishop of Canterbury. And for Fox, he made him Lord Keeper of his Privy-Seal, and afterwards advanc'd him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For altho' the King lov'd to employ and advance Bishops, because having rich Bishopricks, they carried their Reward upon themselves: Yet he did use to raise them by Steps, that he might not lose the Profit of the First-fruits, which by that course of Gradation was multiplied.

At last upon the 18th of January, was solemnized the so long expected and so much desir'd Marriage, between the King and the Lady Elizabeth: † Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph and Demonstrations (especially on the Peoples part) of Joy and Gladness, than the Days either of his Entry or Coronation; which the King rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his Lifetime, while the Lady Elizabeth liv'd with him; (for she died before him) he shew'd himself no very indulgent Husband towards her, tho' she was Beautiful, Gentle, and Fruitful. But his Aversion towards the House of York was so predominant in him, as it found place, not only in his Wars and Counsels, but in his Chamber and Bed.

Towards the Middle of the Spring, the King full of Confidence and Assurance, as a Prince that had been Victorious in Battel, and had prevail'd with his Parliament in all that he desir'd, and had the Ring of Acclamations fresh in his Ears, thought the rest of his Reign should be but Play, and the enjoying of a Kingdom. Yet as a wife and watchful King, he would not neglect any thing for his Safety; thinking nevertheless to perform all things now, rather as an Exercise, than as a Labour. So he being truly inform'd that the Northern Parts were not only Affectionate to the House of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the Third; thought it would be a Summer well

spent to Visit those Parts, and by his Presence and Application of himself, to reclaim and rectify those Humours. But the King in his Account of Peace and Calms, did much Over-cast his Fortunes; which proved for many Years together full of Broken Seas, Tides and Tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he receiv'd News, That the Lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford (who had formerly taken Sanctuary at Colchester) were departed out of Sanctuary; but to what place, no Man could tell. Which Advertisement the King despised, and continued his Journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain Advertisement, That the Lord Lovel was at hand with a great Power of Men, and that the Staffords were in Arms in Worcestershire, and had made their Approaches to the City of Worcester to Assault it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound Judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a Rag or Remnant of Bosworth-Field, and had Nothing in it of the main Party of the House of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of Forces to resist the Rebels, than of the Resistance it self; for that he was in a Core of People whose Affections he suspected. But the Action enduring no Delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovel to the Number of Three thousand Men, ill arm'd, but well assur'd (being taken some few out of his own Train, and the rest out of the Tenants and Followers of such as were safe to be trusted) under the Conduct of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his Pardons rather before the Sword than after, he gave Commission to the Duke to proclaim Pardon to all that would come in: Which the Duke, upon his Approach to the Lord Lovel's Camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King expected; the Heralds were the great Ordinance. For the Lord Lovel upon Proclamation of Pardon, mistrusting his Men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after Sail'd over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret: And his Men, forsaken of their Captain, did presently submit themselves to the Duke. The Staffords likewise, and their Forces, hearing what had happen'd to the Lord Lovel (in whose Success their chief Trust was) despair'd and dispers'd. The two Brothers taking Sanctuary at Colnham, a Village near Abingdon; which place upon View of their Privilege in the King's-Bench, being judged no sufficient Sanctuary for Traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his Elder Brother, was pardon'd. So this Rebellion prov'd but a Blast, and the King having by this Journey purg'd a little the Dregs and Leaven of the Northern People, that were before in no good Affection towards him, return'd to London.

In September following, \* the Queen was delivered of her first Son, whom the King (in Honour of the British Race, of which himself was) nam'd Arthur, according to the Name of that Ancient worthy King of the Britains; in whose Acts there is Truth enough to make him Famous, besides that which is Fabulous. The Child was Strong and Able, tho' he was Born in the Eighth Month, which the Physicians do prejudge.

Fox Bishop of Exeter, made Ld. Keeper of the Privy-Seal.

Why the King employ'd Bishops.

1486. K. Henry marries the Princess Elizabeth. † In the 18th Year of her Age.

He hated the House of York.

K. Henry goes into the Northern Counties.

The Lords Lovel and Stafford Rebel.

Pardon proclaimed.

Humphrey Stafford executed at Tyburn.

\* Holinshead writes, The Queen was deliver'd at Winchester, in Sept. 1488. which is more probable than that she should be deliver'd now; for she was married but on the 18th of January in this Year.



1486. There follow'd this Year, being the Second of the King's Reign, a strange Accident of State, whereof the Relations which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce Credible; not for the Nature of it (for it hath faln out oft) but for the Manner and Circumstance of it, especially in the Beginnings. Therefore we shall make our Judgment upon the things themselves, as they give Light one to another, and (as we can) dig Truth out of the Mine. The King was green in his Estate; and, contrary to his own Opinion and Defert both, was not without much Hatred throughout the Realm. The Root of all, was the discountenancing of the House of York, which the general Body of the Realm still affected. This did alienate the Hearts of the Subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that after his Marriage, and after a Son born, the King did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the Coronation of the Queen, not vouchsafing her the Honour of a Matrimonial Crown; for the Coronation of her was not till almost two Years after, when Danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread Abroad (whether by Errour, or the Cunning of Malecontents) that the King had a purpose to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* closely in the Tower: whose Case was so nearly parallel'd with that of *Edward* the Fourth's Children, in respect of the Blood, like Age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the King a most Odious resemblance, as if he would be another King *Richard*. And all this time it was still whisper'd every where, that at least one of the Children of *Edward IV.* was living. Which Bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desir'd Innovation. Neither was the King's Nature and Customs greatly fit to disperse these Mists; but contrariwise he had a fashion rather to create Doubts than Assurance. Thus was Fuel prepar'd for the Spark; the Spark that afterwards kindled such a Fire and Combustion was at the first Contemptible.

Simon an Oxford Priest, lets up the Impostor Lambert Simnell. There was a subtil Priest call'd *Richard Simon*, that liv'd in Oxford, and had to his Pupil a Baker's Son nam'd *Lambert Simnell*, of the Age of some Fifteen Years; a comely Youth, and well favour'd, not without some Extraordinary Dignity and grace of Aspect. It came into this Priest's Fancy (hearing what Men talk'd, and in hope to raise himself to some great Bishoprick) to cause this Lad to Counterfeit and Personate the second Son of *Edward IV.* suppos'd to be Murder'd; and afterward (for he chang'd his Intention in the Manage) the Lord *Edward Plantagenet*, then Prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the Part he was to play. This is that which (as was touch'd before) seemeth scarcely credible; Not that a False person should be assum'd to gain a Kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late Times; nor that it should come into the Mind of such an abject Fellow, to enterprize so great a Matter; for high Conceits do sometimes come streaming into the Imaginations of base Persons, especially when they are Drunk with News and Talk of the People. But here is that which hath no Apparence; That this Priest being utterly unacquainted with the true Person, according to whose pattern he should shape his Counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his Player, either in Gesture and Fashions, or in recounting past Matters of his Life and Education; or in fit Answers to Questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to re-

present. For this Lad was not to personate one that had been long before taken out of his Cradle, or convey'd away in his Infancy, known to few; but a Youth that till the Age almost of Ten Years had been brought up in a Court where infinite Eyes had been upon him. For King *Edward* touch'd with Remorse of his Brother the Duke of *Clarence's* Death, would not indeed restore his Son, (of whom we speak) to be Duke of *Clarence*; but yet created him Earl of *Warwick*, reviving his Honour on the Mother's Side, and used him honourably during his Time, tho' *Richard III.* afterwards confin'd him. So that it cannot be, but that some great Person that knew particularly and familiarly *Edward Plantagenet*, had a hand in the Business, from whom the Priest might take his Aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent Acts, is, that it was the Queen Dowager, from whom this Action had the principal Source and Motion: For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating Woman, and in her Withdrawing-Chamber had the fortunate Conspiracy for the King against *K. Richard* the Third been hatch'd; which the King knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the King, thinking her Daughter (as the King handled the Matter) not advanced but depressed: And none could hold the Book so well to Prompt and Instruct this Stage-Play, as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager Sort that favour'd this Enterprize and knew the Secret, that this disguised Idol should possess the Crown; but at his Peril to make way to the Overthrow of the King: and that done, they had their several Hopes and Ways. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Conjecture is, that as soon as the Matter brake forth in any Strength, it was one of the King's first Acts to cloister the Queen Dowager in the Nunnery of *Bermondsey*, and to take away all her Lands and Estate; and this by close Council without any legal Proceeding, upon far-fetch'd Pretences; That she had deliver'd her two Daughters out of Sanctuary to King *Richard* contrary to Promise. Which Proceeding being even at that time taxed for Rigorous and Undue, both in Matter and Manner, makes it very probable there was some greater Matter against her, which the King upon reason of Policy, and to avoid Envy would not Publish. It is likewise no small Argument that there was some Secret in it, and some suppressing of Examinations; for that the Priest *Simon* himself, after he was taken was never brought to Execution; no, not so much as to publick Trial (as many Clergymen were upon less Treasons) but was only shut up close in a Dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of *Lincoln* (a principal Person of the House of York) was Slain in *Stoke-field*, the King open'd himself to some of his Council, that he was sorry for the Earl's Death, because by him (he said) he might have known the bottom of his Danger.

But to return to the Narration it self; *Simon* did first instruct his Scholar for the part of *Richard Duke of York*, second Son to King *Edward IV.* and this was at such time as it was voiced that the King purposed to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* Prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great Murmur. But hearing soon after a general Bruit that *Plantagenet* had escap'd out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the People, and such Rejoycing at his Escape, the cunning Priest chang'd his Copy, and chose now *Plantagenet* to be the Subject



1486. Subject his Pupil should personate, because he was more in the present Speech and Votes of the People; and it pieced better, and follow'd more close and handsomly upon the Bruit of *Plantagenet's* Escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much perspective into his Disguise, if he should shew it here in *England*; he thought good (after the manner of Scenes in Stage-Plays and Masks) to shew it afar off; and therefore sail'd with his Scholar into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the House of *York* was most in height. The King had been a little Improvident in the Matters of *Ireland*, and had not remov'd Officers and Counsellors, and put in their Places, or at least intermingled Persons, of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong Bent of that Country towards the House of *York*; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled State, more easie to receive Distempers and Mutations than *England* was. But trusting to the Reputation of his Victories and Successes in *England*, he thought he should have time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that second Kingdom.

*Ireland favour'd the House of York.*

The Irish receive Simon the Priest and his Pupil Simnel.

Lambert Simnel, the Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick* Proclaim'd at *Dublin*.

Wherefore through this Neglect, upon the coming of *Simon* with his pretended *Plantagenet* into *Ireland*, all things were prepar'd for Revolt and Sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. *Simon's* first Address was to the Lord (a) *Thomas Fitz-gerard*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*: before whose Eyes he did cast such a Mist (by his own Insinuation, and by the Carriage of his Youth, that express'd a natural Princely Behaviour) as joyn'd perhaps with some inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the Earl's own Mind, left him fully possess'd that it was the true *Plantagenet*. The Earl presently communicated the Matter with some of the Nobles (b) and others there, at the first Secretly. But finding them of like Affection to himself, he suffer'd it of purpose to Vent and pass Abroad; because they thought it not Safe to Resolve, till they had a taste of the Peoples Inclination. But if the Great ones were in Forwardness, the People were in Fury, entertaining this Airy Body or Phantasm with incredible Affection; partly, out of their great Devotion to the House of *York*; partly out of a Proud humour in the Nation, to give a King to the Realm of *England*. Neither did the Party in this Heat of Affection much trouble themselves with the Attainder of *George Duke of Clarence*; having newly learn'd by the King's Example, that Attainders do not interrupt the conveying of Title to the Crown. And as for the Daughters of *K. Edward IV.* they thought *King Richard* had said enough for them; and took them to be but as of the King's Party, because they were in his Power and at his Disposing. So that with marvellous Consent and Applause, this Counterfeit *Plantagenet* was brought with great Solemnity to the Castle of *Dublin*, and there saluted, serv'd and honour'd as King; the Boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the Baseness of his Condition. And within a few days after he was proclaim'd King in *Dublin*, by the Name of *K. Edward the Sixth*; there being not a Sword drawn in *King Henry's* Quarrel.

The King was much moved with this unexpected Accident when it came to his Ears; both because it struck upon that String which ever he most fear'd, as also because it was stirred in such a Place, where he could not with Safety transferre his own Person to suppress it. For partly thro' Natural Valour, and partly thro' an Universal Suspicion (not knowing whom to trust) he was ever ready to wait upon all his Atchievements in Person. The King therefore first called his Council together at the *Charter-house* at *Shine*; which Council was held with great Secrecy: but the open Decrees thereof which presently came abroad were Three.

1486.

The First was, That the Queen Dowager, for that she, contrary to her Pact and Agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the Marriage of her Daughter *Elizabeth* with *King Henry*, had nevertheless deliver'd her Daughters out of Sanctuary into *King Richard's* Hands; should be cloister'd in the Nunnery of *Bermondsey*, and forfeit all her Lands and Goods.

The Next was, That *Edward Plantagenet* then Close Prisoner in the Tower, should be in the most Publick and Notorious manner, that could be devised, shew'd unto the People: In part to discharge the King of the Envy of that Opinion and Bruit, how he had been put to Death privately in the Tower; But chiefly to make the People see the Levity and Imposure of the Proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their *Plantagenet* (c) was indeed but a Puppet, or a Counterfeit.

The Third was, That there should be again proclaim'd a general Pardon to all that would reveal their Offences, and submit themselves by a Day. And that this Pardon should be conceiv'd in so ample and liberal a manner, as no High-Treason (no not against the King's own Person) should be excepted. Which tho' it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a Wise King, that knew his greatest Dangers were not from the least Treasons, but from the greatest. These Resolutions of the King and his Council were immediately put in Execution. And first, the Queen Dowager was put into the Monastery of *Bermondsey*, and all her Estate seiz'd into the King's Hands, whereat there was much wondering; That a weak Woman, for the yielding to the Menaces and Promises of a Tyrant, after such a distance of time (wherein the King had shew'd no Displeasure nor Alteration) but much more after so happy a Marriage, between the King and her Daughter, blessed with Issue-Male, should upon so sudden mutability or disclosure of the King's Mind be so severely handled.

A general Pardon publish'd.

This Lady was amongst the Examples of great variety of Fortune. She had first from a distressed Suitor and desolate Widow, been taken to the Marriage-Bed of a Batchelor-King, the goodliest Personage of his Time; and even in his Reign she had endur'd a strange Eclipse by the King's Flight, and temporary depriving from the Crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair Issue, and continu'd his Nuptial Love (helping her self by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his Pleasures) to the very end. She was much Affectionate to her own Kindred, even unto Faction; which

*Q. Elizabeth Gray's various Fortune.*

(a) The Lord *Thomas Fitzgerald* was Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and Brother to *Gerald Earl of Kildare*, Deputy to *Jasper Duke of Bedford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Sir James Ware, Annals of Hen. 7. Cap. 1.*

(b) His Brother the Lord Chancellor and the Lord *Forster* Lord Treasurer, who were devoted to the House of *York*, the King had written to the Lord Deputy to come over to *England* some time before, suspecting his Fidelity; but he excus'd himself till some Matters of great Consequence then depending were finish'd, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal sign'd a Letter to the King to desire he might Stay. The Lord *Howe* advis'd him of it. *Sir J. Ware, Cap. 11.*

(c) In *Ireland* the Impostor was retorted on the King, as if he had impos'd a Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick* on the People. *Ibid.*

did



1486. did stir great Envy in the Lords of the King's Side, who counted her Blood a Disparagement to be mingled with the King's. With which Lords of the King's Blood, joyn'd also the King's Favourite the Lord *Hastings*; who, notwithstanding the King's great Affection to him, was thought at times, through her Malice and Spleen, not to be out of Danger of Falling. After her Husband's Death, she was matter of Tragedy, having liv'd to see her Brother Beheaded, and her two Sons deposed from the Crown, Bastarded in their Blood, and cruelly Murthered. All this while nevertheless she enjoy'd her Liberty, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards again, upon the Rise of the Wheel, when she had a King to her Son-in-Law, and was made Grandmother to a Grandchild of the best Sex; yet was she (upon dark and unknown Reasons, and no less strange Pretences) precipitated and banish'd the World into a Nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her Life: But was by the King's Commandment buried with the King her Husband at *Windsor*. She was Foundress of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*. For this Act the King sustain'd great Obloquy, which nevertheless (besides the reason of State) was somewhat sweetned to him by a great Confiscation.

Queens-College in Cambridge Founded.

The E. of Warwick shewn to the People.

About this time also *Edward Plantagenet* was upon a *Sunday* brought throughout all the principal Streets of *London*, to be seen of the People. And having pass'd the View of the Streets, was conducted to *Paul's Church* in solemn Procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the Nobility, and others of Quality (especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the Person of *Plantagenet* best) had Communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertain'd him with Speech and Discourse; which did in effect mar the Pageant in *Ireland* with the Subjects here, at least with so many as out of Error, and not out of Malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to go back) it wrought little or no Effect. But contrariwise, they turn'd the Imposture upon the King, and gave out, That the King, to defeat the true Inheritor, and to mock the World and blind the Eyes of simple Men, had trick'd up a Boy in the likeness of *Edward Plantagenet*, and shewed him to the People, not sparing to prophane the Ceremony of a Procession, the more to countenance the Fable.

The General Pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving straight order for the keeping of the Ports; that Fugitives, Malecontents, or suspected Persons might not pass over into *Ireland* and *Flanders*.

Mean while the Rebels in *Ireland* had sent privy Messengers both into *England* and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought Effects of no small Importance. For in *England* they won to their Party *John Earl of Lincoln*, Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Elizabeth*, King *Edward IV's* eldest Sister. This Earl was a Man of great Wit and Courage, and had his Thoughts highly rais'd by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For *Richard III.* had a Resolution, out of his Hatred to both his Brethren, King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (having had his Hand in

both their Bloods) to disable their Issues upon false and incompetent Pretences; the one of Attainder, the other of Illegitimation; and to design this Gentleman (in case himself should die without Children) for Inheritor of the Crown. Neither was this unknown to the King, who had secretly an Eye upon him. But the King having tasted of the Envy of the People, for his Imprisonment of *Edward Plantagenet*, was doubtful to heap up any more Distastes of that Kind, by the Imprisonment of *De la Pole* also; the rather thinking it Policy to conserve him as a Corrivall unto the other. The Earl of *Lincoln* was induced to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly upon the strength of the Proceedings there, which was but a Bubble, but upon Letters from the Lady *Margaret of Burgundy*, in whose Succours and Declaration for the Enterprize, there seem'd to be a more solid Foundation, both for Reputation and Forces. Neither did the Earl refrain the Business, for that he knew the pretended *Plantagenet* to be but an Idol: But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false *Plantagenet* than the true: because the False being sure to fall away of himself, and the True to be made sure of by the King; it might open and pave a fair and prepar'd way to his own Title. With this Resolution he sail'd secretly into *Flanders*, where was a little before arriv'd the Lord *Lovel*, (d) leaving a Correspondence here in *England* with *Sir Thomas Broughton*, a Man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancashire*. For before this time, when the pretended *Plantagenet* was first receiv'd in *Ireland*, secret Messengers had been also sent to the Lady *Margaret*, advertising her what was pass'd in *Ireland*, imploring Succours in an Enterprize (as they said) so Pious and Just, and that God had so miraculously prosper'd the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things should be guided by her Will and Direction, as the Sovereign Patroness and Protectress of the Enterprize. *Margaret* was second Sister to King *Edward IV.* and had been second Wife to *Charles*, surnam'd *the Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*; by whom, having no Children of her own, she did with singular Care and Tendernefs intend the Education of *Philip* and *Margaret*, Grandchildren to her former Husband; which won her great Love and Authority among the *Dutch*. This Princess (having the Spirit of a Man, and Malice of a Woman) abounding in Treasure, by the greatness of her Dower, and her provident Government, and being Childless, and without any nearer Care, made it her Design and Enterprize to see the Majesty Royal of *England* once again re-placed in her House, and had set up King *Henry* as a Mark, at whose Overthrow all her Actions should aim and shoot; inasmuch as all the Counsels of his succeeding Troubles came chiefly out of that Quiver. And she bare such a mortal Hatred to the House of *Lancaster*, and personally to the King, as she was no ways mollify'd by the Conjunction of the Houses in her Niece's Marriage, but rather hated her Niece, as the means of the King's Ascent to the Crown, and Assurance therein. Wherefore with great Violence of Affection she embraced this Overture. And upon Counsel taken with the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lord *Lovel*, and some other of the Party, it was resolv'd with all speed, the two Lords assisted with a Regiment of two thousand *Almains*, being Choice and Veteran Bands, under the Com-

*Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*, *K. Henry's* great Enemy.

(d) *Francis Viscount Lovel*, Lord Chamberlain to *Richard III.*



1487. mand of *Martin Swart* (a Valiant and Experienced Captain) should pass over into *Ireland* to the new King. Hoping, that when the Action should have the face of a received and settled Regality (with such a second Person, as the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Conjunction and Reputation of Foreign Succours) the Fame of it would embolden and prepare all the Party of the Confederates and Malecontents within the Realm of *England*, to give them Assistance, when they should come over there. And for the Person of the Counterfeit, it was agreed, That if all things succeeded well, he should be put down, and the true *Plantagenet* received: Wherein nevertheless the Earl of *Lincoln* had his particular Hopes. After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the Party took Courage, by seeing themselves together in a Body, they grew very confident of Success, conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better Cards to overthrow King *Henry*, than King *Henry* had to overthrow King *Richard*. And that if there were not a Sword drawn against them in *Ireland*, it was a sign the Swords in *England* would be soon sheath'd, or beaten down. And first, for a Bravery upon this Accession of Power, they crown'd their new King in the Cathedral Church of *Dublin*; (e) who formerly had been but proclaim'd only; and then sat in Council what should further be done. At which Council, tho' it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the War, and to draw King *Henry* thither in Person, by whose Absence they thought there would be great Alterations and Commotions in *England*; yet because the Kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their Army together, nor pay their *German* Soldiers, and for that also the Sway of the *Irishmen*, and generally of the Men-of-War, which (as in such cases of Popular Tumults is usual) did in Effect govern their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their Fortunes upon *England*: It was concluded with all possible speed to Transport their Forces into *England*. The King in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, tho' it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the *Irish* as a Flight of Birds, and rattle away this Swarm of Bees, with their King; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of *Lincoln* was Embark'd in the Action, and that the Lady *Margaret* was declared for it, he apprehended the Danger in a true Degree as it was, and saw plainly that his Kingdom must again be put to the Stake, and that he must fight for it. And first, he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of *Lincoln's* sailing into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he should be assail'd both upon the East-parts of the Kingdom of *England* by some Impression from *Flanders*, and upon the North-west out of *Ireland*: And therefore having order'd Musters to be made in both Parts, and having provisionally design'd two Generals, *Jasper* Earl of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, (meaning himself also to go in Person where the Affairs should most require it) and nevertheless not expecting any actual Invasion at that time (the Winter being far on) he took his Journey himself to-

wards *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, for the confirming of those Parts. And being come to *S. Edmonds-bury*, he understood that *Thomas* Marquess of *Dorset* (who had been one of the Pledges in *France*) was hastening towards him, to purge himself of some Accusations which had been made against him. But the King, tho' he kept an Ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower; with a fair Message nevertheless, that he should bear that Disgrace with Patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt, either to the King's Service, or to himself; and that the King should always be able (when he had cleared himself) to make him Reparation.

From *S. Edmonds-bury* he went to *Norwich*, where he kept his Christmas. And from thence he went (in a manner of Pilgrimage) to *Walsingham*, where he visited our Ladies Church, famous for Miracles, and made his Prayers and Vows for Help and Deliverance. And from thence he return'd by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the Rebels, with their King (under the Leading of the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel*, and Colonel *Swart*) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancashire*, whither there repair'd to them Sir *Thomas Broughton* with some small Company of *English*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storm would not divide, but fall in one place) had levied Forces in good number: And in Person (taking with him his two designed Generals, the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*) was come on his way towards them as far as *Coventry*, whence he sent forth a Troop of Light Horsemen for Discovery, and to intercept some Stragglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their Progress and Purposes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwise was not without Intelligence from Elspies in the Camp.

The Rebels took their way towards *York*, without spoiling the Country, or any Act of Hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the People, and to personate their King: who (no doubt out of a Princely feeling) was Sparing and Compassionate towards his Subjects. But their Snow-ball did not gather as it went: For the People came not in to them; neither did any Rise or Declare themselves in other Parts of the Kingdom for them, which was caused partly by the good taste that the King had given his People of his Government, joyn'd with the Reputation of his Felicity; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the People of *England*, to have a King brought in to them upon the Shoulders of *Irish* and *Dutch*, of which their Army was in Substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great Judgment on the Party of the Rebels, for them to take their way towards *York*: Considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a Nursery of their Friends; yet it was there where the Lord *Lovel* had so lately Disbanded, and where the King's presence had a little before qualify'd Discontents. The Earl of *Lincoln* deceiv'd of his Hopes of the Countries Concourse unto him (in which case he

Lambert  
Simnel  
crown'd  
King at  
Dublin.

In June  
Sir Thomas  
Broughton  
joyns the  
Rebels.

The King  
has spies  
in the Re-  
bels Camp.

(e) He was crown'd with a Crown taken from a Statue of the Virgin *Mary* in our Lady's Church near *Damegate*, Dr. *Payn* Bishop of *Meath* preach'd his Coronation Sermon; and the Deputy, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovel*, and many more Persons of Quality assisted at the Ceremony: the Archbishop of *Armagh* refus'd to attend at it. Sir *J. Ware*, Cap. 111.

would



1487. would have temporized) and seeing the Business past Retract, resolv'd to make on where the King was, and to give him Battel; and thereupon march'd towards *Newark*, thinking to have surpriz'd the Town. But the King was somewhat before this time come to *Nottingham*, where he call'd a Council of War, at which was consulted, whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the Rebels. In which Council the King himself (whose continual Vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless Suspicions which few else knew) inclined to the accelerating a Battel. But this was presently put out of doubt by the great Aids that came in to him in the instant of this Consultation; partly upon Missives, and partly Voluntaries from many Parts of the Kingdom.

The Principal Persons that came then to the King's Aid, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Strange*, of the Nobility; and of Knights and Gentlemen to the Number of at least Three-score and ten Persons, with their Companies, making in the whole at the least Six thousand fighting Men, besides the Forces that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, finding his Army so bravely re-enforced, and a great Alacrity in all his Men to fight, was confirm'd in his former Resolution, and march'd speedily, so as he put himself between the Enemies Camp and *Newark*; being loth their Army should get the Commodity of that Town. The Earl nothing dismay'd, came forwards that Day unto a little Village call'd *Stoke*, and there encamp'd that Night upon the Brow or hanging of a Hill. The King the next Day (f) presented him Battel upon the Plain, the Fields there being open and Champion. The Earl courageously came down and joyned Battel with him. Concerning which Battel, the Relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent (tho' it be an Action of so recent Memory) as they rather declare the Success of the Day, than the Manner of the Fight. They say, that the King divided his Army into three Battels; whereof the Van-guard only well strengthen'd with Wings came to fight. That the Fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three Hours, before the Victory inclined either way; save that Judgment might be made, by that the King's Van-guard of it self maintain'd Fight against the whole Power of the Enemies, the other two Battels remaining out of Action) what the Success was like to be in the end. That *Martin Swart* with his *German*s perform'd bravely; and so did those few *English* that were on that Side; neither did the *Irish* fail in Courage or Fierceness, but being almost naked Men, only arm'd with Darts and Skeins, it was rather an Execution, than a Fight upon them; insomuch as the furious Slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalement to the rest; That there died upon the place all the Chieftains; That is, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, (g) *Francis* Lord *Lovel*, *Martin Swart*, and *Sir Thomas Broughton*; all making good the Fight without any Ground given. Only of the Lord *Lovel* there went a Report, that he fled and swam over *Trent* on

Horseback, but could not recover the further Side, by reason of the steepness of the Bank, and so was Drown'd in the River. But another Report leaves him not there, but that he liv'd long after in a Cave or Vault. The Number that was Slain in the Field, was of the Enemies part Four thousand at the least; and of the King's part, one half of his Van-guard, besides many hurt, but none of Name. There were taken Prisoners amongst others, the Countess *Plantagenet* (now, *Lambert Simnell* again) and the crafty Priest his Tutor. For *Lambert* the King would not take his Life, both out of Magnanimity, taking him but as an Image of Wax that others had temper'd and moulded; and likewise out of Wisdom, thinking that if he suffer'd Death, he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept Alive, he would be a continual Spectacle, and a Kind of Remedy against the like Inchantments of People in time to come. For which cause he was taken into Service in his Court to a base Office in his Kitchen; so that (in a kind of *Mattacina* of Human Fortune) he turn'd a Broach that had worn a Crown. Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a Comedy or Farce after a Tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's Falconers. As to the Priest, he was committed close Prisoner, and heard of no more; the King loving to Seal up his own Dangers (h).

After the Battel the King went to *Lincoln*, where he caused Supplications and Thanksgivings to be made for his Deliverance and Victory. And that his Devotions might go round in Circle, he sent his Banner to be offer'd to our Lady of *Walsingham*, where before he made his Vows. And thus deliver'd of this so strange an Engine and new Invention of Fortune, he return'd to his former Confidence of Mind; thinking now, that all his Misfortunes had come at once: But it fell out unto him according to the Speech of the Common People in the beginning of his Reign, that said, *It was a Token he should reign in labour, because his Reign began with a Sickness of Sweat*. But howsoever the King thought himself now in a Haven, yet such was his Wisdom, as his Confidence did seldom darken his Foresight, especially in Things near hand. And therefore awaken'd by so fresh and unexpected Dangers, he entred into due Consideration, as well how to weed out the Partakers of the former Rebellion, as to kill the Seeds of the like in time to come; and withal to take away all Shelters and Harbours for discontented Persons, where they might hatch and foster Rebellions, which afterwards might gather Strength and Motion. And First, He did yet again make a Progress from *Lincoln* to the Northern Parts, tho' indeed it were rather an Itinerary Circuit of Justice, than a Progress: For all along as he went, with much Severity and strict Inquisition, partly by Martial Law, and partly by Commission, were punished, the Adherents and Aiders of the late Rebels: Not all by Death, (for the Field had drawn much Blood) but by Fines and Ransoms which spared Life and raised Treasure. Amongst other Crimes of this na-

1487.

Lambert  
Simnell  
taken.Is put in-  
to the  
King's  
Kitchen.  
Made one  
of his Fal-  
coners.The Bat-  
tel was  
fought on  
Saturday  
the 6th of  
June, ac-  
cording  
to our  
English Hi-  
storians.Aiders of  
the Rebels  
punish'd.

(f) *Polydore Virgil* places this Battel in the Year 1485. But that is not one of the least Mistakes in his History.

(g) 'Twas the Lord *Thomas Fitzgerald*, whom, says *Sir James Ware*, Some do erroneously call the Earl of *Kildare*. There fell also *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* a *Geraldine*, and *Plunket* the Baron of *Kelleny's* Son.

(h) The King wrote to the Mayor and Citizens of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, to Commend their Fidelity, which he next Year rewarded with new Privileges and Immunities. The Earl of *Kildare* and the Lords who had sided with *Lambert*, sent over Letters to the King and beg'd Pardon; which he not only granted them, but continu'd the Earl of *Kildare* Lord Deputy. *Sir J. Ware, Cap. 111.*

In the Year following, *Sir Richard Edgcumb* was sent over to *Ireland* with 300 Men to take new Oaths of Allegiance of the Nobility, and King *Henry* order'd them to come to *England*; where he Feasted them all, and gave the Lord Heath 300*l.* in Gold.



1487. ture, there was diligent Enquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a Bruit and Rumour, a little before the Field fought, *That the Rebels had the Day, and that the King's Army was overthrown, and the King fled*: Whereby it was supposed, that many Succours, which otherwise would have come unto the King, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which Charge and Accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the best affected to the King's Part, nor forward to come to his Aid, were glad to apprehend this Colour to cover their Neglect and Coldness, under the pretence of such Discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the King would not understand, tho' he lodg'd it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the Roots and Causes of the like Commotions in time to come, the King began to find where his Shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the House of York, that did rangle and fester the Affections of his People. And therefore being now too wise to disdain Perils any longer, and willing to give some Contentment in that Kind (at least in Ceremony) he resolv'd at last to proceed to the Coronation of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entred in State, and in a kind of Triumph, and celebrated his Victory with two Days of Devotion, (for the first Day he repair'd to Paul's, and had the Hymn of *Te Deum* Sung, and the Morrow after he went in Procession, and heard the Sermon at the Cross) the Queen was with great Solemnity crown'd at Westminster, the Five and twentieth of November, in the Third Year of his Reign, which was about two Years after the Marriage; *Like an old Christning, that had stayed long for Godfathers*. Which strange and unusual distance of Time, made it Subject to every Man's note, that it was an Act against his Stomach, and put upon him by Necessity and Reason of State. Soon after, to shew that it was now fair Weather again, and that the Imprisonment of *Thomas Marquess Dorset*, was rather upon Suspicion of the Time than of the Man, he the said Marquess was set at Liberty without Examination, or other Circumstance. At that time also the King sent an Ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his Marriage, and that now (like another *Aeneas*) he had passed through the Floods of his former Troubles and Travels, and was arriv'd unto a Safe Haven: and thanking his Holiness that he had honour'd the Celebration of his Marriage with the presence of his Ambassador; and offering both his Person and the Forces of his Kingdom upon all Occasions to do him Service.

The Ambassador making his Oration to the Pope, in the presence of the Cardinals, did so magnifie the King and Queen, as was enough to glut the Hearers. But then he did again so extol and deify the Pope, as made all that he had said in Praise of his Master and Mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertain'd, and extreemly much made on by the Pope: Who knowing himself to be Lazy and Unprofitable to the Christian World, was wonderfully Glad to hear that there were such Echoes of him sounding in remote Parts. He obtain'd also of the Pope a very Just and Honourable Bull, qualifying the Privileges of Sanctuary (where-with the King had been extreemly gauled) in three Points.

1487. The first, That if any Sanctuary-man did by Night, or otherwise, get out of Sanctuary privately and commit Mischief and Trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the Benefit of Sanctuary for ever after. The Second, That howsoever the Person of the Sanctuary-man was protected from his Creditors, yet his Goods out of Sanctuary should not. The Third, That if any took Sanctuary for Cause of Treason, the King might appoint him Keepers to look to him in Sanctuary.

The King also for the better Securing of his Estate, against mutinous and malecontented Subjects (whereof he saw the Realm was full) who might have their Refuge into Scotland, which was not under Key, as the Ports were; For that Cause, rather than for any doubt of Hostility from those Parts, before his coming to London (when he was at New-Castle) had \* sent a Solemn Embassage unto James III. King of Scotland, to Treat and Conclude a Peace with him. The Ambassadors were *Richard Fox* Bishop of Exeter, and *Sir Richard Edgcomb*, Comptroller of the King's House, who were honourably receiv'd and entertain'd there. But the King of Scotland labouring of the same Disease that King Henry did (tho' more Mortal, as afterwards appear'd) that is, Discontented Subjects, apt to rise and raise Tumult, altho' in his own Affection he did much desire to make a Peace with the King; yet finding his Nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a Truce for Seven Years; giving nevertheless Promise in Private, that it should be renew'd from time to time, during the two Kings lives.

Hitherto the King had been exercis'd in settling his Affairs at Home. But about this time brake forth an Occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign Business. *Charles VIII.* the French King, by the Vertue and good Fortune of his two immediate Predecessors, *Charles VII.* his Grandfather, and *Lewis XI.* his Father, receiv'd the Kingdom of France in more flourishing and spreading Estate than it had been of many Years before; being reintegrate in those Principal Members which anciently had been Portions of the Crown of France, and were after dismembered, so as they remain'd only in Homage, and not in Sovereignty (being govern'd by absolute Princes of their own) *Anjou, Normandy, Provence and Burgundy*. There remain'd only *Brittain* to be reunited, and so the Monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient Terms and Bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an Ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that Dutchy. Which his Ambition was a Wife and well-weigh'd Ambition; not like unto the Ambitions of his succeeding Enterprizes of Italy. For at that time being newly come to the Crown, he was somewhat guided by his Father's Counsels (Counsels, not Counsellors) for his Father was his own Counsel, and had few Able Men about him. And that King (he knew well) had ever distast'd the Designs of Italy, and in particular had an Eye upon Brittain. There were many Circumstances that did feed the Ambition of Charles, with pregnant and apparent Hopes of Success. The Duke of Brittain Old, and entred into a Lethargy, and serv'd with Mercenary Counsellors, Father of two only Daughters, the one Sickly and not like to continue. King Charles himself in the Flower of his Age, and the Subjects of France at that time well train'd for War, both for Leaders and Soldiers; Men of Service being not yet worn out since the Wars of Lewis against Burgundy. He found

Queen Elizabeth's Coronation, after staying for it two Years.

An Ambassador sent to the Pope.

An Embassy into Scotland. \* In August, 1487.

The Benefit of good Counsel.

The King Procures a Bull from the Pope about Sanctuaries.



1488. found himself also in Peace with all his Neighbour Princes. As for those that might oppose to his Enterprize, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, his Rival in the same Desires, (as well for the Dutchy, as the Daughter) feeble in Means; and King *Henry* of *England* as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his Favours and Benefits, as busy'd in his particular Troubles at Home. There was also a fair and specious Occasion offer'd him to hide his Ambition and to justify his Warring upon *Britain*, for that the Duke had receiv'd and succour'd *Lewis* Duke of *Orleanse*, and other of the *French* Nobility, which had taken Arms against their King. Wherefore King *Charles* being resolv'd upon that War, knew well he could not receive any Opposition so Potent, as if King *Henry* should either upon Policy of State, in preventing the growing Greatness of *France*; or upon Gratitude unto the Duke of *Britain*, for his former Favours in the time of his Distress, espouse that Quarrel, and declare himself in Aid of the Duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King *Henry* was settled by his Victory, but forthwith he sent Ambassadors unto him to pray his Assistance, or at the least that he would stand Neutral. Which Ambassadors found the King at *Leicester*, and deliver'd their Embassage to this Effect. They first imparted unto the King the Success that their Master had had a little before against *Maximilian*, in recovery of certain Towns from him; which was done in a kind of Privacy, and inwardness towards the King: as if the *French* King did not esteem him for an outward or formal Confederate, but as one that had part in his Affections and Fortunes, and with whom he took Pleasure to communicate his Business. After this Complement, and some Gratulation for the King's Victory, they fell to their Errand; declaring to the King, That their Master was enforced to enter into a Just and Necessary War with the Duke of *Britain*, for that he had receiv'd and succour'd those that were Traitors, and declared Enemies unto his Person and State. That they were no mean, distressed and calamitous Persons that fled to him for Refuge, but of so great Quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own Fortune, but to infect and invade his; the Head of them being the Duke of *Orleanse*, the first Prince of the Blood, and the second Person of *France*. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their Master's part a Defensive War than an Offensive; as that, that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tendered the Conservation of his own Estate; and that it was not the first Blow that made the War invasive, (for that no wise Prince would stay for) but the first Provocation, or at least the first Preparation. Nay, that this War was rather a Suppression of Rebels, than a War with a just Enemy, where the case is; That his Subjects, Traitors, are receiv'd by the Duke of *Britain* his Homager. That *K. Henry* knew well what went upon it in Example, if Neighbour-Princes should Patronize and Comfort Rebels, against the Law of Nations and of Leagues. Nevertheless that their Master was not ignorant, that King had been beholding to the Duke of *Britain* in his Adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the Readiness of their King, in Aiding him when the Duke of *Britain*, or his mercenary Councillors fail'd him and would have betray'd him; And that there was a great difference between the Courtesies receiv'd from their Master and the Duke of *Britain*; for that the Duke's might have Ends

of Utility and Bargain; whereas their Masters could not have proceeded but out of entire Affection. For that, if it had been measur'd by a Politick Line, it had been better for his Affairs, that a Tyrant should have reign'd in *England*, troubled and hated, than such a Prince, whose Vertues could not fail to make him great and Potent, whensoever he was come to be Master of his Affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of Obligation which the King might owe to the Duke of *Britain*, yet their Master was well assur'd, it would not divert King *Henry* of *England* from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a Quarrel. Therefore, since this War which their Master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent Dangers, their King hop'd the King would shew the like Affection to the Conservation of their Master's Estate, as their Master had (when time was) shew'd to the King's Acquisition of his Kingdom. At the least, that according to the Inclination which the King had ever profess'd of Peace, he would look on, and stand Neutral; for that their Master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the War, being so newly settled and recover'd from Intestine Seditions.

But touching the Myserie of re-annexing of the Dutchy of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, either by War, or by Marriage with the Daughter of *Britain*; the Ambassadors bare aloofe from it, as from a Rock, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their Conference with the King, the assured Purpose of their Master, to match with the Daughter of *Maximilian*: And entertain'd the King also with some wandring Discourses of their King's purpose to recover by Arms his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an Expedition in Person; All to remove the King from all Jealousie of any Design in these hither Parts upon *Britain*, otherwise than for quenching of the Fire, which he fear'd might be kindled in his own Estate.

The King after Advice taken with his Council, made Answer to the Ambassadors. And first returned their Complement, shewing he was right glad of the *French* King's reception of those Towns from *Maximilian*. Then he familiarly related some particular Passages of his own Adventures and Victory passed. As to the Business of *Britain*, the King answer'd in few Words; That the *French* King and the Duke of *Britain* were the two Persons to whom he was most obliged of all Men; and that he should think himself very Unhappy if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in Gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a Christian King and a Common Friend to them, to satisfy all Obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himself for a Mediator of an Accord and Peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their King's Estate and Honour both, would be preserv'd with more Safety and less Envy than by a War, and that he would spare no Cost or Pains, no if it were to go on Pilgrimage for so good an Effect: And concluded, that in this great Affair, which he took so much to Heart, he would express himself more fully by an Embassage, which he would speedily dispatch unto the *French* King for that purpose. And in this sort the *French* Ambassadors were dismissed; The King avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of *Britain*, as the Ambassa-



1488. Ambassadors had avoided to mention it; save that he gave a little touch of it in the Word, *Envy*. And so it was, that the King was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertis'd. as not to perceive the Intention of the *French King*, for the Investing himself of *Britain*. But first he was utterly unwilling (howsoever he gave out) to enter into War with *France*. A Fame of a War he liked well, but not an Atchievement; for the one he thought would make him Richer, and the other Poorer: and he was possessed with many secret Fears touching his own People, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put Weapons into their Hands. Yet notwithstanding (as a Prudent and Courageous Prince) he was not so averse from a War, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have *Britain* carried by *France*, being so great and opulent a Dutchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy *England*, either for Coast, or Trade. But the King's hopes were, that partly by Negligence, commonly imputed to the *French* (especially in the Court of a young King) and partly by the Native Power of *Britain* it self, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great Party that the Duke of *Orleanse* had in the Kingdom of *France*, and thereby Means to stir up Civil Troubles, to divert the *French King* from the Enterprize of *Britain*. And lastly, in regard of the Power of *Maximilian*, who was Corrivall to the *French King* in that Pursuit, the Enterprize would either bow to a Peace, or break in it self. In all which, the King measur'd and valued things amiss, as afterwards appear'd. He sent therefore forthwith to the *French King*, *Christopher Urswicke* his Chaplain, a person by him much trusted and imploy'd: choosing him the rather, because he was a Churchman, as best sorting with an Embassy of Pacification; and giving him also a Commission, That if the *French King* consented to Treat, he should thence repair to the Duke of *Britain*, and ripen the Treaty on both Parts. *Urswicke* made Declaration to the *French King*, much to the purpose of the King's Answer to the *French Ambassadors* here; instilling also tenderly some Overture of receiving to Grace the Duke of *Orleanse*, and some taste of Conditions of Accord. But the *French King* on the other side proceeded not Sincerely, but with a great deal of Art and Dissimulation, in this Treaty; having for his End to gain time, and so put off the *English* Succours, under hope of Peace, till he had got good footing in *Britain*, by force of Arms. Wherefore he answer'd the Ambassador, That he would put himself into the King's Hands, and make him Arbitrer of the Peace; and willingly consented, that the Ambassador should straightways pass into *Britain*, to signifie this his consent, and to know the Duke's Mind likewise; well foreseeing, that the Duke of *Orleanse*, by whom the Duke of *Britain* was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his Ambition, and win the Reputation of Just and Moderate Proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one that had committed all to his Will: Nay, and (which was yet more fine) make Faith in him, That altho' he went on with the War, yet it should be but with his Sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other Party to accept of Peace: and so the King should take no Umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the Treaty to be kept on foot, to the very last instant, till he were Master of the Field.

The Fr.  
King's  
Dissimu-  
lation.

Which Grounds being by the *French King* wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *English Ambassador* came to the Court of *Britain*, the Duke was then scarcely perfect in his Memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleanse*; who gave Audience to the Chaplain *Urswicke*, and upon his Ambassage deliver'd, made Answer in somewhat high Terms: That the Duke of *Britain* having been an Host, and a kind of Parent or Foster-father to the King, in his tenderness of Age and weakness of Fortune, did look for at this time from King *Henry* (the renowned King of *England*) rather brave Troops for his Succours, than a vain Treaty of Peace. And if the King could forget the good Offices of the Duke done unto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his Wisdom consider of the Future, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, both in foreign Parts and with his own People, not to suffer *Britain* (the old Confederates of *England*) to be swallow'd up by *France*, and so many good Ports and Strong Towns upon the Coast be in the Command of so Potent a Neighbour-King, and so Ancient an Enemy. And therefore humbly desired the King to think of this Business as his own; and therewith brake off, and denied any further conference for Treaty.

*Urswicke* return'd first to the *French King*, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his Desire, took hold of them, and said, That the Ambassador might perceive now that which he for his part partly imagined before. That considering in what Hands the Duke of *Britain* was, there would be no Peace, but by a mixt Treaty of Force and Perswasion. And therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the King not to desist from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the King's Power to rule him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly represented unto the King by *Urswicke* at his Return, and in such a fashion as if the Treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stay'd for a better Hour, till the Hammer had wrought, and beat the Party of *Britain* more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually Packets and Dispatches between the two Kings, from the one out of Desire, and from the other out of Dissimulation, about the Negotiation of Peace. The *French King* mean while invaded *Britain* with great Forces, and distress'd the City of *Nants* with a strait Siege, and (as one, who tho' he had no great Judgment, yet had that, that he could dissemble home) the more he did urge the Prosecution of the War, the more he did at the same time urge the Solicitation of the Peace. Infomuch as during the Siege of *Nants*, after many Letters and particular Messages, the better to maintain his Dissimulation, and to refresh the Treaty; he sent *Bernard Daubigny* (a Person of good Quality) to the King, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the Business howsoever.

The Fr.  
King a  
Dissem-  
bler.

The King was no less ready to revive and quicken the Treaty: And thereupon sent three Commissioners, the Abbot of *Abington*, † Sir *Richard Tunstall* and Chaplain *Urswicke* formerly imploy'd, to do their utmost Endeavors, to manage the Treaty roundly and strongly.

The Lord  
*Bernard*  
*Daubigny*  
a Scotch-  
man.

About this time the Lord *Woodville*, (Uncle to the Queen) a Valiant Gentleman and desirous of Honour, sued to the King, that he might raise some Power of Voluntaries under-hand, and without Licence or Passport (wherein the King might any ways appear) go to the Aid of the Duke

1488.

The Lord  
*Woodville*  
Volunta-  
rily goes  
to Aid the  
*Bretons*.

Duke



1488. Duke of *Brittain*. The King denied his Request (or at least seemed so to do) and lay'd strait Commandment upon him, that he should not stir, for that the King thought his Honour would suffer therein during a *Treaty*, to better a Party. Nevertheless this Lord (either being unruly, or out of conceit that the King would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow) sail'd secretly over into the Isle of *Wight*, whereof he was Governour, and levied a fair Troop of four Hundred Men, and with them passed over into *Brittain*, and joynd himself with the Duke's Forces. The News whereof when it came to the *French* Court, put divers Young Bloods into such a Furie, as the *English* Ambassadors were not without Peril to be outraged. But the *French* King both to preserve the Priviledge of Ambassadors, and being conscious to himself that in the Business of Peace, he himself was the greater Dissembler of the two, forbade all Injuries of Fact or Word, against their Persons, or Followers. And presently came an Agent from the King, to purge himself touching the Lord *Woodville's* going over, using for a principal Argument, to demonstrate that it was without his Privy, for that the Tropes were so small, as neither had the Face of a Succour by Authority; nor could much advance the *Brittain* Affairs. To which Message, although the *French* King gave no full Credit, yet he made fair Weather with the King, and seemed satisfied: Some after the *English* Ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the Duke of *Brittain*, and found things in no other Terms, than they were before. Upon their return, they inform'd the King of the State of the Affairs, and how far the *French* King was from any true meaning of Peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other Course. Neither was the King himself lead all this while with Credulity merely, as was generally supposed: But his Error was not so much Facility of Belief, as an ill Measuring of the Forces of the other Partie.

For (as was partly touch'd before) the King had cast the Business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own Judgment, that the War of *Brittain*, in respect of the Strength of the Towns, and of the Party; could not speedily come to a Period. For he conceiv'd that the Counsels of a War, that was undertaken by the *French* King, then Childless, against an Heir-apparent of *France*, would be very Faint and Slow. And besides, that it was not possible, but that the State of *France* should be imbroil'd with some Troubles and Alterations in Favour of the Duke of *Orleanse*. He conceived likewise, that *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, was a Prince Warlike and Potent; who (he made account) would give Succours to the *Brittains* roundly. So then judging it would be a Worke of Time, he laid his Plot, how he might best make use of that Time, for his own Affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his Vantage upon his Parliament; knowing that they being Affectionate unto the Quarrel of *Brittain*, would give Treasure largely. Which Treasure, as a Noise of War might draw forth; so a Peace succeeding might Coffer up. And because he knew his People were hot upon the Business, he chose rather to seem to be deceiv'd, and lull'd asleepe by the *French*, than to be backward in himself; considering his Subjects were not so fully capable of the Reasons of State, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on Foot a continual Treatie of Peace;

laying it down, and taking it up again, as the Occurrence requir'd. Besides, he had in consideration the point of Honour in bearing the blessed Person of a Pacificator. Hee thought likewise to make use of the Envie, that the *French* King met with, by occasion of this War of *Brittain*, in strengthening himself with new Alliances; as namely that of *Ferdinando* of *Spain*, with whom he had ever a consent even in Nature and Customs; and likewise with *Maximilian*, who was particularly interess'd. So that in Substance he promised himself Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the End. But those things were too fine to be fortunate, and succeed in all parts; for that great Affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer Edges, or Points of Wit. The King was likewise deceived in his two main Grounds. For although he had Reason to conceive, that the Council of *France* would be wary to put the King into a War against the Heir-apparent of *France*; yet he did not consider, that *Charles* was not guided by any of the Principal of the Blood or Nobility, but by mean Men, who would make it their Master-piece of Credit and Favour, to give Venturous Counsels, which no great or Wise Man durst, or would. And for *Maximilian*, he was thought then a Greater-matter than he was; his unstable and Necessitous Courses being not then known.

After Consultation with the Ambassadors, who brought him no other News, than he expected before (though he would not seeme to know it till then) he presently summoned his Parliament, and in open Parliament propounded the Cause of *Brittain* to both Houses, by his Chancellor *Morton* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who spake to this Effect.

"MY Lords and Masters; The King's Grace our Sovereign Lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the Causes that have moved him at this time to Summon this his Parliament; which I shall do in few Words, craving Pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

"His Grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful Memorie the Love and Loyalty shewed to him by you, at your last meeting, in Establishment of his Royaltie; freeing and discharging of his Partakers, and Confiscation of his Traytors and Rebels: more than which could not come from Subjects to their Sovereign, in one Action. This he taketh so well at your Hands, as he hath made it a Resolution to himself, to communicate with so loving and well approved Subjects, in all Affairs that are of publick Nature, at home or abroad.

"Two therefore are the Causes of your present Assembling: the one, a foreign Business; the other, matter of Government at Home.

"The *French* King (as no doubt ye have heard) maketh at this present hot War upon the Duke of *Brittain*. His Army is now before *Nantes*, and holdeth it straightly besieg'd being the Principal City (if not in Ceremonie and Preheminence, yet in Strength and Wealth) of that Dutchie. Ye may guess at his Hopes, by his attempting of the Hardest part of the War first. The Cause of this War he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of *Orleanse*, and some other *French* Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others divine of other Matters. Both parts have by their Ambassadors divers times prayed the

"King's

The English Ambassadors in Danger at the French Court.

1488. The King mediates a Peace between the French King and Duke of Bretagne.

The French Kings Council mean various things. Their Counsel different from that of the Nobles and in what

A Parliament summoned.

The King thanks the Commons for their Loyalty and Love.



1488.  
And de-  
sir'd by  
the Duke  
of Bre-  
tagne.

The King  
asks Ad-  
vice of the  
Parlia-  
ment.

Peace to  
be desir'd,  
but with  
two Con-  
ditions.

King Hen-  
ry was forc-  
ed to fly  
out of Bre-  
tagne into  
France.

King's Aids: The *French* King Aids, or New-  
trality; the *Britons* Aids simply; for so their  
Case requireth. The King, as a Christian  
Prince, and Blessed Son of the Holy Church  
hath offered himself as a Mediator, to treat  
a Peace between them. The *French* King  
yeildeth to treat, but will not stay the Prose-  
cution of the War. The *Britons*, that desire  
Peace most, hearken to it least; not upon  
Confidence or Stiffness, but upon Distrust of  
true Meaning, seeing the War goes on. So  
as the King, after as much Pains and Care to  
effect a Peace, as ever he took in any Busi-  
ness, not being able to remove the Prosecu-  
tion on the one Side, nor the Distrust on  
the other, caused by that Prosecution, hath  
let fall the Treatie; not repenting of it, but  
despising of it now, as not likely to succeed.  
Therefore by this Narrative you now under-  
stand the State of the Question, whereupon  
the King prayeth your Advice: which is no  
other, but whether he shall enter into an  
Auxiliary and Defensive War for the *Britons*  
against *France*.

And the better to open your understandings  
in this Affair, the King hath commanded me  
to say somewhat to you from him, of the  
Persons that do intervene in this Business;  
and somewhat of the Consequence thereof,  
as it hath relation to this Kingdom; and  
somewhat of the Example of it in general:  
Making nevertheless no Conclusion or Judg-  
ment of any Point, untill his Grace hath re-  
ceived your faithful and politick Advices.

First, for the King our Sovereign him-  
self, who is the principal Person you are to  
eye in this Business; his Grace doth Profess,  
that he truly and constantly desireth to reign  
in Peace. But his Grace saith, he will neither  
buy Peace with Dishonour, nor take it up at  
Interest of Danger to ensue; but shall think  
it a good Change, if it please God to change  
the inward Troubles and Seditions, where-  
with he hath been hitherto exercised, into  
an honourable Foreign War. And for the  
other two Persons in this Action, the *French*  
King, and the Duke of *Brittain*, his Grace  
doth declare unto you, that they be the Men,  
unto whom he is of all other Friends and Al-  
lies most bounden: the one having held over  
him his Hand of Protection from the Tyrant;  
the Other having reacht forth unto him his  
Hand of Help, for the Recovery of his King-  
dom. So that his Affection toward them in  
his natural Person, is upon equal Terms. And  
whereas you may have heard, that his Grace  
was enforced to flie out of *Brittain* into *France*,  
for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace  
would not in any sort have that reflect upon  
the Duke of *Brittain*, in Defacement of his  
former Benefits: For that he is thoroughly in-  
formed, that it was but the Practice of some  
corrupt Persons about him, during the time  
of his Sickness, altogether without his Consent  
or Privity.

But howsoever these things do interefs his  
Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well,  
that the higher Bond that tyeth him to pro-  
cure by all means the Safety and Welfare of  
his loving Subjects, doth dis-interefs him of  
these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise  
than thus: That if his Grace be forced to  
make a War, he do it without Passion, or  
Ambition.

For the consequence of this Action towards  
this Kingdom, it is much as the *French* Kings  
intention is. For if it be no more, but to

range his Subjects to Reason, who bear them-  
selves stout upon the Strength of the Duke of  
*Brittain*, it is nothing to us. But if it be in  
the *French* King's purpose, or if it should not  
be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one  
as if it were sought, that the *French* King  
shall make a Province of *Brittain*, and joyn  
it to the Crown of *France*: then it is worthy  
the consideration, how this may import *Eng-  
land*, as well in the Increase of the great-  
ness of *France*, by the Addition of such a  
Country, that stretcheth his Boughes unto  
our Seas, as in depriving this Nation, and  
leaving it naked of so firm and assured Con-  
federates, as the *Brittains* have always been.  
For then it will come to pass, that whereas  
not long since, this Realm was mighty upon  
the Continent, first in Territory, and after  
in Alliance, in respect of *Burgundy* and *Brit-  
tain*, which were Confederates indeed, but  
dependant Confederates; now the one being  
already cast, partly into the Greatness of  
*France*, and partly into that of *Austria*, the  
other is like wholly to be cast into the great-  
ness of *France*, and this Island shall remain con-  
fined in Effect within the Salt Waters, and  
Girt about with the Coast-Countries of two  
Mighty Monarchs.

For the Example, it resteth likewise upon  
the same Question, upon the *French* King's  
Intent. For if *Brittain* be carried and  
swallowed up by *France*, as the World a-  
broad (apt to impute and construe the  
Actions of Princes to Ambition) con-  
ceive it will; then it is an Example very dan-  
gerous and universal, that the lesser Neigh-  
bour Estate should be devoured of the greater.  
For this may be the Case of *Scotland* to-  
wards *England*; of *Portugal*, towards *Spain*;  
of the smaller Estates of *Italy*, towards the  
greater; and so of *Germany*; or as if some  
of you of the Commons, might not live and  
dwell safely, besides some of these great  
Lords. And the bringing in of this Ex-  
ample, will be chiefly laid to the King's  
Charge, as to him that was most interef-  
sed and most able to forbid it. But then on  
the other Side, there is so fair a Pretext  
on the *French* King's Part (and yet Pretext is  
never wanting to Power) in regard the dan-  
ger imminent to his own Estate is such, as  
may make this Enterprize seem rather a  
Work of Necessity, than of Ambition, as  
doth in reason correct the Danger of the  
Example. For that the Example of that  
which is done in a Man's own Defence, cannot  
be dangerous; because it is in another's Pow-  
er to avoid it. But in all this Business, the  
King remits himself to your Grave and  
Mature Advice, whereupon he purposeth to  
rely.

1488.

He again  
asks their  
Advice.

This was the Effect of the Lord Chancellor's  
Speech touching the Cause of *Brittain*: For the  
King had commanded him to carry it so, as to  
affect the Parliament towards the Business; but  
without engaging the King in any expresse De-  
claration.

The Chancellor went on:

FOR that which may concern the Go-  
vernment at home, the King hath  
commanded me to say unto you; That he  
thinketh there was never any King (for the  
small time that he hath reign'd) had greater  
and juster Cause of the two contrary Passions  
of

The Lord  
Chancel-  
lor Mor-  
son's  
Speech.



1488. " of Joy, and Sorrow, than his Grace hath.  
 " Joy, in respect of the rare and visible Fa-  
 " vours of Almighty God, in Girding the Im-  
 " perial Sword upon his Side, and assisting the  
 " same his Sword against all his Enemies; and  
 " likewise in blessing him with so many good  
 " and loving Servants and Subjects, which have  
 " never fail'd to give him faithful Counsel,  
 " ready Obedience, and courageous Defence.  
 " Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God  
 " to suffer him to sheath his Sword (as he great-  
 " ly desired otherwise than for Administration  
 " of Justice) but that he hath been forced to  
 " draw it so oft, to cut off traiterous and dis-  
 " loyal Subjects, whom (it seems) God hath  
 " left (a few amongst many good) as the *Cana-*  
 " *anites* among the People of *Israel*, to be Thorns  
 " in their Sides, to tempt and try them; tho'  
 " the end hath been always (God's Name be  
 " blessed therefore) that the Destruction hath  
 " fallen upon their own Heads.

How Re-  
bellion is  
to be pre-  
vented.

" Wherefore his Grace saith, That he seeth  
 " that it is not the Blood spilt in the Field, that  
 " will save the Blood in the City; nor the Mar-  
 " shal's Sword, that will set this Kingdom in  
 " perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to  
 " stop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in  
 " their Beginnings; and for that purpose to  
 " devise, confirm, and quicken good and whol-  
 " som Laws, against Riots, and Unlawful As-  
 " semblies of People, and all Combinations and  
 " Confederacies of them, by Liveries, Tokens,  
 " and other Badges of factious Dependence;  
 " that the Peace of the Land may by these Or-  
 " dinances, as by Bars of Iron, be soundly bound  
 " in and strengthened, and all Force both in  
 " Court, Country, and Private Houses, be sup-  
 " pressed. The Care hereof, which so much  
 " concerneth your selves, and which the Na-  
 " ture of the Times doth instantly call for, his  
 " Grace commends to your Wisdoms.

Trade to  
be Confi-  
der'd.

" And because it is the King's Desire, that  
 " this Peace, wherein he hopeth to Govern and  
 " Maintain you, do not bear only unto you  
 " Leaves for you to Sit under the Shade of them  
 " in Safety; but also should bear you Fruit of  
 " Riches, Wealth and Plenty: Therefore his  
 " Grace prays you, to take into Consideration  
 " Matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures  
 " of the Kingdom, and to repress the bastard  
 " and barren Employment of Moneys, to Usury  
 " and Unlawful Exchanges, that they may be  
 " (as their Natural use is) turned upon Com-  
 " merce, and Lawful and Royal Trading. And  
 " likewise, that our People be set on work in  
 " Arts and Handicrafts; that the Realm may  
 " subsist more of it self; that Idleness be avoid-  
 " ed, and the draining out of our Treasure, for  
 " foreign Manufactures, stopped. But you are  
 " not to rest here only, but to provide further,  
 " that whatsoever Merchandize shall be brought  
 " in from beyond the Seas, may be employ'd  
 " upon the Commodities of this Land; where-  
 " by the Kingdom's Stock of Treasure may be  
 " sure to be kept from being diminished, by any  
 " over-trading of the Foreigner.

Foreign  
Manufa-  
ctures dis-  
courag'd.

" And lastly, because the King is well assur-  
 " ed, that you would not have him Poor, that  
 " wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but that  
 " you will have Care, as well to maintain his  
 " Revenues, of Customs, and all other Natures,  
 " as also to supply him with your loving Aids,  
 " if the Case shall so require. The rather, for  
 " that you know the King is a good Husband,  
 " and but a Steward in effect for the Publick;  
 " and that what comes from you is but as Moi-  
 " sture drawn from the Earth, which gathers

1488. " into a Cloud, and falls back upon the Earth  
 " again. And you know well, how the King-  
 " doms about you grow more and more in Great-  
 " ness, and the Times are stirring; and there-  
 " fore not fit to find the King with an empty  
 " Purse. More I have not to say to you; and  
 " wish, that what hath been said, had been bet-  
 " ter express'd: But that your Wisdoms and  
 " good Affections will supply. God bless your  
 " Doings.

It was no hard Matter to dispose and affect  
 the Parliament in this Business; as well in re-  
 spect of the Emulation between the Nations, The Emu-  
 and the Envy at the late growth of the *French* lation be-  
 Monarchy; as in regard of the Danger to suf- tween the  
 fer the *French* to make their Approaches upon English  
*England*, by obtaining so goodly a Maritime Pro- and the  
 vince, full of Sea-Towns, and Havens, that French.  
 might do Mischief to the *English*, either by In-  
 vasion or by interruption of Traffick. The Par-  
 liament was also moved with the Point of Op-  
 pression; for altho' the *French* seem'd to speak  
 reason, yet Arguments are ever with Multitudes  
 too weak for Suspicions. Wherefore they did  
 advise the King, roundly to embrace the *Brit-*  
*tons* Quarrel, and to send them speedy Aids,  
 and with much alacrity and forwardness grant-  
 ed to the King a great Rate of Subsidy in  
 Contemplation of these Aids. But the King  
 both to keep a Decency towards the *French* King,  
 to whom he profess'd himself to be obliged,  
 and indeed desirous rather to shew War, than  
 to make it; sent new solemn Ambassadors to in-  
 timiate unto him, the Decree of his Estates, and  
 to iterate his Motion, that the *French* would  
 desist from Hostility; or if War must follow,  
 to desire him to take it in good part, if at the  
 Motion of his People, who were sensible of the  
 Cause of the *Britons* as their ancient Friends,  
 and Confederates, he did send them Succours;  
 with Protestation nevertheless, that to save all  
 Treaties and Laws of Friendship, he had limited  
 his Force, to proceed in Aid of the *Britons*, but  
 in no wise to War upon the *French*, otherwise  
 than as they maintain'd the Possession of *Britain*.  
 But before this formal Ambassage arriv'd, the  
 Party of the Duke had receiv'd a great blow,  
 and grew to manifest Declination. For near the  
 Town of *St. Alban* in *Britain*, a Battel had been  
 given, where the *Britons* were overthrown, and  
 the Duke of *Orleanse*, and the Prince of *Orange*  
 taken Prisoners, there being slain on the *Britons*  
 part Six thousand Men, and amongst them the  
 Lord *Woodville*, and almost all his Soldiers val-  
 iantly fighting. And of the *French* part One  
 thousand two hundred, with their Leader *James*  
*Galeot*, a great Commander.

Battel of  
St. Alban  
in Bre-  
tagne.

The Lord  
Woodville  
slain  
there.

When the News of this Battel came over into  
*England*, it was time for the King (who now  
 had no Subterfuge to continue further Treaty,  
 and saw before his Eyes, that *Britain* went so  
 speedily for lost, contrary to his Hopes, know-  
 ing also that with his People and Foreigners  
 both, he sustained no small Envy and Dis-repu-  
 tation for his former Delays) to dispatch with  
 all possible speed his Succours into *Britain*; which  
 he did under the Conduct of *Robert Lord Brook*,  
 to the Number of Eight thousand choice Men,  
 and well arm'd; who having a fair Wind, in  
 few Hours landed in *Britain*, and joyned them-  
 selves forthwith to those *Briton* Forces, that re-  
 mained after the Defeat, and march'd straight  
 on to find the Enemy, and incamped fast by  
 them. The *French* wisely Husbanding the Pos-  
 session of a Victory, and well acquainted with  
 the Courage of the *English*, especially when they  
 are

The Bri-  
tons in Dis-  
tress.

Aid sent  
them.

At what  
Time the  
English are  
most Cou-  
ragious.



1488. are fresh, kept themselves within their Trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give Battel. But mean while, to harrafs and weary the *English*, they did upon all Advantages set upon them with their Light Horse; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the *English* Archers.

But upon these Atchievements *Francis*, Duke of *Britain*, deceased; an Accident that the King might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckon'd upon, and provided for; but that the Point of Reputation, when News first came of the Battel lost (that somewhat must be done) did over-bear the Reason of War.

The Causes of the Loss of *Bretagne*.

After the Duke's Decease, the principal Persons of *Britain*, partly bought, partly through Faction, put all things into Confusion; so as the *English* not finding Head or Body with whom to joyn their Forces, and being in Jealousy of Friends, as well as in Danger of Enemies, and the Winter begun, return'd Home five Months after their Landing. So the Battel of *St. Alban*, the Death of the Duke, and the Retire of the *English* Succours were (after some time) the Causes of the Loss of that Dutchy; which Action some accounted as a Blemish of the King's Judgment; but most but as the Misfortune of his Times.

But howsoever the temporary Fruit of the Parliament in their Aid and Advice given for *Britain*, took not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting Fruit of Parliament, which is good and wholsom Laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this Day. For according to the Lord Chancellor's Admonition, there were that Parliament divers excellent Laws ordained, concerning the Points which the King recommended.

Court of *Star-Chamber* confirmed. *Star-chamber* Court described. What Pleas belong to every Court. The Power and Description of the Court of *Chancery*.

First, The Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which before subsisted by the Ancient Common Laws of the Realm, was confirm'd in certain Cases by Act of Parliament. This Court is one of the Sagest and Noblest Institutions of this Kingdom. For in the Distribution of Courts of Ordinary Justice (besides the High Court of Parliament) in which Distribution the King's Bench holdeth the Pleas of the Crown, the Common-Place, Pleas Civil, the *Exchequer* Pleas concerning the King's Revenue, and the *Chancery* the Prætorian Power for mitigating the Rigour of Law, in Case of Extremity, by the Conscience of a good Man; there was nevertheless always reserv'd a High and Preheminent Power to the King's Council, in Causes that might in Example, or Consequence, concern the State of the Commonwealth, which if they were Criminal, the Council used to Sit in the Chamber, call'd the *Star-Chamber*; if Civil, in the *White-Chamber*, or *White-hall*. And as the *Chancery* had the Prætorian Power for Equity; so the *Star-Chamber* had the Censorian Power for Offences, under the degree of Capital. This Court of *Star-Chamber* is compounded of good Elements; for it consisteth of Four kinds of Persons: Councillors, Peers, Prelates, and Chief Judges. It discerneth also principally of Four kinds of Causes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stellation, and the Inchoations or Middle Acts towards Crimes Capital, or Heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this Act was Force, and the two chief Supports of Force, Combination of Multitudes, and Maintenance or Headship of great Persons.

From the general Peace of the Country, the King's Care went on to the Peace of the King's House, and the Security of his great Officers

and Counsellors. But this Law was somewhat of a strange Composition and Temper. That if any of the King's Servants under the degree of a Lord, do conspire the Death of any of the King's Council, or Lord of the Realm, it is made Capital. This Law was thought to be procur'd by the Lord Chancellor, who being a stern and haughty Man, and finding he had some Mortal Enemies in Court, provided for his own Safety; drowning the Envy of it in a general Law, by communicating the Privilege with all other Councillors and Peers, and yet not daring to extend it further, than to the King's Servants in Check-Roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the Gentlemen, and other Commons of the Kingdom; who might have thought their Ancient Liberty, and the Clemency of the Laws of *England* invaded, *If the Will in any Case of Felony should be made the Deed*. And yet the reason which the Act yieldeth (that is to say, *That he that Conspireth the Death of Councillors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the Death of the King himself*) is indifferent to all Subjects, as well as to Servants in Court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the Lord Chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a General Law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the Country, as he was then to the Court.

From the Peace of the King's House, the King's Care extended to the Peace of Private Houses and Families. For there was an excellent Moral Law moulded thus; The taking and carrying away of Women forcibly, and against their will (except Female-wards and Bondwomen) was made Capital. The Parliament wisely and justly conceiving, that the obtaining of Women by force into Possession (howsoever afterwards Assent might follow by Allurements) was but a Rape drawn forth in length, because the first Force drew on all the rest.

A Law against taking away Women by Force.

There was made also another Law for Peace in general, and repressing of Murthers and Man-slaughters, and was in Amendment of the Common Laws of the Realm, being this: That whereas by the Common Law, the King's Suit in case of *Homicide*, did expect, *The Year and the Day*, allowed to the Parties Suit by way of Appeal, and that it was found by Experience, that the Party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the Suit, so that in the end such Suit was let fall, and by that time the Matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby Prosecution at the King's Suit by Indictment (which is ever best, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordain'd, That the Suit by Indictment might be taken as well at any time within the Year and the Day, as after, not prejudicing nevertheless the Parties Suit.

Laws about Murder and Man-slaughter.

The King began also then, as well in Wisdom as in Justice to pare a little the Privilege of Clergy, ordaining, *That Clerks convicted should be burn'd in the Hand*; both because they might taste of some corporal Punishment, and that they might carry a Brand of Infamy. But for this good Act's sake, the King himself was after branded by *Perkin's* Proclamation, for an execrable Breaker of the Rites of Holy Church.

The Privileges of the Clergy Abridg'd.

Another Law was made for the better Peace of the Country; by which Law the King's Officers and Farmors were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in case of unlawful Retainer, or partaking in Routs and unlawful Assemblies.

These were the Laws that were made for repressing of Force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they

1488. Made a Capital Crime for any of the King's Servants, to conspire the Death of any of the King's Council.



1488. they are found fit for all succeeding Times, and so continue to this Day.

Unlawful Exchanges Prohibited. There were also made good and politick Laws that Parliament against Usury, which is the Bastard Use of Money: And against unlawful Chievances and Exchanges, which is Bastard Usury: And also for the Security of the King's Customs: And for the Employment of the Procedures of Foreign Commodities, brought in by Merchant-Strangers, upon the Native Commodities of the Realm: Together with some other Laws of less importance.

King Richard's Memory honoured in Yorkshire. But howsoever the Laws made in that Parliament did bear good and wholesome Fruit; yet the Subsidy granted at the same time, bare a Fruit, that proved harsh and bitter. All was in- ned at last into the King's Barn; but it was after a Storm. For when the Commissioners entred into the Taxation of the Subsidy in Yorkshire, and the Bishoprick of *Duresme*; the People upon a suddain grew into great Mutiny, and said openly, that they had endured of late Years a thousand Miseries, and neither could nor would pay the Subsidy. This (no doubt) proceeded not simply of any present Necessity, but much by Reason of the old Humour of those Countries, where the Memory of King *Richard* was so strong, that it lies like Lees in the bottom of Mens Hearts; and if the Vessel was but stirred, it would come up. And (no doubt) it was partly also by the Instigation of some Factious Malecontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the Commissioners being somewhat astonished, deferr'd the matter unto the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the principal Man of Authority in those Parts. The Earl forthwith wrote unto the Court, signifying to the King plainly enough in what Flame he found the People of those Countries, and praying the King's Direction. The King wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one Penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by Parliament, both because it might encourage other Countries to pray the like Release, or Mitigation, and chiefly because he would never endure, that the base Multitude should frustrate the Authority of the Parliament, wherein their Votes and Consents were concluded. Upon this dispatch from Court, the Earl assembled the principal Justices and Free-holders of the Country; and speaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had written to him, which needed not (save that an Harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the Hands of a Harsh-man) did not only irritate the People, but make them conceive, by the Stoutness and Haughtiness of delivery of the King's Errand; that himself was the Author or principal Perfwader of that Counsel. Whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddainly assailing the Earl in his House, slew him, and divers of his Servants. And rested not there, but creating for their Leader Sir *John Egremont*, a factious Person, and one that had of a long time born an ill Talent towards the King; and being animated also by a Base Fellow, called *John a Chamber*, a very Boufescu, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entred into open Rebellion, and gave out in flat Terms, that they would go against King *Henry*, and fight with him for the maintenance of their Liberties.

When the King was advertised of this new Insurrection (being almost a Fever, that took him every Year) after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent *Thomas* Earl of *Surry* (whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to

Special Favour) with a Competent Power against the Rebels; who fought with the Principal Band of them, and defeated them, and took alive *John a Chamber*, their Firebrand. As for Sir *John Egremont*, he fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* of *Burgundy*; whose Palace was the Sanctuary and Receptacle of all Traitors against the King. *John a Chamber* was executed at *York*, in great State; for he was hanged upon a Gibbet raised a Stage higher in the midst of a Square Gallows, as a Traitor Paramount, and a number of his Men that were his chief Complices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himself omit his Custom, to be first or second in all his Warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was usual with him when he heard of Rebels; that He desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the Earl of *Surry*, he marched towards them himself in Person. And although in his Journey he heard News of the Victory, yet he went on as far as *York*, to pacifie and settle those Countries, And that done returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surry* for his Lieutenant in the Northern Parts, and Sir *Richard Tunstall* for his principal Commissioner, to levy the Subsidy, whereof he did not remit a Denyer.

About the same time that the King lost so good a Servant, as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he lost likewise a faithful Friend and Allie of *James* the Third King of *Scotland*, by a miserable Disaster. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long smother of Discontent, and Hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth at times into Seditions and Alterations of Court, was at last distressed by them, having taken Arms, and surpris'd the Person of Prince *James* his Son, partly by Force, partly by Threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, to shadow their Rebellion, and to be the Titular and painted Head of those Arms. Whereupon the King (finding himself too weak) sought unto King *Henry*, as also unto the Pope, and the King of *France*, to compose those Troubles, between him and his Subjects. The Kings accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of Request and Perswasion, but also by way of Protestation of Menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the Common Cause of all Kings, If Subjects should be suffered to give Laws unto their Sovereign; and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the Rebels that had shaken off the greater Yoke of Obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser Tye of Respect. And Fury prevailing above Fear, made answer, That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would resign his Crown. Whereupon (Treatie of Accord taking no place) it came to a Battel, at *Bannocks-burn* by *Strivelin*. In which Battel the King transported with Wrath and just Indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the Charge, before his whole Numbers came up to him, was (notwithstanding the contrary expresse and straight Commandment of the Prince his Son) slain in the Pursuit, being fled to a Mill, Situate in the Field, where the Battel was fought.

As for the Pope's Ambassy, which was sent by *Adrian De Castello* an Italian Legate (and perhaps as those times were might have prevail'd more) it came too late for the Ambassy, but not for the Ambassador. For passing through *England*, and being honourably entertained, and received of King *Henry*; (who ever applied himself with much respect to the Sea of *Rome*) he



1489. fell into great Grace with the King, and great Familiarity and Friendship with *Morton* the Chancellor. In so much as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his Mind, preferred him to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath and Wells*, and employed him in many of his Affairs of State, that had Relation to *Rome*. He was a Man of great Learning, Wisdom and Dexterity in Business of State; and having not long after ascended to the Degree of Cardinal, paid the King large Tribute of his Gratitude, in diligent and judicious Advertisement of the Occurrences of *Italy*. Nevertheless in the end of his time, he was Partaker of the Conspiracy, which Cardinal *Alphonso Petrucci*, and some other Cardinals had plotted against the Life of Pope *Leo*. And this Offence in it self so hainous, was yet in him aggravated by the Motive thereof; which was not Malice or Discontent, but an aspiring Mind to the Papacy. And in this Height of Impiety there wanted not an intermixture of Levity and Folly; for that (as was generally believed) he was animated to expect the Papacy, by a fatal Mockery, the Prediction of a Sooth-sayer, which was; *That one should succeed Pope Leo, whose Name should be Adrian, an aged Man of mean Birth, and of great Learning and Wisdom*. By which Character and Figure, he took himself to be describ'd, though it were fulfilled of *Adrian the Flemming*, Son of a Dutch Brewer, Cardinal of *Tortosa*, and Preceptor unto *Charles the Fifth*; the same that not changing his Christen-name, was afterwards called *Adrian the Sixth*.

But these things happened in the Year following, which was the fifth of this King. But in the end of the fourth Year the King had called again his Parliament, not as it seemeth for any particular Occasion of State. But the former Parliament being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the Preparation for *Brittain*, the King thought he had not remunerated his People sufficiently with good Laws, which evermore was his Retribution for Treasure. And finding by the Insurrection in the North, there was Discontentment abroad, in respect of the Subsidy, he thought it good to give his Subjects yet further Contentment, and Comfort in that kind. Certainly his Times for good Common-wealths Laws did excel. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best Law-giver to this Nation, after King *Edward the first*. For his Laws (who so marks them well) are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the Spur of a particular Occasion for the Present, but out of Providence of the Future, to make the Estate of his People still more and more happy; after the manner of the Legislators in Ancient and Heroical Times.

First therefore he made a Law, suitable to his own Acts and Times. For as himself had in his Person and Marriage made a final Concord, in the great Suit and Title for the Crown; so by this Law he settled the like Peace and Quiet in the Private Possessions of the Subjects. Ordaining, *That Fines thenceforth should be final, to conclude all Strangers Rights*; and that upon Fines levied, and solemnly proclaim'd, the Subject should have his Time of Watch for five Years after his Title accrued; which if he fore-passed, his Right should be bound for ever after; with some Exception nevertheless, of Minors, Married-Women, and such incompetent Persons.

This Statute did in Effect but restore an Ancient Statute of the Realme, which was it self also made but in Affirmance of the Common-Law. The Alteration had been by a Statute,

commonly called the Statute of Non-claim, made in the time of *Edward the Third*. And surely this Law was a kind of Prognostick of the good Peace, which since his time hath (for the most part) continued in this Kingdom, untill this Day. For Statutes of Non-claim are fit for times of War, when Mens Heads are Troubled, that they cannot intend their Estate; but Statutes, that quiet Possessions, are fittest for Times of Peace, to extinguish Suits and Contentions, which is one of the Banes of Peace.

Another Statute was made of singular Policy, for the Population apparently, and (if it be thoroughly considered) for the Souldiery, and Militar Forces of the Realm.

Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arable Land (which could not be manured without People and Families) was turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a few Herds-men; and Tenancies for Years, Lives, and at Will (whereupon much of the Yeomanry lived) were turned into Demesnes. This bred a decay of People, and (by consequence) a decay of Towns, Churches, Tithes, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued with all upon this a Decay and Diminution of Subsidy and Taxes; for the more Gentlemen, ever the lower Books of Subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience, the King's Wisdom was Admirable, and the Parliament's at that time. Inclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the Improvement of the Patrimony of the Kingdom; nor Tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with Nature and Utility. But they took a Course to take away The In-

depopulating Inclosures, and depopulating conveniences of Pasturage, and yet not by that Name, or by any Imperious express Prohibition, but by Consequence. The Ordinance was, *That all Houses of Husbandry, that were used with twenty Acres of Ground, and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a Competent Proportion of Land to be used and occupied with them*; and in no wise to be severed from them, as by another Statute, made afterwards in his Successors time, was more fully declared. This upon Forfeiture to be taken; not by way of Popular Action, but by seizure of the Land it self, by the King and Lords of the Fee, as to half the Profits, till the Houses and Lands were restored. By this means the Houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a Dweller; and the Proportion of Land for Occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that Dweller; not to be a Beggar or Cottager, but a Man of some Substance, that might keep Hinds and Servants, and set the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the Might and Manner-hood of the Kingdom, to have Farms, as it were of a Standard sufficient to maintain an able Body out of Penury, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdom unto the Hold and Occupation of the Yeomanry or Middle-People, of a Condition between Gentlemen, and Cottagers, or Peasants? Now, how much this did advance the Militar Power of the Kingdom, is apparent by the true Principles of War, and the Examples of other Kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general Opinion of Men of best Judgment in the Wars (howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of Case) that the Principal Strength of an Army consisteth in the Infantry or Foot. And to make good Infantry, it requireth Men bred, not in a servile or indigent Fashion, but in some free and plentiful

1489.  
Statute of  
Non-  
claim.

How the  
People  
came to  
Decay.

The In-  
depopulating  
conven-  
iences of  
Inclosures  
Reme-  
dy'd.

Fines.



1489. plentiful manner. Therefore if a State run most  
 Cottagers but Hous'd Beggars. to Noble-men and Gentlemen, and that the  
 Husband-men and Plough-men be but as their  
 Work-folks and Labourers, or else mere Cotta-  
 gers, (which are but Hous'd-Beggars) you may  
 have a good Cavalry, but never good stable  
 Bands of Foot; like to Coppice-Woods, that  
 if you leave in them Staddles too thick, they will  
 run to Bushes and Briars, and have little clean  
 Underwood. And this is to be seen in *France*,  
 and *Italy*, and some other Parts abroad, where  
 in Effect all is Nobles, or Pefantry, I speak of  
 People out of Towns, and no middle People;  
 and therefore no good Forces of Foot: Infomuch,  
 as they are inforced to imploy Mercenary Bands,  
 of *Switzers* and the like, for their Battalions of  
 Foot: Whereby also it comes to pass, that those  
 Nations have much People, and few Souldiers.  
 Whereas the King saw, that contrariwise it  
 would follow, that *England* though much less  
 in Territory, yet should have infinitely more  
 Souldiers of their Native Forces, than those o-  
 ther Nations have. Thus did the King secretly  
 Sow *Hidra's* Teeth, whereupon (according to  
 the Poets fiction) should rise up Armed Men for  
 the Service of this Kingdom.

The Eng-  
 lish Navi-  
 gation ad-  
 vanc'd. The King also (having care to make his Realm  
 potent, as well by Sea as by Land) for the better  
 maintainance of the Navy, ordained; *That Wines*  
*and Woods from the Parts of Gascoign and Langue-*  
*dock, should not be brought but in English Bottoms;*  
 Bowing the Ancient Policy of this Estate, from  
 consideration of Plenty, to consideration of Pow-  
 er. For that almost all the Ancient Statutes in-  
 cite by all means Merchant-Strangers, to bring  
 in all sorts of Commodities; having for end  
 Cheapness, and not looking to the Point of State  
 concerning the Naval-Power.

The King also made a Statute in that Parlia-  
 ment Monitory and Minatory, towards Justices  
 of Peace, that they should duly execute their  
 Office, inviting Complaints against them, first  
 to their Fellow-Justices, then to the Justices of  
 Assise, then to the King or Chancellor; and that  
 a Proclamation, which he had published of that  
 Tenor, should be read in open Sessions four times  
 a Year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to  
 have his Laws executed, and thereby to reap ei-  
 ther Obedience or Forfeitures; (wherein towards  
 his latter Times he did decline too much to the  
 left Hand) he did ordain Remedy against the  
 Practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp  
 Informations upon Penal Laws, by procuring  
 Informations by Collusion to be put in by the  
 Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly  
 prosecuted, and let fall at Pleasure, and plead-  
 ing them in Bar of the Informations, which were  
 prosecuted with Effect.

He made also Laws for the Correction of the  
*Mint*, and counterfeiting of Foreign Cohn  
 currant. And that no payment in Gold, should  
 be made to any Merchant-Stranger, the bet-  
 ter to keep Treasure within the Realm, for  
 that Gold was the Mettal that lay in least  
 Room.

His Sta-  
 tutes for  
 encourag-  
 ing  
 Woollen  
 Drapery. He made also Statutes for the Maintenance of  
 Drapery, and the keeping of Wools within the  
 Realm; and not only so, but for stinting, and  
 limiting the Prices of Cloth, one for the Finer,  
 and another for the Courser sort. Which I note,  
 both because it was a rare thing to set Prices by  
 Statute, especially upon our Home-Commodi-  
 ties; and because of the Wise Model of this Act,  
 not prescribing Prices, but stinting them not to

1489. exceed a Rate, that the Clothier might drape ac-  
 cordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good Statutes were made that  
 Parliament, but these were the Principal. And  
 here I do desire those, into whose Hands this  
 Work shall fall, that they do take in good part  
 my long insisting upon the Laws, that were  
 made in this King's Reign. Whereof I have  
 these Reasons; Both because it was the prehem-  
 inent Vertue and Merit of this King, to whose  
 Memory I do honour; and because it hath some  
 Correspondence to my Person; but chiefly, be-  
 cause (in my Judgment) it is some Defect even  
 in the best Writers of History, that they do not  
 often enough summarily deliver and set down  
 the most Memorable Laws, that passed in the  
 Times whereof they write, being indeed the  
 Principal Acts of Peace. For though they may  
 be had in Original Books of Law themselves,  
 yet that informeth not the Judgment of Kings  
 and Councillors, and Persons of Estate, so well  
 as to see them describ'd, and entred into the  
 Table and Pourtrait of the Times.

About the same time, the King had a Loan  
 from the City of Four thousand pounds; which  
 was double to that they lent before, (a) and was  
 duely and orderly pay'd back at the Day, as the  
 former likewise had been. The King ever cho-  
 sing rather to borrow too soon, than to pay too  
 late, and so keeping up his Credit.

Neither had the King yet cast off his Cares  
 and Hopes touching *Brittain*, but thought to Ma-  
 ster the Occasion by Policy, though his Arms  
 had been unfortunate, and to bereave the *French*  
 King of the Fruit of his Victory. The Sum of  
 his Design was, to encourage *Maximilian* to go  
 on with his Suit, for the Marriage of *Ann*, the  
 Heir of *Brittain*, and to Aid him to the Consum-  
 mation thereof. But the Affairs of *Maximilian*  
 were at that time in great Trouble and Com-  
 bustion, by a Rebellion of his Subjects in *Flan-*  
*ders*; especially those of *Bruges* and *Gant*,  
 whereof the Town of *Bruges* (at such time as  
*Maximilian* was there in Person) had suddenly  
 Arm'd in Tumult, and slain some of his Princi-  
 pal Officers, and taken himself Prisoner, and held  
 him in Durance, till they had enforced him, and  
 some of his Councillors, to take a solemn Oath,  
 to pardon all their Offences, and never to quest-  
 ion and revenge the same in time to come. Never-  
 theless *Frederick* the Emperor would not suffer  
 this Reproach and Indignity offer'd to his Son  
 to pass, but made sharp War upon *Flanders*, to  
 reclaim and chastise the Rebels. But the Lord  
*Ravenstein*, a principal Person about *Maximilian*,  
 and one that had taken the Oath of Abolition  
 with his Master, pretending the Religion there-  
 of, but indeed upon private Ambition, and (as  
 it was thought) instigated and corrupted from  
*France*, forlook the Emperor and *Maximilian* his  
 Lord, and made himself an Head of the Popular  
 Party, and seiz'd upon the Towns of *Ipre* and  
*Sluce*, with both the Castles, And forthwith  
 sent to the Lord *Cordes*, Governour of *Picardy*  
 under the *French* King, to desire Aid, and to  
 move him, that he on the behalf of the *French*  
 King would be Protector of the united Towns,  
 and by Force of Arms reduce the rest. The  
 Lord *Cordes* was ready to embrace the Occasion,  
 which was partly of his own setting, and sent  
 forthwith greater Forces, than it had been possi-  
 ble for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not  
 looked for such a Summons before, in Aid of the  
 Lord *Ravenstein*, and the *Flemmings*, with In-  
 structions to invest the Towns between *France* and

(a) The King borrowed of every Alderman 20*l.* and of the Chamber of London 9082*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* Hollinhead.



1489. *Bruges.* The French Forces besieged a little Town called *Dixmue*, where part of the Flemish Forces joyned with them. While they lay at this Siege, the King of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English Pale about Calice, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the States of Brittain about this Marriage, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand Men unto the Lord Daubigny, then Deputy of Calice, with secret Instructions to aid Maximilian, and to raise the Siege of *Dixmue*. The Lord Daubigny (giving it out that all was for the Strengthening of the English Marches) drew out of the Garrisons of Calice, Hammer, and Guines, to the Number of a Thousand Men more. So that with the fresh Succours that came under the Conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up to the Number of two Thousand, or better. Which Forces joyned with some Companies of Almaines, put themselves into *Dixmue*, not perceived by the Enemies; and passing through the Town with some Re-inforcement (from the Forces that were in the Town) assailed the Enemies Camp, negligently guarded, as being out of Fear; where there was a bloody Fight, in which the English and their Partakers obtained the Victory, and slew to the Number of eight Thousand Men, with the loss on the English part of a Hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord Morley. They took also their great Ordnance, with much rich Spoils, which they carried to Newport, whence the Lord Daubigny returned to Calice, leaving the hurt Men, and some other Voluntaries in Newport. But the Lord Cordes being at Ipre with a great power of Men, thinking to recover the Loss and Disgrace of the Fight at *Dixmue*, came presently on, and laid down before Newport and besieged it; and after some days Siege, he resolved to try the Fortune of an Assault: Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal Tower and Fort in that City, and planted upon it the French Banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh Succours of Archers arriving by good Fortune (at the instant) in the Haven of Newport. Whereupon the Lord Cordes discouraged, and measuring the new Succours (which were small) by the Success (which was great) levied his Siege. By this means, Matters grew more exasperate between the two Kings of England and France, for that in the War of Flanders, the Auxiliary Forces of French and English were much blooded one against another. Which Blood rankled the more, by the vain Words of the Lord Cordes, that declared himself an open Enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present Service; making it a common By-word of his, *That he could be content to lie in Hell seven Years, so he might win Calice from the English.*

The Lord Cordes's hatred to the English.

A New Ceremony of Marriage.

The King having thus upheld the Reputation of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his Marriage with Brittain to a Conclusion. Which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed both with the young Lady, and with the principal Persons about her, as the Marriage was consummate by Proxy, with a Ceremony at that time in these Parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated as a Bride, and solemnly Bedded; and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian's Ambassador with Letters of Procuration, and in the presence of sundry Noble Personages, Men and Women, put his Leg (stript naked to the Knee) between the Espousal Sheets; to the end, that that Ceremony might be thought to amount to

a Consummation and actual Knowledge. This done, Maximilian (whose Property was to leave things then, when they were almost come to Perfection, and to end them by Imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrows up to the Head: and who might as easily have bedded the Lady himself, as to have made a Play and Disguise of it) thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further Proceeding, and intended his Wars. Mean while, the French King (consulting with his Divines, and finding that this pretended Consummation was rather an Invention of Court, than any ways valid by the Laws of the Church) went more really to work, and by secret Instruments and cunning Agents, as well Matrons about the young Lady as Councillors, first sought to remove the Point of Religion and Honour out of the Mind of the Lady herself, wherein there was a double Labour. For Maximilian was not only contracted unto the Lady, but Maximilian's Daughter was likewise contracted to King Charles. So as the Marriage halted upon both Feet, and was not clear on either Side: But for the Contract with King Charles, the Exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian's Daughter was under Years of Consent, and so not bound by Law, but a power of Disagreement left to either part. But for the Contract made by Maximilian with the Lady herself, they were harder driven: Having nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her Sovereign Lord King Charles, whose Ward and Client she was, and He to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of such Consent. Which Defect (they said) tho' it would not evacuate a Marriage, after Cohabitation, and Actual Consummation; yet it was enough to make void a Contract. For as for the pretended Consummation, they made Sport with it, and said, *That it was an Argument, that Maximilian was a Widdower, and a cold Wooer, that could content himself to be a Bridegroom by Deputy, and would not make a little Journey, to put all out of Question.* So that the young Lady, wrought upon by these Reasons, finely instilled by such as the French King (who spared for no Rewards or Promises) had made on his Side; and allured likewise by the present Glory and Greatness of King Charles, (being also a young King, and a Batchellor) and loth to make her Country the Seat of a long and miserable War; secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret Treaty with the Lady, the better to save it from Blasts of Opposition and Interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the Marriage as he had carried the Wars, by entertaining the King of England in vain belief, sent a Solemn Ambassage by Francis Lord of Luxemburg, Charles Marignan and Robert Gaguier, General of the Order of the Bonnes Hommes of the Trinity, to treat a Peace and League with the King; accoupling it with an Article in the Nature of a Request, that the French King might with the King's good Will (according unto his Right of Seigniorie and Tutelage) dispose of the Marriage of the young Dutcheffs of Brittain, as he should think good; offering by a Judicial Proceeding to make Void the Marriage of Maximilian by Proxy. Also all this while the better to amuse the World, he did continue in his Court and Custody the Daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him, to be bred and educated in France; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly, that he meant to proceed with that Match. And that for

The Diffimulation of the French King.



1490. for the Dutcheſs of *Britain*, he deſired only to preſerve his Right of Seigniorie, and to give her in Marriage to ſome ſuch Allie, as might depend upon him.

When the three Commiſſioners came to the Court of *England*, they deliver'd their Ambaſſage unto the King, who remitted them to his Council; where ſome days after they had Audience, and made their Propoſition by the Prior of the Trinity (who tho' he were Third in Place, yet was held the beaſt Speaker of them) to this Effect.

The Fr.  
Ambaſſa-  
dors  
Speech.

"MY Lords, the King our Maſter, the greateſt and mightieſt King that reigned in *France* ſince *Charles* the Great (whoſe Name he beareth), hath nevertheleſs thought it no Diſparagement to his Greatneſs, at this time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of *England*. For which Purpoſe he hath ſent us his Commiſſioners, inſtructed and enabled with full and ample Power, to treat and conclude; giving us further in Charge, to open in ſome other Buſineſs the Secrets of his own Intentions. Theſe be indeed the precious Love-Tokens between great Kings, to communicate one with another the true ſtate of their Affairs, and to paſs by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to give Law unto Affection. This I do aſſure your Lordſhips, It is not poſſible for you to imagine the true and cordial Love that the King our Maſter beareth to your Sovereign, except you were near him, as we are. He uſeth his Name with ſo great reſpect; He remembreth their firſt Acquaintance at *Paris* with ſo great Contentment; nay, he never ſpeaks of him, but that preſently he falls into Diſcourſe of the Miſeries of great Kings, in that they cannot converſe with their Equals, but with Servants. This Affection to your King's Perſon and Vertues, God hath put into the Heart of our Maſter, no doubt for the good of Chriſtendom, and for Purpoſes yet unknown to us all. For other Root it cannot have, ſince it was the ſame to the Earl of *Richmond*, that it is now to the King of *England*. This is therefore the firſt Motive that makes our King to deſire Peace, and League with your Sovereign: Good Affection, and ſomewhat that he finds in his own Heart. This Affection is alſo arm'd with reaſon of Eſtate. For our King doth in all Candour and Frankneſs of dealing open himſelf unto you; that having an honourable, yea, and a holy Purpoſe to make a Voyage and War in remote Parts, he conſidereth that it will be of no ſmall effect, in point of Reputation to his Enterprize, if it be known Abroad, that he is in good Peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and ſpecially with the King of *England*, whom for good Cauſes he eſteemeth moſt.

"But now (my Lords) give me leave to uſe a few words to remove all Scruples and Miſunderſtandings between your Sovereign and ours, concerning ſome late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for Matter paſt, neither King may conceive Unkindneſs of other, nor think the other conceiveth Unkindneſs of him. The late Actions are two; That of *Britain* and that of *Flanders*. In both which, it is true, that the Subjects Swords of both Kings have encountred and ſtricken, and the Ways and Inclinations alſo of the two Kings, in reſpect of their Confederates and Allies, have ſepered.

1490. "For that of *Britain*; The King your Sovereign knoweth beſt what hath paſſed. It was a War of Neceſſity on our Maſter's part. And tho' the Motives of it were ſharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that War rather with an Olive-Branch than a Laurel-Branch in his Hand, more deſiring Peace than Victory. Beſides, from time to time he ſent (as it were) Blank-Papers to your King, to write the Conditions of Peace. For tho' both his Honour and Safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of *England*'s hands. Neither doth your King on the other Side make any Unfriendly Interpretation, of your King's ſending of Succours to the Duke of *Britain*; for the King knoweth well, that many things muſt be done of Kings for Satisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to diſcern what is a King's own. But this Matter of *Britain* is now (by the Act of God) ended and paſſed; and (as the King hopeth) like the way of a Ship in the Sea, without leaving any Impreſſion in either of the Kings Minds; as he is ſure for his part it hath not done in his.

"For the Action of *Flanders*; As the former of *Britain* was a War of Neceſſity, ſo this was a War of Juſtice; which with a good King is of equal Neceſſity, with danger of Eſtate, for elſe he ſhould leave to be a King. The Subjects of *Burgundy* are Subjects in Chief to the Crown of *France*, and their Duke the Homager and Vaſſal of *France*. They had wont to be good Subjects, howſoever *Maximilian* hath of late diſtemper'd them. They fled to the King for Juſtice, and Deliverance from Oppreſſion. Juſtice he could not deny; Purchase he did not ſeek. This was good for *Maximilian*, if he could have ſeen it in People muſtined to arreſt Fury, and prevent Deſpair. My Lords, it may be this I have ſaid is needleſs, ſave that the King our Maſter is tender in any thing, that may but glance upon the Friendſhip of *England*. The Amity between the two Kings (no doubt) ſtands entire and inviolate. And that their Subjects Swords have claiſhed, it is nothing unto the publick Peace of the Crowns; it being a thing very uſual in Auxiliary Forces of the beſt and ſtraiteſt Confederates, to meet and draw blood in the Field. Nay, many times there be Aids of the ſame Nation on both ſides, and yet it is not (for all that) *A Kingdom divided in it ſelf*.

"It reſteth (my Lords) that I impart unto you a Matter, that I know your Lordſhips all will much rejoyce to hear; as that which importeth the Chriſtian Commonweal more than any Action that hath hapned of long time. The King our Maſter hath a Purpoſe and Determination, to make War upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; being now in the Poſſeſſion of a Baſtardſhip of *Aragon*, but appertaining unto his Maſteſty, by clear and undoubted Right; which if he ſhould not by juſt Arms ſeek to recover, he could neither acquit his Honour, nor Anſwer it to his People. But his Noble and Chriſtian Thoughts reſt not here. For his Reſolution and Hope is, to make the Reconqueſt of *Naples*, but as a Bridge to tranſport his Forces into *Grecia*; and not to ſpare Blood or Treafure (if it were to the impawning of his Crown, and diſpeopling of *France*) till either he hath Overthrown the Empire of the *Ottomans*, or taken it in his Way to *Paradiſe*. The King knoweth well, that this is a Deſign, that could not ariſe in the Mind of any



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any King, that did not stedfastly look up unto God, whose Quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the Will and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Person that he beareth (tho' unworthy) of the Thrice-Christian King, and the eldest Son of the Church. Whereunto he is also invited by the Example (in more Ancient time) of King Henry IV. of England, (the first renown'd King of the House of Lancaster; Ancestor, tho' not Progenitor to your King) who had a Purpose towards the End of his Time (as you know better) to make an Expedition into the Holy-Land; and by the Example also (present before his Eyes) of that Honourable and Religious War which the King of Spain now maketh, and hath almost brought to Perfection, for the recovery of the Realm of Granada from the Moors. And altho' this Enterprize may seem vast and unmeasur'd, for the King to attempt that by his own Forces, wherein heretofore a Conjunction of most of the Christian Princes hath found Work enough; yet his Majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller Forces being united under one Command, are more effectual in Proof (tho' not so promising in Opinion and Fame) than much greater Forces, variously compounded by Associations and Leagues; which commonly in a short time after their Beginnings, turn to Dissociations and Divisions. But my (Lords) that which is as a Voice from Heaven that called the King to this Enterprize, is a Rent at this time in the House of the Ottomans. I do not say, but there hath been Brother against Brother in that House before, but never any that had refuge to the Arms of the Christians, as now hath Gemes, (Brother unto Bajazeth, that reigneth) the far braver Man of the two; the other being between a Monk and a Philosopher, and better read in the *Alecoran* and *Averroes*, than Able to wield the Scepter of so Warlike an Empire. This therefore is the King our Master's memorable and Heroical Resolution for an Holy War. And because he carrieth in this the Person of a Christian Soldier, as well as of a great Temporal Monarch; he beginneth with Humility, and is content for this Cause to beg Peace at the hands of other Christian Kings. There remaineth only rather a Civil Request, than any Essential part of our Negotiation, which the King maketh to the King your Sovereign. The King (as the World knoweth) is Lord in Chief of the Duchy of Brittain. The Marriage of the Heir belongeth to him as Guardian. This is a private Patrimonial Right, and no Business of Estate: yet nevertheless (to run a fair Course with your King; whom he desires to make another Himself, and to be one and the same thing with him) his Request is, That with the King's Favour and Consent, he may dispose of her Marriage, as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended Marriage of Maximilian, according to Justice. This (my Lords) is all that I have to say, desiring your Pardon for my Weakness in the Delivery.

Thus did the French Ambassadors with great shew of their King's Affection, and many sugar'd Words seek to adulce all Matters between the two Kings, having two Things for their Ends; The one, to keep the King quiet till the Marriage of Brittain was past, and this was but a Summer Fruit, which they thought was al-

most ripe and would be soon gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper as he might be no Disturbance or Impediment to the Voyage for Italy. The Lords of the Council were Silent; and said only, *That they knew the Ambassadors would look for no Answer, till they had reported to the King*; and so they rose from Council. The King could not well tell what to think of the Marriage of Brittain. He saw plainly the Ambition of the French King was to impatronize himself of the Duchy; but he wondred he would bring into his House a litigious Marriage, especially considering who was his Successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Brittain for lost; but resolv'd to make his Profit of this Business of Brittain, as a Quarrel for War; and that of Naples, as a Wrench and Mean for Peace; being well advertised how strongly the King was bent upon that Action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his Council, and keeping himself somewhat close; he gave a Direction to the Chancellor, for a formal Answer to the Ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his Council. And after calling the Chancellor to him apart, bad him speak in such Language as was fit for a Treaty that was to end in a Breach; and gave him also a Special Caveat, that he should not use any words, to discourage the Voyage of Italy. Soon after the Ambassadors were sent for to the Council, and the Lord Chancellor spake to them in this sort.

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MY Lords Ambassadors, I shall make answer by the King's Commandment, unto the Eloquent Declaration of you my Lord Prior, in a brief and plain manner. The King forgetteth not his former Love and Acquaintance with the King your Master. But of this there needeth no Repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any Alteration, it is not Words that will make it up. For the Business of Brittain, the King findeth it a little strange that the French King maketh mention of it, as Matter of well deserving at his Hand. For that Deserving was no more, but to make him his Instrument, to surprise one of his best Confederates. And for the Marriage, the King would not meddle in it if your Master would marry by the Book, and not by the Sword. For that of Flanders, if the Subjects of Burgundy had appeal'd to your King, as their Chief Lord, at first, by way of Supplication; it might have had a Shew of Justice. But it was a new Form of Process, for Subjects to imprison their Prince first, and to slay his Officers, and then to be Complainers. The King saith, that sure he is, when the French King, and himself sent to the Subjects of Scotland (that had taken Arms against their King) they both spake in another Stile, and did in Princely manner signify their Detestation of Popular Attentates, upon the Person or Authority of Princes. But my Lords Ambassadors, the King leaveth these two Actions thus: That on the one Side, he hath not received any manner of Satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them, to refuse to treat of Peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the War of Naples, and the Design against the Turk; the King hath commanded me expressly to say, That he doth wish with all his Heart, to his good

The Lord Chancellor's Answer to the French Ambassadors Speech.



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"good Brother the French King, that his Fortunes may succeed according to his Hopes, and honourable Intentions. And whensoever he shall hear, that he is prepared for *Grecia*, as your Master is pleased now to say, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, so the King will then beg of him a part in that War.

"But now my Lords Ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the King's part. The King your Master hath taught our King what to say and demand. You say (my Lord Prior) that your King is resoly'd to recover his Right to *Naples*, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his Honour, nor answer it to his People. Think (my Lords) that the King our Master saith the same thing over again to you touching *Normandy*, *Guien*, *Angeou*, yea and the Kingdom of *France* it self. I cannot express it better than in your own Words: If therefore the French King shall consent, that the King our Master's Title to *France* (at least Tribute for the same) be handled in the Treaty, the King is content to go on with the rest; otherwise he refuseth to Treat.

The King's Title to the Crown of France renew'd.

THE Ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this Demand, answered in some Heat; That they doubted not, but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Scepter: And they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any Diminution of the Crown of *France* either in Territory or Regality. But howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no Commission. It was replied; that the King looked for no other Answer from them; but would forth-with send his own Ambassadors to the French King. There was a Question also asked at the Table, Whether the French King would agree to have the disposing of the Marriage of Britain with an Exception and Exclusion, that he should not marry her himself? To which the Ambassadors answered; That it was so far out of their King's Thoughts, as they had received no Instructions touching the same. Thus were the Ambassadors dismissed, all save the Prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston Prior of Christ Church in Canterbury; who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space, Lionell Bishop of Concordia, was sent as Nuntio from Pope Alexander the sixth to both Kings, to move a Peace between them. For Pope Alexander finding himself pent and lockt up, by a League and Association of the Principal States of *Italy*, that he could not make his way for the Advancement of his own House (which he immoderately thirsted after) was desirous to trouble the Waters in *Italy*, that he might fish the better; casting the Net, not out of Saint Peter's, but out of Borgia's Bark. And doubting least the Fears from *England*, might stay the French King's Voyage into *Italy*, dispatch'd this Bishop to compose all matters between the two Kings, if he could. Who first repaired to the French King, and finding him well inclined (as he conceiv'd) took on his Journey towards *England*, and found the English Ambassadors at Calice, on their Way towards the French King. After some Conference with them, he was in Honourable manner transported over into *England*, where he had Audience of the King. But notwithstanding he had a good Ominous Name to have made a Peace, nothing followed. For in the mean time, the purpose of the French King to marry the Dutchess could be no longer dis-

sembled. Wherefore the English Ambassadors (finding how things went) took their Leaves and returned. And the Prior also was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his back (more like a Pedant, than an Ambassador) dispersed a bitter Libel, in Latin Verse, against the King; unto which the King (though he had nothing of a Pedant) yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like Verse; and that as speaking in his own Person, but in a Style of Scorn and Sport. About this time also was born the King's second Son Henry, who afterward reigned. And soon after followed the Solemnization of the Marriage between Charles and Ann Dutchess of Britain, with whom he received the Dutchy of Britain as her Dowry; the Daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the Ears of Maximilian (who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the Principal in deceiving himself, though in this the French King did very handsomly second it) and tumbling it over and over in his Thoughts, that he should at one Blow (with such a double scorn) be defeated, both of the Marriage of his Daughter, and his own (upon both which he had fixed high Imaginations;) he lost all Patience, and casting off the Respects fit to be continued between great Kings (even when their Blood is hottest, and most risen) fell to bitter Invectives against the Person and Actions of the French King. And (by how much he was less able to do, talking so much the more) spake all the Injuries he could devise of Charles, saying; That he was the most Perfidious Man upon the Earth, and that he had made a Marriage compounded between an Advoutry and a Rape: which was done (he said) by the just Judgment of God, to the end that (the Nullity thereof being so apparent to all the World) the Race of so unworthy a Person might not reign in *France*. And forthwith he sent Ambassadors as well to the King of *England*, as to the King of *Spain*, to incite them to War, and to treat a League offensive against *France*, promising to concur with great Forces of his own. Hereupon the King of *England* (going nevertheless his own way) called a Parliament, it being the seventh Year of his Reign; and the first day of opening thereof (sitting under his Cloth of Estate) spake himself unto his Lords, and Commons in this manner.

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The King orders a Copy of Verses to be written in answer to some against him. King Henry 8th. Born. The Prince, according to Holinshed was born the 22d. of June 1491. Bretagne annex'd to the Crown of France.

"MY Lords, and you the Commons; when I purposed to make a War in Britain by my Lieutenant, I made Declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I mean to make a War upon France in Person, I will declare it to you my self. That War, was to defend another Man's Right, but this is to recover our own; And that ended by Accident, but we hope this shall end in Victory.

The King's Speech to his Parliament.

"The French King troubles the Christian World. That which he hath, is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Britain. He maintaineth the Rebels in Flanders; and he threatneth Italy. For Our Selves, he hath proceeded from Dissimulation, to Neglect; and from Neglect to Contumely. He hath assailed our Confederates: He denyeth our Tribute: In a word, he seeks War. So did not his Father, but sought Peace at our Hands; and so perhaps will he, when good Council or Time, shall make him see as much as his Father did.

"Mean while; let us make his Ambition, our Advantage; and let us not stand upon a few  
Vol. H h h h Crowns



1490. "Crowns of Tribute, or Acknowledgment, but (by the Favour of Almighty God) try Our Right for the Crown of France it self; remembering that there hath been a French King Prisoner in England, and a King of England Crowned in France. Our Confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier Hand then ever, and never more provoked. Brittain cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New Acquests are more Burthen, than strength. The Male-contents of his own Kingdom have not been Base, Popular nor Titulary Impostors, but of an higher Nature. The King of Spain (doubt ye not) will joyn with us, not knowing where the French Kings Ambition will stay. Our holy Father the Pope, likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this Matter of Confederates, is rather to be thought on than reckoned on. For God forbid, but England should be able to get Reason of France, without a Second.

"At the Battels of Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, we were of our selves. France hath much People, and few Souldiers. They have no stable Bands of Foot. Some good Horse they have; but those are Forces, which are least fit for a Defensive War, where the Actions are in the Assailants choice. It was our Disorders only, that lost France; and (by the Power of God) it is the good Peace which we now enjoy, that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my Sword. I have in this time that I have Reigned, weeded out my bad Subjects, and tryed my good. My People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there should be any bad Blood left in the Kingdom, an Honourable foreign War will vent it, or purify it. In this great Business, let me have your advice, and Aid. If any of you were to make his Son Knight, you might have aid of your Tenants by Law. This concerns the Knighthood and Spurs of the Kingdom, whereof I am Father; and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it. But for Matter of Treasure, let it not be taken from the Poorest Sort; but from those, to whom the Benefit of the War may redound. France is no Wilderness: and I, that profess Good Husbandry, hope to make the War (after the beginnings) to pay it self. Go together God's Name in and lose no time; for I have called this Parliament wholly for this Cause.

The King Pretends War only to get Money. Thus spake the King; But for all this, though he shewed great Forwardness for a War, not only to his Parliament and Court, but to his Privy-Council likewise, (except the two Bishops and a few more) yet nevertheless in his Secret Intentions, he had no Purpose to go through with any War, upon France. But the Truth was, that he did but traffick with that War, to make his Return in Money. He knew well, that France was now entire, and at Unity with it self, and never so mighty many Years before. He saw by the taste that he had of his Forces sent into Brittain, that the French knew well enough how to make War with the English; by not putting things to the Hazard of a Battel, but wearying them by long Sieges of Towns, and strong Fortified Encampings. James the III. of Scotland, (his true Friend, and Confederate) gone; and James the IV (that had succeeded) wholly at the Devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the Conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain, and Maximilian; he could make no Foundation upon them. For the one

1490. had Power, and not Will; and the other hath Will, and not Power. Besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken Breath, from the War with the Moors; and Merchanded at this time with France, for the restoring of the Counties of Ruffington and Perpignian, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of Fear of the Discontents, an ill Blood within the Realm; which having used always to repress and appease in Person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond Sea, and engaged in War. Finding therefore the Inconveniences and Difficulties in the prosecution of a War, he cast with himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the Declaration and Inchoation of a War, to make his Profit. The other, how to come off from the War, with saving of his Honour. For Profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his Subjects for the War, and upon his Enemies for the Peace; like a good Merchant, that maketh his Gain, both upon the Commodities exported, and imported back again. For the Point of Honour, wherein he might suffer, for giving over the War; he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for Supports of War: so the Impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for Occasions to accept of Peace. These things he did wisely fore-see, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his Lap, as he desired.

For as for the Parliament, it presently took Fire, being affectionate (of old) to the War of France; and desirous a-fresh to repair the Dishonour, they thought the King sustained by the Loss of Brittain. Therefore they advised the King (with great Alacrity) to undertake the War of France. And although the Parliament consisted of the First and second Nobility (together with Principal Citizens and Townsmen) yet worthily and justly respecting more the People (whose Deputies they were) than their own private Persons, and finding by the Lord Chancellor's Speech the King's Inclination that way; they consented that Commissioners should go forth, for the gathering and levying of a Benevolence, from the more able sort. This Tax (called Benevolence) was devised by Edward the Fourth for which he granted the King sustained much Envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third by Act of Parliament, to ingratiate himself with the People; and it was now revived by the King, but with consent of Parliament, for so it was not in the time of King Edward the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great Sums. Inasmuch as the City of London (in those Days) contributed nine thousand Pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the Wealthier sort. There is a Tradition of a Dilemma, that Bishop Morton the Chancellor used to raise up the Benevolence to higher Rates; and some called it his Fork, and some his Crutch. For he had couch'd an Article in the Instructions to the Commissioners, who were to levy the Benevolence; That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their Port, and manner of living. So neither kind came amiss.

This Parliament was merely a Parliament of War; for it was in substance, but a Declaration of War against France and Scotland, with some Statutes conducing thereunto; as the severe punishing of Mort-pays, and keeping back of Souldiers Wages and Captains. The like Severity for the Departure of Souldiers without Licence; Strengthening

A Benevolence granted the King for a War with France. Who the first Author of Benevolences. They are abolished And revived. Bishop Morton's Dilemma.



1490.  
Statute  
to sell  
Lands  
without  
Fines.

Strengthening of the Common-Law in favour of Protections, for those that were in the King's Service; And the setting the Gate open and wide, for Men to sell or mortgage their Lands without Fines for Alienation, to furnish themselves with Money for the War; And lastly, the voiding of all *Scottish-men* out of *England*. There was also a Statute, for the dispersing of the Standard of the Exchequer, throughout *England*; thereby to size Weights and Measures; and two or three more of less Importance.

After the Parliament was broken up (which lasted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the War of *France*; yet neglected not in the mean time the Affairs of *Maximilian*, for the quieting of *Flanders*, and restoring him to his Authority amongst his Subjects. For at that time, the Lord of *Ravenstein* being not only a Subject Rebell'd, but a Servant revolted (and so much the more Malicious and Violent, by the Aid of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*) had taken the Town and both the Castles of *Sluice*; as we said before.

And having (by the Commodity of the Haven) gotten together certain Ships and Barks, fell to a kind of Pyratrical Trade; robbing and spoiling, and taking Prisoners the Ships and Vessels of all Nations, that passed alongst that Coast, towards the Mart of *Antwerp*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zeland*, or *Friesland*; being ever well Victualled from *Picardie*, besides the Commodity of Victuals from *Sluice*, and the Country adjacent, and the Avails of his own Prizes. The *French* assisted him still under-hand; and he likewise (as all Men do, that have been of both sides) thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third Person.

There was a small Town some two Miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea, called *Dam*; which was a Fort and Approach to *Bruges*, and had a Relation also to *Sluice*. This Town the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Town in it self, but because it might choak *Bruges*, and cut it off from the Sea) and ever fail'd. But therewith the Duke of *Saxony* came down into *Flanders*, taking upon him the Person of an Umpire, to compose things between *Maximilian* and his Subjects; but being (indeed) fast and assured to *Maximilian*. Upon this Pretext of Neutrality and Treaty, he repaired to *Bruges*; desiring of the States of *Bruges*, to enter peaceably into their Town, with a Retinue of some Number of Men of Arms, fit for his Estate; being somewhat the more (as he said) the better to guard him in a Country, that was up in Arms: and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers Matters of great Importance, for their Good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his Carriages and Harbingers before him, to provide his Lodging. So that his Men of War entred the City in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before, enquired still for Inns and Lodgings, as if they would have rested there all Night, and so went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam*; and they of *Bruges* only gazed upon them and gave them Passage. The Captains and Inhabitants of *Dam* also suspected no Harm, from any that passed through *Bruges*; and discovering Forces a far off, supposed they had been some Succours, that were come from their Friends, knowing some dangers, towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well, till it was too late, suffered them to enter their

*Dam* taken by a Trick.

Town. By which kind of Sleight rather than Stratagem, the Town of *Dam* was taken and

the Town of *Bruges* shrewdly blockt up, whereby they took great discouragement.

The Duke of *Saxony* having won the Town of *Dam*, sent immediately to the King to let him know that it was *Sluice* chiefly, and the Lord *Ravenstein*, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life; And that if it pleased the King to besiege it by Sea, he also would besiege it by Land, and so cut out the Core of those Wars.

The King willing to uphold the Authority of *Maximilian* (the better to hold *France* in aw) and being likewise sued unto by his Merchants, for that the Seas were much infested by the Barks of the Lord *Ravenstein*; sent straightways Sir *Edward Poynings* a valiant Man, and of good Service, with twelve Ships, well furnished with Souldiers and Artillery, to clear the Seas, and to besiege *Sluice* on that part. The *Englishmen* did not only coop up the Lord *Ravenstein*, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait Siege the Maritim part of the Town; but also assail'd one of the Castles, and renewed the Assault so for twenty days space (issuing still out of their Ships at the Ebb) as they made great Slaughter of them of the Castle; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the *English* part also were slain a Brother of the Earl of *Oxford's* and some fifty more.

But the Siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the Castles (which were the principal strength of the Town) being distressed, the one by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other by the *English*; and a Bridge of Boats, which the Lord *Ravenstein* had made between both Castles, whereby Succours and Relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a Night set on fire by the *English*, he despairing to hold the Town, yielded (at the last) the Castles to the *English*, and the Town to the Duke of *Saxony*, by Composition. Which done, the Duke of *Saxony* and Sir *Edward Poynings* treated with them of *Bruges*, to submit themselves to *Maximilian* their Lord; which after some time they did, paying (in some good part) the Charge of the War, whereby the *Almains* and foreign Succours were dismissed. The example of *Bruges* other of the Revolted Towns followed; so that *Maximilian* grew to be out of Danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of Necessity. And Sir *Edward Poynings* (after he had continued at *Sluice* some good while, till all things were settled) returned unto the King, being then before *Bulloigne*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from *Ferdinando*, and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*; signifying the final Conquest of *Granada* from the *Moors*; which Action in it self so worthy, King *Ferdinando* (whose manner was never to lose any Vertue for the shewing) had expressed and displayed in his Letters at large, with all the particularities, and religious Punctoes and Ceremonies, that were observed in the Reception of that City and Kingdom: Shewing amongst other things, that the King would not by any means in Person enter the City, until he had first aloof seen the Cross set up upon the greater Tower of *Granada*, whereby it became Christian Ground: That likewise before he would enter, he did Homage to God above, pronouncing by an Herald from the Height of that Tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that Kingdom, by the help of God Almighty and the Glorious Virgin, and the Vertuous Apostle Saint *James*, and the Holy Father Innocent the Eight, together with the Aids and Services of his Prelates, Nobles, and Commons: That yet he stirred not from his Camp, till he had seen a

1490.

The Spaniards conquer Granada.



1491. little Army of *Martyrs*, to the Number of Seven Hundred and more Christians (that had lived in Bonds and Servitude as Slaves to the *Moors*) pass before his Eyes, singing a Psalm for their Redemption, and that he had given Tribute unto God by Alms and Relief extended to them all, for his Admission into the City. These things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of Holy Ostentation.

The Kings  
affection  
to the Sp-  
nish King.

The King ever willing to put himself into the Consort or Quire of all religious Actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spain*, (as far as one King can affect another) partly for his Vertues, and partly for a Counterpoise to *France*; upon the receipt of these Letters, sent all his Nobles and Prelates, that were about the Court, together with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, in great Solemnity to the Church of *Pauls*; there to Hear a Declaration from the Lord Chancellor, now Cardinal. When they were Assembled \*, the Cardinal (standing upon the uppermost Step, or half-pace before the Quire; and all the Nobles, Prelates, and Governours of the City at the foot of the Stairs) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were Assembled in that Consecrate Place to sing unto God a New-Song: 'For that (said he) 'these many Years the Christians have 'not gained new Ground or Territory upon the 'Infidels, nor enlarged and set further the Bounds 'of the Christian World: But this is now done 'by the Prowess and Devotion of *Ferdinando* 'and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*; who have (to 'their Immortal Honour) recover'd the great 'and rich Kingdom of *Granada*, and the popu- 'lous and mighty City of the same Name, from 'the *Moors*, having been in Possession thereof by 'the space of Seven hundred Years, and more. 'For which, this Assembly and all Christians 'are to render Laud and Thanks unto God, and 'to celebrate this noble Act of the King of 'Spain; who in this is not only Victorious, but 'Apostolical, in the gaining of new Provinces to 'the Christian Faith. And the rather, for that 'this Victory and Conquest is obtain'd, without 'much Effusion of Blood. Whereby it is to be 'hoped, that there shall be gained, not only 'new Territory, but infinite Souls to the Church 'of Christ; whom the Almighty (as it seems) 'would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most Memorable Particulars of the War and Victory. And after his Speech ended, the whole Assembly went Solemnly in Procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

\* On the  
6th of A-  
pril.

Christen-  
dom en-  
larg'd.

Immediately after the Solemnity, the King kept his *May-Day* at his Palace of *Sheine*, now *Richmond*: Where to warm the Blood of his Nobility and Gallants, against the War, he kept great Triumphs of Jousting and Tourney, during all that Month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir *James Parker* and *Hugh Vaughan*, (one of the King's Gentlemen-Ushers) having had a Controversy touching certain Arms, that the King at Arms had given *Vaughan*, were appointed to run some Courses one against another: And by accident of a faulty Helmet, that *Parker* had on, he was stricken into the Mouth at the first Course, so that his Tongue was born unto the hinder-part of his Head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place. Which because of the Controversy Precedent and the Death that follow'd, was accounted amongst the Vulgar, as a Combate or Tryal of Right. The King, towards the end of this Summer, having put his Forces, wherewith he meant to invade *France*, in readiness, (but so as they were not yet met or mustered together) sent *Urfwick*

(now made his Almoner) and Sir *John Risley* to *Maximilian*; to let him know, that he was in Arms, ready to pass the Seas into *France*, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to joyn with him, according to his Promise made unto him by *Counte-balt*, his Ambassador.

The *English* Ambassadors, having repaired to *Maximilian*, did find his Power and Promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of Men, Money, and Arms for any such Enterprize. For *Maximilian* having neither Wing to fly on (for that his Patrimony of *Austria* was not in his Hands, his Father being then living: And on the other side, his Matrimonial Territories of *Flanders* being partly in Dower to his Mother-in-Law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late Rebellions) was thereby destitute of Means to enter into War. The Ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the King thereof, rather than to return themselves till the King's further Pleasure were known: The rather, for that *Maximilian* himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertain'd them with dilatory Answers; so as the formal part of their Ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw thro' his Business from the beginning) wrote back to the Ambassadors, commending their Discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the State wherein they found *Maximilian*, as a Secret, till they heard further from him: And mean while went on with his Voyage Royal for *France*, suppressing for a time this Advertisement touching *Maximilian's* Poverty and Disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and Puissant Army into the City of *London*. In which were, *Thomas Marquess Dorset*, *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, *Thomas Earl of Derby*, *George Earl of Shrewsbury*, *Edmond Earl of Suffolk*, *Edward Earl of Devonshire*, *George Earl of Kent*, the Earl of *Essex*, *Thomas Earl of Ormond*, with a great number of Barons, Knights, and principal Gentlemen; and amongst them *Richard Thomas*, much noted for the brave Troops that he brought out of *Wales*; The Army rising in the whole to the number of Five and twenty Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Hundred Horse. Over which, the King (constant in his accustom'd Trust and Imployment) made *Jasper Duke of Bedford*, and *John Earl of Oxford*, Generals under his own Person. The 9th of September, in the Eighth Year of his Reign, he departed from *Greenwich* towards the Sea; all Men wondring that he took that Season (being so near Winter) to begin the War; and some thereupon gathering it was a Sign that the War would not be long. Nevertheless, the King gave out the contrary, thus: *That he intended not to make a Summer Business of it, but a resolute War (without term prefixed) until he recover'd France; it skilled not much when he began it: Especially, having Calice at his back; where he might Winter, if the reason of the War so required.* The 6th of October, he Im-  
K. Henry's  
bark'd at *Sandwich*; and the same Day took Voyage  
to *France*.  
Land at *Calice*: which was the Rendezvous where all his Forces were assign'd to meet. But in this his Journey towards the Sea side (wherein, for the Cause that we shall now speak of, he hover'd so much the longer) he had receiv'd Letters from the Lord *Cordes*: who, the hotter he was against the *English* in time of War, had the more credit in a Negotiation of Peace; and besides was held a Man open, and of good Faith. In which Letters there was made an Over-  
ture



1491. ture of Peace from the *French* King, with such Conditions, as were somewhat to the King's Taste: but this was carried at the first with wonderful Secrecy. The King was no sooner come to *Calice*, but the Calm Winds of Peace began to blow. For, first, the *English* Ambassadors return'd out of *Flanders* from *Maximilian*; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any Aid from *Maximilian*, for that he was altogether improvident: His Will was good; but he lacked Money. And this was made known and spread through the Army. And altho' the *English* were therewithal nothing dismay'd; and that it be the manner of Soldiers, upon bad News to Speak the more Bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. Instantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came News that *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*, had concluded a Peace with King *Charles*; and that *Charles* had restor'd unto them the Counties of *Russignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were mortgaged by *John* King of *Arragon* (*Ferdinando's* Father) unto *France*, for Three hundred Thousand Crowns: which Debt was also upon this Peace, by *Charles* clearly released. This came also handfomly to put on the Peace: both because so Potent a Confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair Example of a Peace bought; so as the King should not be the sole Merchant in this Peace. Upon these Airs of Peace, the King was content, that the Bishop of *Exeter* and the Lord *Daubigny* (Governour of *Calice*) should give a Meeting unto the Lord *Cordes*, for the Treaty of a Peace. But himself nevertheless, and his Army, the 15th of *October* removed from *Calice*, and in four days March sat him down before *Bulloigne*.

K. Henry besieges Bulloigne.

During this Siege of *Bulloigne* (which continued near a Month) there passed no memorable Accident of War; only Sir *John Savage*, a valiant Captain was Slain, riding about the Walls of the Town to take a View. The Town was both well fortify'd and well mann'd; yet it was distressed, and ready for an Assault. Which if it had been given (as was thought) would have cost much Blood; but yet the Town would have been carried in the End. Mean while, a Peace was concluded by the Commissioners, to continue for both the Kings Lives. Where there was no Article of Importance; being in effect rather a Bargain than a Treaty. For, all things remained as they were; save that there should be paid to the King Seven hundred Forty five Thousand Ducats in Present, for his Charges in that Journey; and Five and twenty Thousand Crowns yearly, for his Charges sustained in the Aids of the *Britons*. For which Annual, tho' he had *Maximilian* Bound before for those Charges; yet he counted the Alteration of the Hand, as much as the Principal Debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should Determine or Expire: Which made the *English* esteem it as a Tribute carried under fair Terms. And the truth is, it was Paid both to the King, and to his Son King *Henry VIII.* longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. There were also assign'd by the *French* King, unto all the King's principal Counsellors great Pensions, besides rich Gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of a Business that was displeasing to his People, was diversly interpreted. For certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procur'd some of his best Captains, and Men of War, to advise

him to a Peace under their Hands, in an earnest manner, in the Nature of a Supplication. But the truth is, this Peace was welcom to both Kings. To *Charles*, for that it assur'd unto him the Possession of *Brittain*, and freed the Enterprize of *Naples*. To *Henry*, for that it fill'd his Coffers; and that he foresaw at that time a Storm of inward Troubles coming upon him; which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less Discontent to the Nobility, and principal Persons of the Army; who had many of them sold or engaged their Estates upon the Hopes of the War. They stuck not to say, That the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People, to feather himself. And some made themselves merry with that the King had said in Parliament: That after the War was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it self; saying he had kept Promise.

Having risen from *Bulloigne*, he went to *Calice*, where he stay'd some time. From whence also he wrote Letters, \* (which was a Courtesy that he sometimes us'd) to the Mayor of *London*, and Aldermen his Brethren; half bragging what great Sums he had obtain'd for the Peace; The King knowing well, that full Coffers of the King is ever good News to *London*. And better News it would have been, if their Benevolence had been but a Loan. And upon the 17th of *December* following, he return'd to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmas*.

Soon after the King's Return, he sent the Order of the Garter, || to *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, eldest Son to *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; an Honour sought by that Prince, to hold him up in the Eyes of the *Italians*: Who, expecting the Arms of *Charles*, made great Account of the Amity of *England* for a Bridle to *France*. It was received by *Alphonso* with all the Ceremony and Pomp that could be devised; as things use to be carried, that are intended for Opinion. It was sent by *Urswick*; upon whom the King bestow'd this Ambassage, to help him, after many dry Employments.

At this time the King began again to be haunted with Sprites, by the Magick and curious Arts of the Lady *Margaret*: Who rais'd up the Ghost of *Richard* Duke of *York*, second Son to King *Edward IV.* to walk and vex the King. This was a finer Counterfeit Stone than *Lambert Symnell*, better done, and worn upon greater Hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of *France*, and a King of *Scotland*, not of a Dutcheffs of *Burgundy* only. And for *Simmell*, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsom Boy, and did not shame his Robes. But this Youth (of whom we are now to speak) was such a Mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own Part if at any time he chanc'd to be out. Wherefore, this being one of the strangest Examples of a Personation that ever was in Elder or Later Times; it deserveth to be discovered, and related at the full: Altho' the King's manner of shewing things, by Pieces and by Dark Lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a Mystery to this Day.

The Lady *Margaret* (whom the King's Friends call'd *Juno*, because she was to him as *Juno* was to *Aeneas*, stirring both Heaven and Hell to do him Mischief) for a Foundation of her particular Practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying Opinion, That *Richard* Duke of *York* (second Son to *Edward IV.*) was not murder'd in the *Tower* (as was given out) but saved

1491.

\* Dated the 9th of Novemb. 1491. The King writes bragging Letters to the Lord Mayor.

By Urswick his Chaplain.

1492.

The rise of the Counterfeit Perkin.



1492. ved alive : For that those who were employ'd in that barbarous Fact, having destroy'd the elder Brother, were stricken with Remorse and Compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his Fortune. This Lure she cast abroad, thinking that this Fame and Belief (together with the fresh Example of *Lambert Simnell*) would draw at one time or other some Birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further Diligence, not committing all to Chance. For, she had some secret Espials (like to the Turks Commissioners for Children of Tribute) to look abroad for handfom and graceful Youths, to make *Plantagenets*, and Dukes of *York*. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn, for a Counterfeit of *Richard Duke of York*.

This was *Perkin Warbeck*, whose Adventures we shall now describe. For, First, the Years agreed well. Secondly, He was a Youth of fine Favour and Shape; But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching Fashion, both to move Pity and to induce Belief, as was like a kind of Fascination and Inchantment to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his Childhood such a Wanderer, or (as the King called him) such a Land-loper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his Nest and Parents. Neither again could any Man, by Company or Converse with him, be able to say or detect well what he was; he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, There was a Circumstance (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the Matter; which is, That King *Edward IV.* was his Godfather. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton Prince to become Gossip in so mean a House; and might make a Man think that he might indeed have in him some base Blood of the House of *York*: so at the least (tho' that were not) it might give the occasion to the Boy, in being call'd King *Edward's* Godson, or perhaps in sport, King *Edward's* Son, to entertain such Thoughts into his Head. For, Tutor he had none (for ought that appears) as *Lambert Simnell* had, until he came unto the Lady *Margaret*, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to pass: There was a Townsman of *Tournay*, that had born Office in that Town, whose Name was (a) *John Osbeck*, a Convert-Jew, married to *Catherine de Faro*; whose Business drew him to live for a time with his Wife at *London*, in King *Edward IV.*'s days. During which time he had a Son by her: and being known in Court, the King either out of a religious Nobleness, because he was a Convert, or upon some private Acquaintance, did him the Honour as to be Godfather to his Child, and named him *Peter*. But afterwards proving a Dainty and Effeminate Youth, he was commonly call'd by the Diminutive of his Name, *Peter-Kin*, or *Perkin*. For, as for the Name of *Warbeck*, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before Examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talk'd on by that Name, as it stuck by him after his true Name of *Osbeck* was known. While he was a young Child, his Parents return'd with him to *Tournay*. Then was he placed in a House of a Kinsman of his, call'd *John Stenbeck* at *Antwerp*: and so roved up and down between *Antwerp* and *Tournay*, and other Towns of *Flanders*, for a good

time; living much in *English* Company, and having the *English* Tongue perfect. In which time being grown a comely Youth, he was brought by some of the Espials of the Lady *Margaret* unto her Presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a Face and Personage, that would bear a Noble Fortune: And finding him otherwise of a fine Spirit and winning Behaviour, thought she had now found a curious Piece of Marble, to carve out an Image of a Duke of *York*. She kept him by her a great while; but with extreme Secrecy. The while, she instructed him, by many Cabinet-Conferences. First, In Princely Behaviour and Gesture; teaching him how he should keep State, and yet with a modest Sense of his Misfortunes. Then she inform'd him of all the Circumstances and Particulars that concerned the Person of *Richard Duke of York*, which he was to act: Describing unto him the Personages, Lineaments, and Features of the King and Queen his pretended Parents; and of his Brother, and Sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in his Childhood; together with all Passages, some secret some common, that were fit for a Child's Memory, until the Death of King *Edward*. Then she added the Particulars of the Time, from the King's Death, until he and his Brother were committed to the *Tower*, as well during the time he was Abroad, as while he was in Sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the *Tower*, and the manner of his Brother's Death, and his own Escape; she knew they were things that a very few could controul. And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely Tale of those Matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what Account he should give of his Peregrination abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the Credit of the rest: But still making them hang together, with the Part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting Questions, which were like to be asked of him. But, in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own Wit and Readiness; and therefore labour'd the less in it. Lastly, she raised his Thoughts with some present Rewards, and further Promises; setting before him chiefly the Glory and Fortune of a Crown, if things went well; and a sure Refuge to her Court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his Lesson, she began to cast with her self from what Coast this Blazing-Star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the Horizon of *Ireland*; for there had the like Meteor strong Influence before: The time of the Apparition to be, when the King should be engaged into a War with *France*. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ireland*, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then upon Terms of Peace. Therefore she wheel'd about; and to put all Suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her (for that she knew Secrets are not long liv'd) she sent him unknown into *Portugal*, with the Lady *Brampton*, (b) an *English* Lady, that Embark'd for *Portugal* at that time;

(a) His true Name was *Peter Osbeck*; he was not unlike *Richard Duke of York*, both in Body and Countenance; he was Born at *Tournay* in *Flanders*. Whose Father, *John Osbeck*, was Controulor of that City, and his Mother *Catherine de Faro*, who could speak *English*. Sir *J. Ware*, Ann. Hen. VII. Cap. 6. (b) Sir *Richard Brampton's* Wife.



1492. with some *Privado* of her own, to have an Eye upon him: and there he was to remain, and to expect her further Directions. In the mean time, she omitted not to prepare things for his better Welcom, and Accepting, not only in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but in the Court of *France*. He continued in *Portugal* about a Year; and by that time, the King of *England* called his Parliament (as hath been said) and declared open War against *France*. Now did the Sign reign, and the Constellation was come, under which *Perkin* would appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the Dutchess to go for *Ireland*, according to the first Designment. In *Ireland* he did Arrive at the Town of *Cork*. When he was come thither, his own Tale was (when he made his Confession afterwards) That the *Irishmen*, finding him in some good Clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down, that he was the Duke of *Clarence*, that had been there before: And after, that he was *Richard* the III's base Son: And lastly, that he was *Richard* Duke of *York*, second Son to *Edward IV*: But that he (for his part) renounced all these things, and offer'd to Swear upon the Holy Evangelists, that he was no such Man; till at last they forced it upon him and bad him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into *Ireland*, he took upon him the said Person of the Duke of *York*, and drew unto him Complices, and Partakers, by all the Means he could devise: Infomuch, as he wrote his Letters unto the Earls of *Desmond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his Aid, and be of his Party; the Originals of which Letters are yet extant.

*Frion*,  
K. Henry's  
Secretary  
for the  
French  
Tongue  
joyns with  
*Perkin*.

The Fr.  
King fa-  
vours *Per-  
kin*.

Somewhat before this time, the Dutchess had gained unto her, a near Servant of King *Henry*'s own, one *Stephen Frion*, his Secretary for the French Tongue; an Active Man, but turbulent and discontented. This *Frion* had fled over to *Charles* the French King, and put himself into his Service, at such time as he began to be in open Enmity with the King. Now King *Charles*, when he understood of the Person and Attempts of *Perkin* (ready of himself to embrace all Advantages against the King of *England*; instigated by *Frion*, and formerly prepared by the Lady *Margaret*) forthwith dispatch'd one *Lucas*, and this *Frion*, in the Nature of Ambassadors to *Perkin*; to advertise him of the King's good Inclination to him, and that he was resolv'd to Aid him to recover his Right against King *Henry*, an Usurper of *England*, and an Enemy of *France*; and wish'd him to come over unto him at *Paris*. *Perkin* thought himself in Heaven now that he was invited by so great a King, in so honourable a manner: and imparting unto his Friends in *Ireland* for their Incouragement, how Fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sail'd presently into *France*. When he was come to the Court of *France*, the King receiv'd him with great Honour; saluted, and stiled him by the Name of the Duke of *York*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great State: And the better to give him the Representation and the Countenance of a Prince, assign'd him a Guard for his Person, whereof the Lord *Congreall* was Captain. The Courtiers likewise (tho' it be ill mocking with the French) applied themselves to their King's Bent, seeing there was Reason of State for it. At the same time there repair'd unto *Perkin* divers Englishmen of Quality; Sir *George Nevile*, Sir *John Taylor*, and about One hundred more; and amongst the rest, this *Stephen Frion*, of whom we spake; who follow'd his Fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his Principal Councillor, and Instru-

ment in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the French King's part, was but a Trick; the better to bow King *Henry* to Peace. And therefore upon the first Grain of Incense that was sacrificed upon the Altar of Peace at *Bulloigne*, *Perkin* was smok'd away. Yet would not the French King deliver him up to King *Henry* (as he was labour'd to do) for his Honour's sake, but warn'd him away and dismissed him. And *Perkin* on his part was ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into *Flanders*, unto the Dutchess of *Burgundy*; pretending, that having been variously toss'd by Fortune, he directed his Course thither, as to a safe Harbour: No ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first Address. The Dutchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him: pretending (at the first) that she was taught and made wise by the Example of *Lambert Simnell*, how she did admit of any Counterfeit Stuff; tho' even in that (she said) she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first (and that was ever in the presence of others) to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of *York*, or no. But seeming to receive full Satisfaction by his Answers, she then feign'd her self to be transported with a kind of Astonishment, mixt of Joy and Wonder, at his miraculous Deliverance; receiving him, as if he were risen from Death to Life: and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserv'd him from Death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous Fortune. As for his Dismission out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a Counterfeit Deceiver; but contrariwise, that it did shew manifestly unto the World, that he was some great Matter; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the Peace: being no more but the Sacrificing of a poor distressed Prince unto the Utility and Ambition of two Mighty Monarchs. Neither was *Perkin* for his part wanting to himself, either in gracious and Princely Behaviour, or in ready and apposite Answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty Scorn and Disdain to those that seem'd to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself: Infomuch as it was generally believed (as well amongst great Persons, as amongst the Vulgar) that he was indeed Duke *Richard*. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a Lye, was turn'd by habit almost into the thing he seem'd to be; and from a Lye to a Believer. The Dutchess therefore (as in a Case out of doubt) did him all Princely Honour, calling him always by the Name of her Nephew, and giving him the Delicate Title of *The White Rose of England*; and appointed him a Guard of Thirty Persons, Halberdiers, clad in a Party-colour'd Livery of Murrey and Blew, to Attend his Person. Her Court likewise and generally the Dutch and Strangers in their usage towards him, expressed no less Respect.

The News hereof came blazing and thundering over into *England*, that the Duke of *York* was sure alive. As for the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, it was not at that time come to light, but all the News ran upon the Duke of *York*; that he had been entertain'd in *Ireland*, bought and sold in *France*, and was now plainly avowed, and in great Honour in *Flanders*. These Fames took hold of divers; In some upon Discontent, in some upon Ambition, in some upon Levity and Desire of Change, and in some few upon Conscience and Belief, but in most upon Simplicity; and

1493.



1493. and in divers out of Dependance upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these Bruits. And it was not long, ere these Rumours of Novelty had begotten others of Scandal and Murmur against the King and his Government; taxing him for a great Taxer of his People, and Discountenancer of his Nobility. The Loss of *Brittain*, and the Peace with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his Queen, in that he did not Reign in her Right. Wherefore they said, that God had now brought to light a Masculine-Branch of the House of *York*, that would not be at his Curtesy, howsoever he did deprecate his poor Lady. And yet (as it fareth in things which are currant with the Multitude, and which they affect) these Fables grew so general, as the Authors were lost in the Generality of Speakers. They being like running Weeds, that have no certain Root; or like Footings up and down, impossible to be traced. But after a while, these ill Humours drew to an Head, and settled secretly in some eminent Persons; which were Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*. These entered into a secret Conspiracy to favour Duke *Richard's* Title. Nevertheless none engaged their Fortunes in this Business openly, but two; Sir *Robert Clifford* and Master *William Barley*, who sail'd over into *Flanders*, sent indeed from the Party of the Conspirators here, to understand the Truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of Moneys from hence; Provisionally to be deliver'd, if they found and were satisfied that there was Truth in these Pretences. The Person of Sir *Robert Clifford* (being a Gentleman of Fame and Family) was extremely Welcome to the Lady *Margaret*. Who after she had Conference with him, brought him to the sight of *Perkin*, with whom he had often Speech and Discourse. So that in the end won either by the Dutche's to affect, or by *Perkin* to believe, he wrote back into *England*, that he knew the Person of *Richard Duke of York*, as well as he knew his own; and that this Young Man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to Revolt and Sedition here, and the Conspiracy came to a Correspondence between *Flanders* and *England*.

The King on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy Forces yet, he thought would but shew Fear, and do this Idol too much Worship. Nevertheless the Ports he did shut up, or at least kept a Watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected. But for the rest, he chose to work by Countermine. His purposes were two; The one, to lay open the Abuse; the other, to break the Knot of the Conspirators. To detect the Abuse, there were but two ways: The first, to make it manifest to the World that the Duke of *York* was indeed murder'd: The other to prove, that were he Dead or Alive, yet *Perkin* was a Counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four Persons that could speak upon Knowledge to the Murder of the Duke of *York*: Sir *James Tirrel* (the employ'd-man from King *Richard*) *John Dighton*, and *Miles Forrest*, his Servants (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the Priest of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which four, *Miles Forrest*, and the Priest were dead, and there remain'd alive only Sir *James Tirrel* and *John Dighton*. These two the King caused to be committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the Death of the two innocent Princes. They agreed both in a Tale, (as the King gave out) to this effect:

That King *Richard* having directed his Warrant 1493. for the putting of them to Death to *Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was by him refused. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to Sir *James Tirrel*, to receive the Keys of the *Tower* from the Lieutenant (for the space of a Night) for the King's special Service. That Sir *James Tirrel* accordingly repair'd to the *Tower* by Night, attended by his two Servants afore-named, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the Stair-foot, and sent these two Villains to execute the Murther. That they smother'd them in their Bed; and that done, call'd up their Master to see their naked Bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the Stairs, and some Stones cast upon them. That when the Report was made to King *Richard*, that his Will was done, he gave Sir *James Tirrel* great Thanks, but took Exception to the Place of their Burial, being too base for them that were Kings Children. Whereupon another Night by the King's Warrant renew'd, their Bodies were remov'd by the Priest of the *Tower*, and buried by him in some Place, which (by means of the Priest's Death soon after) could not be known. Thus much was then deliver'd Abroad, to be the Effect of those Examinations. But the King nevertheless made no use of them in any of his Declarations; whereby (as it seems) those Examinations left the Business somewhat perplex'd. And as for Sir *James Tirrel*, he was soon after Beheaded in the *Tower-Yard*, for other Matters of Treason\*. But *John Dighton* (who it seemeth spake best for the King) was forthwith set at Liberty, and was the principal Means of divulging this Tradition. Therefore this kind of Proof being left so naked, the King used the more Diligence in the latter, for the tracing of *Perkin*. To this purpose, he sent abroad into several Parts, and especially into *Flanders*, divers secret and nimble Scouts and Spies; some feigning themselves to fly over unto *Perkin*, and to adhere unto him; and some under other Pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the Circumstances and Particulars of *Perkin's* Parents, Birth, Person, Travels up and down; and in brief, to have a Journal (as it were) of his Life and Doings. He furnish'd these his employed-men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward Intelligences: giving them also in Charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one Advertisement and Discovery call'd up another, he employ'd other new Men, where the Business did require it. Others he employ'd in a more special Nature and Trust, to be his Pioneers in the main Counter-mine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the Familiarity and Confidence of the principal Persons of the Party in *Flanders*, and so to learn what Associates they had, and Correspondents, either here in *England*, or Abroad; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the Persons; so for the Actions themselves, to discover to the Bottom (as they could) the utmost of *Perkins* and the Conspirators their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. These latter *Best-trust-Spies* had some of them further Instructions, to practise and draw off the best Friends and Servants of *Perkin*, by making Remonstrance to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King, with Promise of Pardon, and good Conditions of Reward. And (above the rest) to assail, sap, and work into the Constancy of Sir

The Peoples Murmurs.

Conspirators for Perkin.

Sir Robert Clifford flies to Perkin.

1493. *Brackenbury* refused to murder *K. Edw.* the Fourth's two Sons.

Sir *James Tirrel* employ'd by *K. Richard* to murder the Princes.

*John Dighton* one of the Murderers of the two Young Princes. \*Sir *James Tirrel* was not Beheaded till ten Years afterward, Sep. 20.



1494. Sir Robert Clifford; and to win him (if they could) being the Man that knew most of their Secrets, and who being won away, would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the Knot.

A Custom of Curfing the King's Enemies at Pauls Cross.

Sir Robert Clifford is prevailed upon to serve King Henry.

There is a strange Tradition; That the King being lost in a Wood of Suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both Intelligence with the Confessors and Chaplains of divers great Men, and for the better Credit of his Espials abroad with the contrary Side, did use to have them curfed at Pauls (by Name) amongst the Bead-roll of the King's Enemies, according to the Custom of those Times. These Espials plied their Charge so roundly, as the King had an Anatomy of *Perkin* alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent Conspirators in *England*, and many other Mysteries were reveal'd; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the King, and industrious and officious for his Service. The King therefore (receiving a rich Return of his Diligence, and great Satisfaction touching a number of Particulars) first divulged and spread abroad the Imposture and Juggling of *Perkin's* Person and Travels, with the Circumstances thereof throughout the Realm. Not by Proclamation (because things were yet in Examination, and so might receive the more or the less) but by Court-fames, which commonly Print better than printed Proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an Ambassage unto Archduke *Philip* into *Flanders*, for the abandoning and dismissing of *Perkin*. Herein he employ'd Sir *Edward Poynings* and Sir *William Warham*, Doctor of the Canon-Law. The Archduke was then Young, and governed by his Council: before whom the Ambassadors had Audience, and Dr. *Warham* spake in this manner.

These Ambassadors went to Flanders before Sir Robert Clifford sided with the King. Hol.

"MY Lords, the King our Master is very sorry, that *England* and your Country here of *Flanders* having been counted as Man and Wife for so long time, now this Country of all others should be the Stage, where a base Counterfeit should play the part of a King of *England*; not only to his Grace's Disquiet and Dishonour, but to the Scorn and Reproach of all Sovereign Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyn, is an high Offence by all Laws: But to Counterfeit the living Image of a King in his Person, exceedeth all Falsifications, except it should be that of a *Mahomet*, or an Anti-Christ, that counterfeit Divine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this Sage Council, to think that any of you is caught with this Fable (though way may be given by you to the Passion of some) the thing in it self is so improbable. To set Testimonies aside of the Death of Duke *Richard*, which the King hath upon Record, plain and infallible (because they may be thought to be in the King's own Power) let the thing testify for it self. Sense and Reason no Power can Command. Is it possible (trow you) that King *Richard* should damn his Soul, and foul his Name with so abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Case? Or do you think, that Men of Blood (that were his Instruments) did turn to Pity in the midst of their Execution? Whereas in cruel and savage Beasts, and Men also, the first Draught of Blood doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Do you not know, that the Bloody Executioners of Tyrants do go to such Errands, with an Halter about their

Neck: So that if they perform not, they are sure to dye for it? And do you think, that these Men would hazard their own Lives, for sparing anothers? Admit they should have saved him: What should they have done with him? Turn him into *London* Streets, that the Watch-men or any Passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a Justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great deal of Care, Charge, and continual Fears. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a clear Business. The King is so wise, and hath so good Friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke *Perkin* from his Cradle. And because he is a great Prince, if you have any good Poet here, he can help him with Notes to write his Life, and to parallel him with *Lambert Simnel*, now the Kings Faulconer. And therefore (to speak plainly to your Lordships) it is the strangest thing in the World, that the Lady *Margaret* (excuse us, if we name her, whose Malice to the King is both causeless and endless) should now when she is old, at the time when other Women give over Childbearing, bring forth two such Monsters; being not the Births of nine or ten Months, but of many Years. And whereas other Natural Mothers bring forth Children Weak, and not able to help themselves; she bringeth forth tall Striplings, able soon after their coming into the World, to bid Battel to mighty Kings. My Lords, we stay unwillingly upon this Part. We would to God, that Lady would once taste the Joys, which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her Niece to Reign in such Honour, and with so much Royal Issue, which she might be pleased to accompt as her own. The King's Request unto the Arch-Duke, and your Lordships, might be; That according to the Example of King *Charles*, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But because the King may justly expect more from an Antient Confederate, than from a new reconciled Enemy; he maketh his Request unto you, to deliver him up into his Hands. Pirates and Impostures of this sort, being fit to be accounted the Common Enemies of Mankind, and no ways to be protected by the Laws of Nations.

After some time of Deliberation, the Ambassadors received this short Answer.

The Arch-Duke's Answer to the English Ambassadors.

"THAT the Archduke, for the Love of King *Henry*, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended Duke, but in all things conserve the Amity he had with the King. But for the Dutchess Dowager, she was absolute in the Lands of her Dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own.

The King, upon the Return of the Ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this Answer. For well he knew, that a Patrimonial Dowry carried no part of Sovereignty, or Command of Forces. Besides, the Ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the Dutchess had a great Party in the Arch-Duke's Council; and that howsoever it was carried in a Course of Conivence, yet the Arch-Duke under hand gave Aid and Furtherance to *Perkin*. Wherefore (partly out of Courage, and partly out of Policy) the King forthwith banished all *Flemmings* (as well their Persons, as their Wares) out of his Kingdom;



1494. Kingdom; commanding his Subjects likewise (and by name his Merchants-Adventurers) which had a Residence in *Antwerp*, to return; translating the *Mart* (which commonly followed the *English* Cloth) unto *Calice*, and imbarred also all further Trade for the future. This the King did, being sensible in point of Honour, not to suffer a Pretender to the Crown of *England*, to affront him so near at Hand, and he to keep Terms of Friendship with the Country where he did set up. But he had also a further reach: For that he knew well, that the Subjects of *Flanders* drew so great Commodity from the Trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would soon wax weary of *Perkin*, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the Prince to displease the People. Nevertheless for Form's sake, by way of Requital, the Arch-Duke did likewise banish the *English* out of *Flanders*; which in effect was done to his Hand.

The *Mart* was removed the last Year. Why the *Mart* was removed from *Antwerp* to *Calice*.

The King being well advertised, that *Perkin* did more trust upon Friends and Partakers within the Realm, than upon forreign Arms, thought it behooved him to apply the Remedy, where the Disease lay; and to proceed with Severity against some of the principal Conspirators here within the Realm; Thereby to purge the ill Humors in *England*, and to cool the Hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore he caused to be apprehended (almost at an instant) *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitzwater*, *Sir Simon Mountford*, *Sir Thomas Thwaites*, *William Dawbigne*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Chresenor*, and *Thomas Astwood*. All these were arraigned, convicted and condemned for High Treason, in adhering, and promising aid to *Perkin*. Of these, the Lord *Fitzwater* was conveyed to *Calice* and there kept in Hold, and in hope of Life, until soon after (either impatient, or betrayed) he dealt with his Keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But *Sir Simon Mountford*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William Dawbigne* were beheaded immediately after their Condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others Clerks and Laikes, amongst which were two *Dominican* Friars, and *William Worfeley*, Dean of *Pauls*: which latter fort passed Examination, but came not to publick Trial.

*Sir Simon Mountford* and others beheaded.

The Lord Chamberlain at that time was not touched; whether it were, that the King would not stir too many Humours at once, but (after the manner of good Physicians) purge the Head last; or that *Clifford* (from whom most of these Discoveries came) reserved that Piece for his own coming over; signifying only to the King in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the King further accompt, when he came to his presence.

Knights of the Bath Created.

Upon *Al-hallows-day*-even being now the tenth year of the King's Reign, the King's second Son *Henry* was created Duke of *York*; and as well the Duke, as divers others, Noblemen, Knights Batchelours, and Gentlemen of Quality were made Knights of the *Bath*, according to the Ceremony. Upon the Morrow after Twelfth-Day, the King removed from *Westminster* (where he had kept his *Christmas*) to the Tower of *London*. This he did as soon as he had Advertisement, that *Sir Robert Clifford* (in whose Bosom or Budget most of *Perkins* Secrets were layed up) was come into *England*. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if *Clifford* should accuse any of the great ones, they might without Suspicion, or Noise, or sending abroad of Warrants, be presently at-

tached; the Court and Prison being within the Cincture of one Wall. After a Day or two, the King drew unto him a selected Council, and admitted *Clifford* to his Presence; who first fell down at his Feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's Pardon, which the King then granted, though he were indeed secretly assured of his Life before. Then commanded to tell his Knowledge, he did amongst many others (of himself, not interrogated) appeach *Sir William Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household.

1494.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this Lord, as if he had heard the News of some strange and fearful Prodigy. To hear a Man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his Life, and set the Crown upon his Head; a Man, that enjoyed by his Favour and Advancement so great a Fortune, both in Honour and Riches; a Man, that was tied unto him in so near a Band of Alliance, his Brother having married the King's Mother; and lastly, a Man, to whom he had committed the trust of his Person, in making him his Chamberlain. That this Man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in Fear, should be false unto him. *Clifford* was required to say over again, and again, the Particulars of his Accusation, being warned, that in a Matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a Servant of the King's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the King finding that he did sadly, and constantly (without Hesitation or varying, and with those Civil Protestations that were fit) stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his Soul and Life; he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his Council there present, gave order that *Sir William Stanley* should be restrained in his own Chamber, where he lay before, in the Square Tower. And the next day he was examined by the Lords. Upon his Examination, he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his Fault. So that (not very wisely) thinking to make his Offence less by Confession, he made it enough for Condemnation. It was conceived, that he trusted much to his former Merits, and the Interest that his Brother had in the King. But those helps were over-weighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the King's Nature and Mind. First, an Over-merit; for convenient Merit, unto which Reward may easily reach, doth best with Kings: next the sense of his Power; for the King thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly the Glimmering of a Confiscation; for he was the Richest Subject for Value in the Kingdom; There being found in his Castle of *Holt* forty Thousand Marks in ready Money, and Plate, besides Jewels, Household-stuff, Stocks upon his Grounds, and other Personal Estate, exceeding great. And for his Revenue in Land and Fee, it was three thousand Pounds a Year of old Rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the Nature of the Time; for if the King had been out of Fear of his own Estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his Life. But the Cloud of so great a Rebellion hanging over his Head, made him Work sure. Wherefore after some six Weeks distance of time, which the King did honorably interpose, both to give space to his Brother's Intercession, and to shew to the World, that he had a Conflict with himself what he should do; he was Arraigned of High-Treason, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

*Sir William Stanley* is appeach'd of Treason.

*Sir William Stanley* imprisoned.

His Confession.

The King aims at the Confiscation of *Sir William Stanley's* Estate.

On the 15th of February 1495. *Sir William Stanley* beheaded.

Yet



1495. Yet is it to this Day but in dark Memory, both what the Case of this Noble Person was, for which he suffered, and what likewise was the Ground and Cause of his Defection, and the Alienation of his Heart from the King. His Case was said to be this: That in Discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him, he had said; *That if he were sure, that that young Man were King Edward's Son, he would never bear Arms against him.* This Case seems somewhat an hard Case, both in Respect of the Conditional, and in respect of the other Words. But for the Conditional, it seems the Judges of that time (who were learned Men, and the Three chief of them of the Privy Council) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *Ifs* and *Ands*, to qualifie Words of Treason; whereby every Man might express his Malice, and blanch his Danger. And it was like to the Case (in the following Times) of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy-Maid of Kent: who had said, *That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Katherine his Wife again, He should be deprived of his Crown, and dye the Death of a Dog.* And infinite Cases may be put of like Nature. Which (it seemeth) the Grave Judges taking into Consideration, would not admit of Treasons upon Condition. And as for the Positive Words, *That he would not bear Arms against King Edward's Son*; though the Words seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct Over-ruling of the Kings Title, either by the Line of Lancaster, or by Act of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, than if Stanley had charged his Lance upon him in the Field. For if Stanley would hold that Opinion, that a Son of King Edward had still the better Right, he being so principal a Person of Authority, and Favour about the King; it was to teach all England, to say as much. And therefore (as those Times were) that Speech touched the Quick. But some Writers do put this out of doubt; for they say, that Stanley did expressly promise to Aid Perkin, and sent him some help of Treasure.

Why Sir William Stanley fell from the King's Interest. Now for the Motive of his falling off from the King; it is true, that at *Bosworth Field* the King was beset, and in a Manner inclosed round about by the Troups of King Richard, and in manifest Danger of his Life; when this Stanley was sent by his Brother, with Three thousand Men to his Rescue, which he performed so, that King Richard was slain upon the Place. So as the Condition of mortal Men is not capable of a greater Benefit, than the King received by the Hands of Stanley; being like the Benefit of Christ, at once to Save, and Crown. For which Service the King gave him great Gifts, made him his Councellour, and Chamberlain; and (somewhat contrary to his Nature) had winked at the great Spoils of *Bosworth Field*, which came almost wholly to this Man's Hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheless blown up with the Conceit of his Merit, he did not think he had received good Measure from the King, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected. And his Ambition was so exorbitant, and unbounded, as he became Suitor to the King for the Earldom of Chester. Which ever being a kind of Appennage to the Principality of Wales, and using to go to the King's Son; his Suit did not only end in a Denial, but in a Distaste. The King perceiving thereby, that his Desires were intemperate, and his Cogitations vast, and irregular, and that his former Benefits were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore

the King began not to brook him well. And as a little Leaven of new Distaste doth commonly sour the whole Lump of former Merits, the King's Wit began now to suggest unto his Passion that, Stanley, at *Bosworth Field*, though he came time enough to save his Life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no Matter against him, he continued him in his Places, until this his Fall.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain, Giles Lord *Darweny*, a Man of great Sufficiency and Valour; the more, because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford (who now was become the State-Informer) was from the beginning an Emissary, and Spie of the Kings; and that he fled over into Flanders with his Consent and Privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that Degree of Grace, which he had with the King before his going over; and chiefly, for that the Discovery which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain (which was his great Service) grew not from any thing he learn'd abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These Executions (and especially that of the Lord Chamberlain's, which was the chief strength of the Party, and by Means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most inward Man of Trust amongst them) did extremely quail the Design of Perkin, and his Complices, as well through Discouragement, as Distrust. So that they were now (like Sand without Lime) ill bound together; especially as many as were English: Who were at a Gaze, looking one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their Side; but thinking that the King (what with his Baits, and what with his Nets) would draw them all unto him, that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the Thred, sometimes one, and sometimes another. *Rayley* (that was Joint-Commissioner with Clifford) did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his Peace at the length. But, the Fall of this great Man, being in so high Authority and Favour (as was thought) with the King; and the Manner of Carriage of the Business, as if there had been secret Inquisition upon him, for a great time before; and the Cause for which he suffered, which was little more, than for saying in effect, *That the Title of York, was better than the Title of Lancaster*; which was the Case almost of every Man (at the least in Opinion;) was Matter of great Terrour amongst all the King's Servants and Subjects: Inasmuch, as no Man almost thought himself secure; and Men durst scarce commune or talk one with another: But there was a general Diffidence every where. Which nevertheless made the King rather more Absolute, than more Safe. For, *Bleeding Inwards and shut Vapours strangle soonest, and oppress most.*

Hereupon presently came forth Swarms and Vollics of Libels (which are the Gusts of Liberty of Speech restrained, and the Females of Sedition) containing bitter Invectives, and Slanders against the King, and some of the Council. For the contriving and dispersing whereof (after great Diligence and Inquiry) Five mean Persons were caught, and executed.

Mean while, the King did not neglect Ireland, being the Soil where the Mushromes and Upstart-Weeds (that spring up in a Night) did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his Affairs there) Commissioners of both Robes: The Prior of *Lantbony*, † to be his Chancellour in that Kingdom;

(†) Sir Henry Dean Hol, Sir James Ware, calls him, Henry Dean Bishop of Bangor in Wales. Sir Edward Payntings, was made Lord Deputy. Dean Lord Chancellour, and Sir Hugh Conway Lord Treasurer. They arriv'd in Ireland the 13th of September in the Year before.



1495. and Sir Edward Poynings with a Power of Men (a) and a Marshal Commission, together with a Civil Power of his Lieutenant, with a Clause, that the Earl of Kildare, then Deputy, should obey him. But, the *Wild-Irish* (who were the principal Offenders) fled into the Woods and Bogs, after their Manner: And those that knew themselves guilty, in the Pale, fled to them. So that Sir Edward Poynings, was enforced to make a Wild Chase upon the *Wild-Irish*: Where (in respect of the Mountains and Fastnesses) he did little good. Which (either out of a suspicious Melancholy upon his bad Success, or the better to save his Service from Disgrace) he would needs impute unto the Comfort, that the *Rebels* should receive under-hand from the Earl of Kildare that was in the Action of *Lambert Simnel*, slain at *Stoke-Field*. (b) Wherefore he caused the Earl to be apprehended, and sent into *England*; where, upon Examination, he declared himself so well, as he was re-placed in his Government. But, Poynings (the better to make Compensation of the Meagerness of his Service in the Wars; by Acts of Peace) called a Parliament; where was made that memorable Act, which at this Day is called *Poynings Law*, whereby all the Statutes of *England* were made to be of Force in *Ireland*. (c) For, before they were not: Neither are any now in Force in *Ireland*, which were made in *England* since that time; which was the Tenth Year of the King.

Poynings  
Act

Forfeitures on  
Penal  
Laws the  
Blot of  
this  
Reign.

Sir William  
Capel Alderman of  
London  
fin'd.

About this time, began to be discovered in the King that Disposition, which, afterward nourished and whet-on by bad Councillours and Ministers, proved the Blot of his Times; which was the Course he took, to crush Treasure out of his Subjects Purfes, by Forfeitures upon Penal-Laws. At this, Men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the King's Nature, and not out of his Necessity, he being now in float for Treasure; For that he had newly received the Peace-Money from *France*, the Benevolence-Money from his Subjects, and great Casualties upon the Confiscations of the Lord Chamberlain, and divers others. The first noted Case of this Kind, was that of Sir William Capel, Alderman of *London*: Who, upon sundry Penal-Laws, was condemned in the Sum of Seven and twenty hundred Pounds, and compounded with the King for Sixteen hundred: And yet after, *Empson* would have cut a Chop out of him, if the King had not dyed in the Instant.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his Mother (whom he did always tenderly love and revere) and to make Demonstration to the World, that the Proceedings against Sir William Stanley) which was imposed upon him by necessity of State) had not in any degree diminished the Affection he bore to Thomas his Brother; went in progress to *Latham*, to make merry with his Mother, and the Earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress, *Perkin Warbeck* finding, that time and Temporizing, which (whilst his Practices were covert and wrought well in *England*) made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him (for that when matters once go down the Hill they stay not without a new Force) resolved to try his Adventure in some Exploit upon *England*;

hoping still upon the Affections of the Common-People towards the House of *York*. Which Body of Common-People he thought was not to be practised upon, as Persons of Quality are; But, that the only Practice upon their Affections, was, to set up a Standard in the Field. The Place where he should make his Attempt, he chose to be the Coast of *Kent*.

The King by this time was grown to such an height of Reputation for Cunning and Policy, that every Accident and Event, that went well, was laid and imputed to his Foresight, as if he had set it before: As, in this Particular of *Perkin's* Design upon *Kent*. For, the World would not believe afterwards, but the King, having secret Intelligence of *Perkin's* Intention for *Kent*, (the better to draw it on) went of purpose into the *North*, a far off, laying an open Side unto *Perkin*, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his Heels, having made sure in *Kent* before hand.

But so it was, that *Perkin* had gather'd together a Power of all Nations, neither in Number, nor in the hardiness and Courage of the Persons, contemptible; but in their Nature and Fortunes, to be fear'd as well of Friends as Enemies; being Bankrupts, and many of them Felons, and such as liv'd by Rapine. These he put to Sea, and arriv'd upon the Coast of *Sandwich* and *Deal* in *Kent*, about July.

There he cast Anchor; and to prove the Affections of the People, sent some of his Men to Land, making great boast of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentish-men* (perceiving that *Perkin* was not follow'd by any *English* of Name or Account, and that his Forces consisted but of Strangers Born, and most of them base People, and Free-booters, fitter to spoil a Coast than to recover a Kingdom) resorting unto the principal Gentlemen of the Country, professed their Loyalty to the King, and desir'd to be directed and commanded for the best of the King's Service. The Gentlemen, entring into Consultation, directed some Forces in good Number, to shew themselves upon the Coast; and some of them to make Signs, to entice *Perkin's* Soldiers to Land, as if they would joyn with them: and some others to appear from some other Places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them; the better to encourage them to Land. But *Perkin*, (who, by playing the Prince, or else taught by Secretary *Frion*, had learn'd thus much, That People under Command do use to consult, and after to march in Order; and Rebels contrariwise run upon an Head together in Confusion) considering the Delay of Time, and observing their Orderly, and not Tumultuary Arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily Youth would not set one Foot out of his Ship till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the King's Forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their Ships. In which Skirmish (besides those that fled and were slain) there were taken about an Hundred and fifty Persons. Which, for that the King thought that to punish a few for Example was Gentleman's-play, but for Rascal-people, they were to be cut off every Man, especially in the begin-

Kent Loy-  
al to the  
King.

(a) Not a 1000 Men, Sir J. W. An. Hen. VII. Cap. X.

(b) 'Twas not the Earl of Kildare, but his Brother the Lord Thomas Howard that was slain at Stokefield. Ibid. Cap. III.

(c) The *English* Statutes were admitted in *Ireland* in old Times. Those Laws that were now made did not in a long Time pass beyond the *English* Pale. Ibid. Cap. X. Poynings arrested the Earl of Kildare and sent him Prisoner to *England*.



1495. ning of an Enterprize; and likewise for that he saw that *Perkin's* Forces would now consist chiefly of such Rabble, and Scum of desperate People; he therefore hang'd them all for the greater terror. They were brought to *London*, all rail'd in Ropes, like a Team of Horses in a Cart; and were executed some of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the rest at divers Places upon the Sea-Coast of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Norfolk*, for Sea-marks or Light-houses, to teach *Perkin's* People to avoid the Coast. The King being advertised of the Landing of the Rebels, thought to leave his Progress: But being certifi'd the next day that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his Progress, and sent Sir *Richard Guilford* into *Kent* in Message. Who, calling the Country together, did much commend (from the King) their Fidelity, Manhood, and well-handling of that Service; and gave them all Thanks, and (in private) promis'd Reward to some Particulars.

The Serjeants were, Mr. *Mordant*, *Higham*, *Kingmil*, *Conuby*, *Butler*, *Taxley*, *Frowick*, *Oxenbridge* and *Constable*.

Upon the Sixteenth of *November* (this being the Eleventh Year of the King) was holden the Serjeants-Feast at *Ely-Place*; there being Nine Serjeants of that Call. The King, to honour the Feast, was present with his Queen at the Dinner; being a Prince, that was ever ready to grace and countenance the Professors of the Law; having a little of that, *That as he governed his Subjects by his Laws, so he governed his Laws by his Lawyers.*

The Fr. King's Errors in his Expedition to *Naples*.

This Year also the King entred into League with the *Italian* Potentates, for the Defence of *Italy* against *France*. For King *Charles* had conquer'd the Realm of *Naples*, and lost it again, in a kind of Felicity of a Dream. He pass'd the whole Length of *Italy* without Resistance: So that it was true which Pope *Alexander* was wont to say; *That the Frenchmen came into Italy, with Chalk in their Hands, to mark up their Lodgings, rather than with Swords to Fight.* He likewise entred and won, in effect, the whole Kingdom of *Naples* itself, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many Errors, as was too great a Task for the best Fortune to overcome. He gave no Contentment to the Barons of *Naples*, of the Faction of the *Angevines*; but scatter'd his Rewards according to the mercenary Appetites of some about him. He put all *Italy* upon their Guard, by the seizing and holding of *Ostia*, and the protecting of the Liberty of *Pisa*; which made all Men suspect that his Purposes look'd further, than his Title of *Naples*. He fell too soon at difference with *Ludovico Sfortia*; who was the Man that carried the Keys which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some Relicks of the War. And lastly, in regard of his easy Passage through *Italy* without Resistance, he entred into an overmuch despising of the Arms of the *Italians*: Whereby he left the Realm of *Naples* at his Departure so much the less provided. So that not long after his Return, the whole Kingdom revolted to *Ferdinando* the Younger, and the *French* were quite driven out. Nevertheless, *Charles* did make both great Threats and great Preparations to re-enter *Italy* once again. Wherefore at the instance of divers of the States of *Italy* (and especially of Pope *Alexander*) there was a League concluded between the said Pope, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, *Henry* King of *England*, *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain* (for so they are constantly placed in the Original Treaty throughout) *Augustissimo Barbado*, Duke of *Venice*, and *Ludovico Sfortia*, Duke of *Milan*, for the common defence of their Estates. Wherein though

*Ferdinando* of *Naples* was not nam'd as principal; yet, no doubt, the Kingdom of *Naples* was tacitly included, as a Fee of the Church.

There died also this Year *Cecile* Dutches of *York*, Mother to King *Edward IV.* at her Castle of *Barkhamsted*, being of extreme Years; and who had liv'd to see Three Princes of her Body crown'd, and Four murder'd. She was Buried at *Foderingham* by her Husband.

This Year also the King call'd his Parliament: where many Laws were made, of a more Private and Vulgar Nature, than ought to detain the Reader of an History. And it may be justly suspected by the Proceedings following, that as the King did excel in good Commonwealth Laws; so nevertheless he had, in secret, a Design to make use of them, as well for collecting of Treasure, as for correcting of Manners; and so, meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal Law that was made this Parliament, was a Law of a strange Nature: rather Just, than Legal; and more Magnanimous than Provident. This Law did Ordain, That no Person, that did assist in Arms, or otherwise, the King for the time being, should after be Impeached therefore, or Attainted, either by the Course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament: But, if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be Void and of none Effect; For that it was agreeable to Reason of Estate, that the Subject should not enquire of the Justness of the King's Title, or Quarrel; and it was agreeable to good Conscience, that (whatsoever the Fortune of the War were) the Subject should not suffer for his Obedience. The spirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble: being like in matter of War, unto the spirit of *David* in matter of Plague, who said, *if I have sinned, strike me; but what have these sheep done?* Neither wanted this Law Parts of prudent and deep foresight. For, it did the better take away Occasion for the People to busy themselves, to pry into the King's Title; for that howsoever it fell their Safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the Love and Hearts of the People, because he seem'd more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless, it did take off from his Party, that great Tie and Spur of Necessity, to Fight and go Victors out of the Field; considering their Lives and Fortunes were put in Safety, and protected, whether they stood to it or ran away. But the Force and Obligation of this Law was in it self Illusory, as to the latter part of it; by a precedent Act of Parliament, to bind or frustrate a Future. For a Supreme and Absolute Power cannot conclude it self, neither can that which is in Nature revocable be made fix'd, no more than if a Man should appoint or declare by his Will, that if he made any Latter Will, it should be Void. And for the Case of the Act of Parliament, there is a notable President of it in King *Henry* the VIII's Time; who doubting he might dye in the Minority of his Son, procur'd an Act to Pass, *That no Statute made during the Minority of the King should bind him or his Successors, except it were confirmed by the King under his Great Seal, at his full Age.* But the first Act that pass'd in King *Edward* the VI's Time, was an Act of Repeal of that former Act; at which time nevertheless the King was Minor. But things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or underpropping Act for the Benevolence; to make the Sums which any Person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by

A strange Law.



1495. by Course of Law. Which Act did not only bring in the Arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole Business, and was pretended to be made at the Desire of those that had been forward to pay.

A good Law.

This Parliament also was made that good Law, which gave the Attaint upon a False Verdict between Party and Party, which before was a kind of Evangile, irremediable. It extends not to causes Capital, as well because they are for the most part at the King's Suit; as because in them (if they be follow'd in Course of Indictment) there passeth a double Jury, the Indictors, and the Triers; and so not Twelve Men, but Four and twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only Reason; for this Reason holdeth not in the Appeal. But the great Reason was, lest it should tend to the Discouragement of Jurors in Cases of Life and Death; if they should be subject to Suit and Penalty, where the Favour of Life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any Suit, where the Demand is under the Value of Forty Pounds; for that in such Cases of Petty Value, it would not quit the Charge to go about again.

There was another Law made against a branch of Ingratitude in Women, who having been advanced by their Husbands, or their Husbands Ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the Heirs, or those in Remainder, of the Lands, whereunto they had been so advanced. The Remedy was, by giving Power to the next, to enter for a Forfeiture.

An Act pass'd for Suing in Forma Pauperis.

There was also enacted that Charitable Law, for the Admission of poor Suiters *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to Counsellor, Attorney, or Clerk, whereby Poor Men became rather Able to Vex, than Unable to Sue. There were divers other good Laws made that Parliament, as we said before: But we still observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a Vulgar Nature.

The King this while, tho' he sat in Parliament, as in full Peace, and seem'd to account of the Designs of *Perkin* (who was now return'd into *Flanders*) but as a *May-Game*; yet having the Composition of a Wife King (Stout without, and Apprehensive within) had given order for the watching of Beacons upon the Coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful Eye where this wandering Cloud would break. But *Perkin* advis'd to keep his Fire (which hitherto burn'd as it were upon green Wood) alive, with continual blowing; Sail'd again into *Ireland*, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the Hopes of *France*, than upon any Unreadiness or Discouragement he found in that People. But in the space of time between, the King's Diligence and *Poyning's* Commission, had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for *Perkin*, but the blustering Affection of wild and naked People. Wherefore he was advis'd by his Council, to seek Aid of the King of *Scotland*; a Prince Young and Valorous, and in good Terms with his Nobles and People, and ill-affected to King *Henry*. At this time also both *Maximilian* and *Charles* of *France* began to bear no good will to the King. The one being displeased with the King's Prohibition of Commerce with *Flanders*: The other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entry into League with the *Italians*. Wherefore besides the open Aids of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, which did with Sails and Oars put on and advance *Perkin's* Designs, there wanted not some secret Tides from *Maximilian* and *Charles*, which did further his Fortunes. Inasmuch as

they, both by their secret Letters and Messages, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

*Perkin* therefore coming into *Scotland* upon those Hopes, with a well appointed Company, was by the King of *Scots* \* (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcom'd, and soon after his Arrival admitted to his Presence in a Solemn manner. For the King receiv'd him in State in his Chamber of Presence, accompany'd with divers of his Nobles. And *Perkin* well attended, as well with those that the King had sent before him, as with his own Train, entered the Room where the King was, and coming near to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some Paces back, and with a loud Voice (that all that were present might hear him) made his Declaration in this manner:

**H**igh and Mighty King, your Grace, and these your Nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your Ears, to hear the Tragedy of a Young Man, that by Right ought to hold in his Hand the Ball of a Kingdom; but by Fortune is made Himself a Ball, tossed from Misery to Misery, and from Place to Place. You see here before you the Spectacle of a *Plantagenet*, who hath been carried from the Nursery to the Sanctuary; from the Sanctuary to the direful Prison; from the Prison, to the Hand of the cruel Tormentor; and from that Hand, to the wide Wilderness (as I may truly call it) for so the World hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great Kingdom, hath not Ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth, by your Princely Favour. *Edward* the Fourth, late King of *England*, (as your Grace cannot but have heard) left two Sons; *Edward*, and *Richard* Duke of *York*, both very young. *Edward* the Eldest, succeeded their Father in the Crown, by the Name of King *Edward* V. But *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, their Unnatural Uncle, first thirsting after the Kingdom, through Ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their Blood, out of Desire to secure himself, imploy'd an Instrument of his (confident to him, as he thought) to murder them both. But this Man that was imploy'd to execute that execrable Tragedy, having cruelly Slain King *Edward*, the Eldest of the two, was moved partly by Remorse, and partly by some other mean, to save *Richard* his Brother; making a Report nevertheless to the Tyrant, that he had perform'd his Commandment for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly believ'd, and publish'd generally. So that the World hath been possessed of an Opinion that they both were barbarously made away, tho' ever Truth hath some sparks that fly abroad until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God that stopped the Mouth of the Lion, and saved little *Joas* from the Tyranny of *Athaliah*, when she massacred the King's Children; and did save *Isaac*, when the hand was stretch'd forth to Sacrifice him; preserv'd the second Brother. For I my self, that stand here in your Presence, am that very *Richard* Duke of *York*, Brother of that Infortunate Prince, King *Edward* V. now the most right-ful surviving Heir-Male to that Victorious and most Noble *Edward*, of that Name the Fourth, late King of *England*. For the manner of my Escape, it is fit it should pass in Silence, or (at least) in a more secret Relation: for that it may concern some alive, and the Memory of some

*Perkin's* Declaration to the Scottish King.

*Edward* the Fifth murder'd.



1495. "some that are Dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a Mother living, a Queen, and one that expected daily such a Commandment from the Tyrant, for the murdering of her Children. Thus in my tender Age escaping by God's Mercy out of London, I was secretly convey'd over Sea. Where, after a time, the Party that had me in Charge, (upon what new Fears, change of Mind, or Practice God knoweth) suddenly forsook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean Conditions for the sustaining of my Life. Wherefore distracted between several Passions, the one of Fear to be known, left the Tyrant should have a new Attempt upon me; the other of Grief and Disdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did; I resolv'd with my self to expect the Tyrant's Death, and then to put my self into my Sister's hands, who was next Heir to the Crown. But in this Season, it happen'd one Henry Tiddler, Son to Edmond Tiddler Earl of Richmond, to come from France and enter into the Realm, and by subtle and foul Means to obtain the Crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertain'd. So that it was but a Change from Tyrant to Tyrant. This Henry, my extream and mortal Enemy, so soon as he had Knowledge of my being alive, imagin'd and wrought all the subtil Ways and Means he could, to procure my final Destruction. For my mortal Enemy hath not only falsely surmised me to be a feign'd Person, giving me Nick-names, so abusing the World; but also to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offer'd large Sums of Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Ministers, with whom I have been retained; and made importune Labours to certain Servants about my Person, to Murder or Poison me, and others to forsake and leave my Righteous Quarrel and to depart from my Service, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every Man of Reason may well perceive that Henry, calling himself King of England, need not to have bestow'd such great Sums of Treasure, nor so to have busy'd himself with importune and incessant Labour and Industry, to compass my Death and Ruin, if I had been such a feign'd Person. But the truth of my Cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the Lady Dutche's Dowager of Burgundy, my most dear Aunt, not only to Acknowledge the Truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above (for the good of this whole Island, and the knitting of these two Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait Concord and Amity, by so great an Obligation) had reserv'd the placing of me in the Imperial Throne of England, for the Arms and Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them, that were bereft and spoiled of the Kingdom of England; as of late (in fresh Memory) it was done in the Person of Henry VI. Wherefore for that your Grace hath given clear Signs, that you are in no Noble Quality inferior to your Royal Ancestors; I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put my Self into your Royal Hands, desiring your Assistance to recover my Kingdom of England; promising faithfully to bear my Self towards

your Grace no otherwise, than if I were your own Natural Brother, and will upon the Recovery of mine Inheritance, gratefully do you all the Pleasure that is in my utmost Power. 1495.

After Perkin had told his Tale, King James answer'd bravely and wisely, *That whatsoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his hands.* And from that time forth, tho' there wanted not some about him, that would have perswaded him, that all was but an Illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring Behaviour, or inclining to the Recommendation of the great Princes abroad, or willing to take an Occasion of a War against King Henry, he entertain'd him in all things, as became the Person of Richard Duke of York; embraced his Quarrel; and (the more to put it out of Doubt, that he took him to be a great Prince, and not a Representation only) he gave Consent, that this Duke should take to Wife the Lady Katherine Gordon, Daughter to the E. of Huntley, being a near Kinswoman to the King himself, and a young Virgin of excellent Beauty and Vertue. *The Scots King favours Perkin.*

Not long after, (d) the King of Scots in Person, with Perkin in his Company, entred with a great Army (though it consisted chiefly of Borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly) into Northumberland. And Perkin for a Perfume before him as he went, caus'd to be publish'd a Proclamation of this Tenor following, in the Name of Richard Duke of York, true Inheritor of the Crown of England. *The King of Scots invades England.*

IT hath pleased God, who putteth down the Mighty from their Seat, and exalteth the Humble, and suffereth not the Hopes of the Just to perish in the end, to give us means at the length, to shew our Selves armed unto our Lieges and People of England. But far be it from us, to intend their Hurt and Damage, or to make War upon them, otherwise than to deliver our Self and them from Tyranny and Oppression. For, our mortal Enemy Henry Tiddler, a false Usurper of the Crown of England, (which to us by Natural and Lineal Right appertaineth) knowing in his own Heart our undoubted Right, (we being the very Richard Duke of York, younger Son, and now surviving Heir Male of the Noble and Victorious Edward IV. late King of England) hath not only deprived us of our Kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means sought to betray us, and bereave us of our Life. Yet it his Tyranny only extended it self to our Person (altho' our Royal Blood teacheth us to be sensible of Injuries) it should be less to our Grief. But this Tiddler, who boasteth himself to have Overthrown a Tyrant, hath ever since his first Entrance into his usurped Reign, put little in Practice but Tyranny and the Feats thereof. *The Original of this Proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy Preserver and Treasurer of rare Antiquities: from whose Manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this Work.*

For King Richard our Unnatural Uncle, altho' Desire of Rule did blind him, yet in his other Actions (like a true Plantagenet) was Noble, and lov'd the Honour of the Realm, and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this our Mortal Enemy (agreeable to the Meanness of his Birth) hath trodden under foot the Honour of this Nation; selling our best Confederates for Money,

(d) Maximilian the Emperor, Charles the Eighth. King of France, and Margaret Dutche's of Burgundy, wrote to the Scots King in Favour of this Counterfeit. Sir J. W. Cap. 9.



1495.

“ and making Merchandize of the Blood, Estates, and Fortunes of our Peers and Subjects, by feigned Wars and dishonourable Peace, only to enrich his Coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful Mis-government, and evil Deportments at Home. First, he hath (to fortify his false Quarrel) caused divers Nobles of this our Realm (whom he held Suspect, and stood in Dread of) to be cruelly murther'd; as our Cousin Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William Dawbency, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their Lives with intolerable Ransoms. Some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in Prison, our right entirely wel-beloved Cosen Edward, Son and Heir to our Uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; with-holding from them their rightful Inheritance, to the intent they should never be of Might and Power to Aid and Assist us at our need, after the Duty of their Liegeances. He also married by Compulsion certain of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our said Cosen the Earl of Warwick, and divers other Ladies of the Royal Blood, certain of his Kinsmen and Friends of simple and low Degree; and putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, he hath none in Favour and Trust about his Person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Riseley, Turbervile, Tiler, Cholmley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other Caitiffs and Villains of Birth, which by subtil Inventions and Pilling of the People, have been the principal Finders, Occasioners, and Counsellors of the Mis-rule and Mischief now reigning in England.

“ We remembering these Premises, with the great and execrable Offences daily committed, and done by our foresaid great Enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of our Mother the Holy Church, upon Pretences of Wicked and Heathenish Policy, to the high Displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold Treasons, abominable Murthers, Man-slaughters, Robberies, Extortions, the daily Pilling of the People, by Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, and other unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, with many other heinous Effects, to the likely Destruction and Desolation of the whole Realm: shall by God's Grace, and the Help and Assistance of the great Lords of our Blood, with the Counsel of other sad Persons, see that the Commodities of our Realm be imploy'd to the most Advantage of the same; the intercourse of Merchandize betwixt Realm and Realm, to be ministred and handled, as shall more be to the Common-weal and Prosperity of our Subjects; and all such Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be foredone and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such Cases as our Noble Progenitors Kings of England, have of old Time been accustomed to have the Aid, Succour, and Help of their Subjects and true Liege-men.

“ And further, we do out of our Grace and Clemency, hereby as well Publish and Promise to all our Subjects Remission and free Pardon of all By-past Offences whatsoever, against our Person, or Estate, in adhering to our said Enemy, by whom (we know well) they have been mis-led, if they shall within

time convenient submit themselves unto us. 1495.

“ And for such as shall come with the foremost, to assist our righteous Quarrel, we shall make them so far Partakers of our Princely Favour and Bounty, as shall be highly for the Comfort of them and theirs, both during their Life, and after their Death. As also we shall by all means, which God shall put into our hands, demean our selves to give Royal Contentment to all Degrees and Estates of our People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy Church in their entire, preserving the Honours, Privileges, and Preheminences of our Nobles from Contempt or Disparagement, according to the Dignity of their Blood. We shall also Unyoke our People from all heavy Burthens and Endurances, and confirm our Cities, Boroughs, and Towns, in their Charters and Freedoms, with Inlargement, where it shall be deserv'd; and in all Points give our Subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonaire Government of our Noble Father King Edward (in his last times) is in us revived.

“ And for as much as the putting to Death, or taking alive of our said Mortal Enemy, may be a mean to stay much Effusion of Blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by Compulsion or fair promises, he shall draw after him any number of our Subjects to resist us; which we desire to avoid (though we be certainly informed that our said Enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the Land, having already made over great Masses of the Treasure of our Crown, the better to support him in Forreign Parts) we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take or distress our said Enemy (though the Party be of never so mean a Condition) he shall be by us rewarded with a Thousand Pound in Money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and an Hundred Marks by the Year of Inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good People, for the destruction of such a Tyrant.

*Perkin promises a 1000l. Reward to any that shall take or kill King Henry.*

“ Lastly, we do all Men to wit, and herein we take also God to witness, That whereas God hath moved the Heart of our Dearest Cousin, the King of Scotland, to Aid us in Person, in this our Righteous Quarrel; it is altogether without any Pact or Promise, or so much as Demand of any thing, that may prejudice our Crown or Subjects: But contrariwise with Promise on our said Cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper Hand of our Enemy (which we hope will be very suddenly) he will forthwith peaceably return into his own Kingdom; contenting himself only with the Glory of so Honourable an Enterprize, and our true and faithful Love and Amity. Which we shall ever (by the Grace of Almighty God) so order, as shall be to the great Comfort of both Kingdoms.

But Perkins Proclamation did little edifie with the People of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred any where in his Favour, turned his enterprize into a Rode; and wasted and destroyed the Country of Northumberland, with Fire and Sword. But hearing that there were Forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his Men heavy and laden with Booty, he returned into Scotland with great Spoils, deferring further Prosecution, till another time. It is said, that Perkin acting the part

*A. D. 1496. What effect Perkins Proclamation had.*



1496. part of a Prince handsomly, when he saw the *Scottish* fell to waft the Country, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, That that might not be the manner of making the War; for that no Crown was so dear to his Mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the Blood and ruin of his Country. Whereunto the King answered half in sport; that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a Steward for his Enemy, to save the Country to his use.

The Decay of Trade by the War.

By this Time, being the eleventh Year of the King, the Interruption of Trade between the *English* and the *Flemish*, began to pinch the Merchants of both Nations very sore. Which moved them, by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their Sovereigns respectively, to open the Entercourse again. Wherein, time favoured them. For the Arch-Duke and his Council began to see, that *Perkin* would prove but a Runagate, and *Citizen of the World*; and that it was the part of Children to fall out about Babies. And the King on his part, after the Attempts upon *Kent* and *Northumberland*, began to have the Business of *Perkin* in less Estimation; so as he did not put it to account, in any Consultation of State. But that that moved him most, was, that being a King that loved Wealth and Treasure, he could not endure to have Trade sick, nor any Obstruction to continue in the Gate-vein, which dispersed that Blood. And yet he kept State so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the Merchant-Adventurers likewise, (being a strong Company at that time, and well underfet with Rich Men, and good order) did hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities of the Kingdom, though they lay dead upon their Hands for want of Vent. At the last, Commis-

Commissioners about Trade.

Articles made between the King and the Arch-Duke.

sioners met at *London*, to treat. On the King's part; Bishop *Fox* Lord Privy Seal, *Viscount Wells*, *Kendal* Prior of *Saint Johns*, *Warham* Master of the Rolls, who began to gain much upon the King's Opinion; *Uswick*, who was almost ever one; and *Riseley*. On the Arch-Duke's part, the Lord *Bewers* his Admiral, the Lord *Verunel* President of *Flanders*, and others. These concluded a perfect Treaty, both of Amity and Interchange, between the King and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of State, Commerce and Free-fishing. This is that Treaty, which the *Flemings* call at this Day, *Intercursus Magnus*; both because it is more compleat, than the precedent Treaties, of the Third and Fourth Years of the King: and chiefly to give it a Difference, from the Treaty that followed in the one and twentieth Year of the King: which they call *Intercursus Malus*. In this Treaty, there was an expresse Article against the Reception of the Rebels of either Prince by other; purporting, that if any such Rebel should be required by the Prince whose Rebel he was, of the Prince Confederate, that forthwith the Prince Confederate should by Proclamation command him to avoid the Country. Which if he did not within fifteen Days, the Rebel was to stand proscrib'd, and put out of Protection. But nevertheless in this Article, *Perkin* was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no Rebel. But by this means his Wings were clipt of his Followers, that were *English*. And it was expressly comprised in the Treaty, that it should extend to the Territories of the Dutche's *Dowager*. After the Interchange thus restored, the *English* Merchants came again to their Mansion at *Antwerp*, where they were received with Procession and great Joy.

The English Merchants received at Antwerp with Joy and Processions.

The Winter following, being the Twelfth Year of his Reign, the King called again his Parliament: where he did much exaggerate both the Malice, and the cruel Predatory War lately made by the King of *Scotland*; That that King, being in Amity with him, and no ways provok'd, should so burn in Hatred towards him, as to drink of the Lees and Dreggs of *Perkin's* Intoxication, who was every where else detected and discarded: And that when he perceived it was out of his Reach, to do the King any Hurt, he had turned his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided People to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the Laws both of War and Peace: Concluding, that he could neither with Honour, nor with the safety of his People, to whom he did owe Protection, let pass these Wrongs unrevenge'd. The Parliament understood him well, and gave him a Subsidy, limited to the Sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, besides two Fifteens. For his Wars were always to him as a Mine of Treasure, of a strange kind of Ore; Iron at the Top, and Gold and Silver at the bottom. At this Parliament (for that there had been so much time spent in making Laws the Year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the *Scottish* War) there were no Laws made to be remembered. Only there passed a Law, at the Sute of the Merchant-Adventurers of *England*, against the Merchant-Adventurers of *London*, for Monopolizing and exacting upon the Trade: Which it seemeth they did, a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of Trade. But those Innovations were taken away by Parliament.

But it was fatal to the King, to fight for his Money. And though he avoided to fight with Enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with Rebels at home. For no sooner began the Subsidy to be levied in *Cornwall*, but the People there began to grudge and murmur.

The *Cornish* being a Race of Men, stout of Stomack, mighty of Body and Limb, and that lived hardly in a barren Country, and many of them could (for a need) live under Ground, that were Tinnners; they muttered extreemly, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little Stir of the *Scots*, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to Powder with Payments: And said, it was for them to pay, that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat the Bread they got with the Sweat of their Brows, and no Man should take it from them. And as in the Tides of People once up, there want not commonly stirring Winds to make them more rough: So this People did light upon two Ringleaders, or Captains of the Rout. The one was one *Michael Joseph*, a Blacksmith or Farrier of *Bodmin*; a notable talking Fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was *Thomas Flammeck*, a Lawyer; who by telling his Neighbours commonly upon any occasion, that the Law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This Man talked Learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a Rebellion, and never break the Peace. He told the People, that Subsidies were not to be granted nor levied in this Case; that is, for Wars of *Scotland* (for that the Law had provided another Course, by service of Escuage, for those Journeys) much less when all was quiet, and War was made but a Pretence to Poll and Pill the People: And therefore that it was good they should not stand now like Sheep before the Shearers, but put on Harness, and take Weapons in their Hands: Yet to do no Creature hurt; but go and deliver the King a

King Henry's Wars gainful to him.

The Cornish Men rebel.

Joseph a Blacksmith a chief Rebel.

Flammeck a Lawyer heads the Rebels.

The Cornish Men for Escuage Service.



1497. Strong Petition, for the laying down of those grievous Payments, and for the Punishment of those that had given him that Counsel; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the Duty of true *English Men*, and good *Liege Men*, except they did deliver the King from such wicked Ones that would destroy both him and the Country. Their Aim was at Arch Bishop *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*, who were the King's Screens in this Envy.

After that these two, *Flammock* and the Blacksmith, had by Joynt and several Pratings, found Tokens of Consent in the Multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better Men to be their Leaders; which they said would be ere long: Telling them further, that they would be but their Servants, and first in every Danger; but doubted not but to make both the *West End* and the *East End* of *England* to meet in so good a Quarrel; and that all (rightly understood) was but for the King's Service. The People, upon these Seditious Instigations, did Arm (most of them with Bows, and Arrows, and Bills, and such other Weapons of Rude and Country People) and forthwith under the Command of their Leaders (which in such Cases is ever at pleasure) marched out of *Corn-wall*, through *Devonshire*, and *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, without any Slaughter, Violence, or Spoil of the Country. At *Taunton* they killed, in fury, an Officious and eager Commissioner for the Subsidy, whom they called the Provost of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*: where the Lord *Audley* (with whom their Leaders had, before, some secret Intelligence) a Noble-man of an Ancient Family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to Ruin, came in to them, and was by them (with great Gladness and Cries of Joy) accepted as their General; they being now proud, that they were led by a Noble-man. The Lord *Audley* led them on from *Wells* to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*. Thence the foolish People, who (in effect) led their Leaders, had a Mind to be led into *Kent*; fancying, that the People there would joyn with them, contrary to all Reason or Judgment; considering, the *Kentish-men* had shewed great Loyalty and Affection to the King so lately before. But the rude People had heard *Flammock* say, that *Kent* was never conquered, and that they were the freest People of *England*. And, upon these vain Noises, they looked for great matters at their Hands, in a Cause which they conceived to be for the Liberty of the Subject. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Country was so well settled, both by the King's late kind Usage towards them, and by the Credit and Power of the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, and the Lord *Cobham*, as neither Gentleman nor Yeoman came in to their Aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort: Infomuch, as divers of them did secretly fly from the Army, and went home. But the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud, than fail'd in Hopes and Courage. For as it did somewhat appall them, that the People came not in to them; so it did no less encourage them, that the King's Forces had not set upon them, having marched from the *West* unto the *East* of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their Way, and encamped upon *Black-beath*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*; threatening either to bid Battel to the King (for now the Seas went higher than to *Morton*, and *Braie*) or to take *London* within

his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less Fear, than Wealth.

But to return to the King. When first he heard of this Commotion of the *Cornish-men*, occasioned by the Subsidy, he was much troubled therewith: Not for it felt, but in regard of the Concurrence of other Dangers, that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted least a War from *Scotland*, a Rebellion from *Cornwall*, and the Practices and Conspiracies of *Perkin* and his Partakers, would come upon him at once; Knowing well, that it was a dangerous Triplicity to a Monarchy, to have the Arms of a Forreiner, the Discontents of Subjects, and the Title of a Pretender, to meet. Nevertheless, the Occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the Parliament had broken up, the King had presently raised a Puissant Army, to War upon *Scotland*. And King *James* of *Scotland* likewise, on his part, had made great Preparations either for Defence, or for new assailing of *England*. But as for the King's Forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the Conduct of *Daubeney*, the Lord Chamberlain. But as soon as the King understood of the Rebellion of *Cornwall*, he stayed those Forces, retaining them for his own Service and Safety. But therewithal he dispatched the Earl of *Surry* into the North, for the Defence and strength of those Parts, in case the *Scots* should stir. But for the Course he held towards the Rebels, it was utterly differing from his former Custom, and Practice; which was ever full of Forwardness and Celerity, to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in Action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attuned by Years, and less in Love with Dangers, by the continued Fruition of a Crown; it was a time when the various Appearance to his Thoughts of Perils of several Natures, and from divers Parts, did make him judge it his best and surest Way, to keep his Strength together, in the Seat and Center of his Kingdom. According to the Ancient *Indian* Emblem; in such a swelling Season, *To hold the Hand upon the middle of the Bladder, that no side might rise*. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him, to alter this Counsel. For neither did the Rebels spoil the Country; in which Case it had been Dishonour to abandon his People: Neither on the other side, did their Forces gather or encrease, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them, before they grew too strong. And lastly, both Reason of Estate and War seemed to agree with this Course; For that Insurrections of base People are commonly more furious in their Beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at Vantage, being tyred and harrassed with a long March; and more at Mercy, being cut off far from their Country, and therefore not able by any suddain Flight to get to retreat, and to renew the Troubles.

When therefore the Rebels were encamped on *Black-Heath*, upon the Hill, whence they might behold the City of *London*, and the fair Valley about it: the King knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them, that it might appear to have been no Coldness in foreslowing, but Wisdom in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with that Providence, and Surety, as should leave little to Venture or Fortune. And having very great and puissant Forces about him, the better to master all Events and Accidents,

A Commissioner for the Taxes Murder'd.

The Rebels choose the Lord Audley for their General.

The Loyalty of the Kentish Men.



1497. Accidents, he divided them into three Parts. The first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk. These Noblemen were appointed, with some Cornets of Horse, and Bands of Foot, and good store of Artillery wheeling about, to put themselves beyond the Hill, where the Rebels were encamped; and to beset all the Skirts and Descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; whereby to have these Wild Beasts (as it were) in a Toil. The second Part of his Forces (which were those that were to be most in Action, and upon which he relied most for the Fortune of the Day) he did assign to be led by the Lord Chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the Rebels in Front, from that side which is toward London. The third Part of his Forces (being likewise great and brave Forces) he retained about himself, to be ready upon all Events, to restore the Fight, or consummate the Victory; and mean while, to secure the City. And for that purpose he encamped in Person in St George's Fields, putting himself between the City, and the Rebels. But the City of London (especially at the first) upon the near encamping of the Rebels, was in great Tumult: As it useth to be with wealthy and Populous Cities (especially those, which, for Greatness and Fortune, are Queens of their Regions) who seldom see out of their Windows, or from their Towers, an Army of Enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the Conceit, that they dealt with a Rout of People, with whom there was no Composition, or Condition, or orderly treating if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon Rapin and Spoil. And although they had heard, that the Rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much, that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon Spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of People, some to the Gates, some to the Walls, some to the Water side; giving themselves Alarms, and Panick Fears continually. Nevertheless, both Tate the Lord Mayor, and Shaw and Haddon the Sheriffs, did their Parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the People. And the King likewise did adjoin some Captains of Experience in the Wars, to advise and assist the Citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the King had so ordered the Matter, that the Rebels must winn three Battels, before they could approach the City, and that he had put his own Person between the Rebels and them, and that the great Care was rather how to impound the Rebels, that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of Fear. The rather, for the Confidence they reposed which (was not small) in the three Leaders, Oxford, Essex, and Dawbeny; all, Men famed and loved amongst the People. As for Jasper Duke of Bedford, whom the King used to employ with the first in his Wars, he was then sick, and dyed soon after.

It was the Two and twentieth of June, and a Saturday (which was the Day of the Week the King fancied) when the Battel was fought; though the King had, by all the Art he could devise, given out a false Day, as if he prepared to give the Rebels Battel on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The Lords that were appointed to circle the Hill, had some Days before planted themselves (as at the Receipt) in Places convenient. In the afternoon towards the Decline of the Day (which was done, the better to keep

the Rebels in Opinion that they should not fight that Day) the Lord Dawbeny marched on towards them, and first beat some Troops of them from Desford-bridge, where they fought manfully; but being in no great number were soon driven back, and fled up to their main Army upon the Hill. The Army, at that time hearing of the Approach of the King's Forces, were putting themselves in Array, not without much Confusion. But neither had they placed upon the first high ground towards the Bridge, any Forces to second the Troops below, that kept the Bridge; neither had they brought forwards their Main Battel (which stood in Array far into the Heath) near to the Ascent of the Hill. So that the Earl with his Forces mounted the Hill, and recovered the Plain, without Resistance. The Lord Dawbeny charged them with great Fury; Inasmuch, as it had like (by accident) to have brandled the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconsiderate Forwardness in fighting in the Head of his Troops, he was taken by the Rebels; but immediately rescued, and delivered. The Rebels maintained the Fight for a small time, and for their Persons shewed no want of Courage: But being ill armed, and ill led, and without Horse and Artillery, they were with no great Difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their Three Leaders; the Lord Audley, the Black-smith, and Flammoock (as, commonly the Captains of Commotions are but half-couraged Men) suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the Rebels part, were some two thousand Men; their Army amounting (as it is said) unto the Number of Sixteen thousand. The rest were (in effect) all taken; for that the Hill, as was said, was encompassed with the King's Forces round about. On the King's Part there dyed about Three hundred; most of them shot with Arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a Taylor's Yard: So strong and mighty a Bow, the Cornish Men were said to draw.

The Victory, thus obtained, the King created divers Bannerets, as well upon Black-beath, where his Lieutenant had won the Field (whether he rode in Person to perform the said Creation) as in St George's Fields, where his own Person had been encamped. And for Matter of Liberality, he did (by open Edict) give the Goods of all the Prisoners, unto those that had taken them; either to take them in Kind, or compound for them as they could. After matter of Honour and Liberality, followed matter of Severity and Execution. The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-Hill, in a Paper Coat painted with his own Arms; the Arms reversed, the Coat torn, and he at Tower-hill beheaded. Flammoock and the Black-smith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tiburn; The Black-smith taking Pleasure upon the Hurdle (as it seemeth by Words that he uttered) to think that he should be Famous in aftertimes. The King was once in mind to have sent down Flammoock, and the Black-smith, to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more Terror. But, being advertised, that the Country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the People further. All the rest were pardoned by Proclamation, and to take out their Pardons under Seal, as many as would. So that, more than the Blood drawn in the Field, the King did satisfy himself with the Lives of only three Offenders, for the Expiation of this great Rebellion.

It was a strange thing, to observe the Variety and Inequality of the King's Executions and Pardons. And a Man would think it, at the first, a kind of Lottery or Chance. But, looking into

The Battel of Blackbeath.

a Tumult in London.

1497.

Ld. Dawbeny fights the Rebels.

† Stow writes there were 300 of the Rebels slain, and 1500 taken Prisoners. Hall, that that there were above 2000 slain, and a vast number taken.

The number of the Rebels.

The length of the Cornish Men's Arrows.

The Lord Audley and the Cornish Rebels Executed. † On the 24th of June.



1497. it more nearly, one shall find there was Reason for it; much more perhaps, than (after so long a distance of Time) we can now discern. In the *Kentish* Commotion (which was but an Handfull of Men) there were executed to the number of One hundred and fifty; and, in this so mighty a Rebellion but three: Whether it were, that the King put to accompt the Men that were slain in the Field: or that he was not willing to be severe in a Popular Cause; or that the harmless behaviour of this People (that came from the West of *England*, to the East, without Mischief almost, or spoil of the Country) did somewhat mollify him, and move him to Compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between People, that did rebel upon Wantonness, and them that did rebel upon Want.

After the *Cornish* Men were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable Ambassage from the *French* King, which had arrived at *Calice* a Month before, and there was stayed in respect of the Troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

The King, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have Patience, till a little Smoak, that was raised in his Country, were over; which would soon be: Slighting (as his Manner was) that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This Ambassage concerned no great Affair; but only the Prolongation of Days for Payment of Monies, and some other Particulars of the Frontiers. And it was (indeed) but a wooing Ambassage; with good Respects to entertain the King in good Affection: But nothing was done or handled, to the Derogation of the King's late Treaty with the *Italians*.

But, during that time that the *Cornish* Men were in their March towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* (well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of War from *England*, whensoever those Stirs were appeased) neglected not his Opportunity; but thinking the King had his Hands full, entred the Frontiers of *England* again with an Army, and besieged the Castle of *Norham* in Person, with part of his Forces, sending the rest to Forrage the Country. But Fox, Bishop of *Duresme* (a wise Man, and one that could see through the Present, to the Future) doubting as much before, had caused his Castle of *Norham* to be strongly fortified, and furnished, with all kind of Munition: And had mann'd it likewise, with a very great number of tall Soldiers, more than for the proportion of the Castle; reckoning rather upon a sharp Assault, than a long Siege. And for the Country likewise, he had caused the People to withdraw their Cattel and Goods into fast Places, that were not of easie approach; and sent in Post to the Earl of *Surrey* (who was not far off in *Yorkshire*) to come in diligence to the Succour. So as the *Scottish* King both failed of doing good upon the Castle, and his Men had but a catching Harvest of their Spoils. And when he understood, that the Earl of *Surrey* was coming on with great Forces, he returned back into *Scotland*. The Earl finding the Castle freed, and the Enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into *Scotland*; hoping to have overtaken the *Scottish* King, and to have given him Battel; but not attaining him in time, sat down before the Castle of *Aton* (one of the strongest Places then esteemed, between *Barwick* and *Edenborough*) which in a small time he took. And soon after, the *Scottish* King retiring further into his Country, and the Weather being extraordinary foul and stormy, the Earl returned into *England*. So that

The *Scottish* King enters *England* with an Army.

Fox Bishop of *Duresme*, Provident against the *Scots*.

The Earl of *Surrey* enters *Scotland*.

He takes *Aton* Castle.

the Expeditions on both parts were (in effect) 1497. but a Castle taken, and a Castle distressed; not answerable to the Puissance of the Forces, nor to the Heat of the Quarrel, nor to the Greatness of the Expectation.

Amongst these Troubles both Civil and External, came into *England* from *Spain* Peter *Hialas*, some call him *Elias* (surely he was the forerunner of the good Hap, that we enjoy at this Day. For, his Ambassage set the Truce between *England* and *Scotland*; the Truce drew on the Peace; the Peace the Marriage; and the Marriage the Union of the Kingdoms) a Man of great Wisdom, and (as those times were) not unlearned; sent from *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* King's of *Spain* unto the King, to treat a Marriage between *Katherine* their second Daughter, and Prince *Arthur*. This Treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to Perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some Conference which he had with the King touching this Business, the King (who had a great Dexterity in getting suddenly into the Bosome of Ambassadors of foreign Princes, if he liked them; Inasmuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own Affairs, yea and employ them in his Service) fell into Speech and Discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the Debates and Differences with *Scotland*. For the King naturally did not love the barren Wars with *Scotland*, though he made his Profit of the Noise of them. And he wanted not in the Council of *Scotland*, those that would advise their King to meet him at the half way, and to give over the War with *England*; pretending to be good Patriots, but indeed favouring the Affairs of the King. Only his heart was too great to begin with *Scotland* for the Motion of Peace. On the other side, he had met with an Ally of *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, as fit for his Turn as could be. For after that King *Ferdinando* had, upon assured Confidence of the Marriage to succeed, taken upon him the Person of a Fraternal Allie to the King, he would not let (in a *Spanish* Gravity) to counsel the King in his own Affairs. And the King on his Part not being wanting to himself, but making use of every Man's Humours, made his Advantage of this in such things as he thought either not Decent, or not Pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the Counsel of *Ferdinando*. Wherefore he was content that *Hialas* (as in a Matter moved and advised from *Hialas* himself) should go into *Scotland*, to treat of a Concord between the two Kings. *Hialas* took it upon him: And coming to the *Scottish* King, after he had with much Art brought King *James* to hearken to the more safe and quiet Councils, wrote unto the King, that he hoped that Peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate Counsellour of his own, that might treat of the Conditions. Whereupon the King directed Bishop Fox (who at that time was at his Castle of *Norham*) to confer with *Hialas*, and they both to treat with some Commissioners deputed from the *Scottish* King. The Commissioners on both Sides met. But after much Dispute upon the Articles and Conditions of Peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a Peace. The chief Impediment thereof was the Demand of the King to have *Perkin* deliver'd into his Hands, as a Reproach to all Kings, and a Person not protected by the Law of Nations. The King of *Scotland* on the other side peremptorily denied so to do; saying, That he (for his part) was no Competent Judge of *Perkin's* Title: But that he had received him as a Suppliant, protected

The Rise of the Union of *England* and *Scotland*.



1497. tested him as a Person fled for Refuge, espoused him with his Kinswoman, and aided him with his Arms, upon the belief that he was a Prince; And therefore that he could not now with his Honour so unrip and (in a sort) put a Lye upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his Enemies. The Bishop likewise (who had certain Proud Instructions from the King, at the least in the Front, tho' there were a pliant Clause at the Foot, that remitted all to the Bishop's Discretion, and requir'd him by no Means to break off in ill Terms) after that he had failed to obtain the Delivery of *Perkin*, did move a second Point of his Instructions; which was, that the *Scottish* King would give the King an Interview in Person at *Newcastle*. But this being reported to the *Scottish* King, his Answer was, *That he meant to treat a Peace, and not to go a begging for it.* The Bishop also (according to another Article of his Instructions) demanded Restitution of the Spoils taken by the *Scottish*, or Damages for the same. But the *Scottish* Commissioners answer'd, *That that was but as Water spilt upon the Ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the King's People were better able to bear the Loss, than their Master to repair it.* But in the end (as Persons capable of Reason) on both Sides they made rather a kind of Recess, than a Breach of Treaty, and concluded upon a Truce for some Months following. But the King of *Scotland*, tho' he would not formally retract his Judgment of *Perkin*, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private Opinion, upon often Speech with the *Englishmen*, and divers other Advertisements, began to suspect him for a Counterfeit. Wherefore in a Noble fashion he call'd him unto him, and recounted the Benefits and Favours that he had done him, in making him his Ally, and in provoking a Mighty and Opulent King by an Offensive War in his Quarrel, for the space of two Years together. Nay more, that he had refused an Honourable Peace, whereof he had a fair Offer, if he would have deliver'd him; and that to keep his Promise with him, he had deeply offended both his Nobles and People, whom he might not hold in any long Discontent. And therefore requir'd him to think of his own Fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his Exile: Telling him withal, that he could not say, but the *English* had forsaken him before the *Scottish*; for that upon two several Trials, none had declar'd themselves on his Side. But nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first Receiving; which was, *That he should not repent him, for putting himself into his hands; For that he would not cast him off, but help him with Shipping and means to Transport him where he should Desire.* *Perkin*, not descending at all from his Stage-like Greatness, answer'd the King in few words, *That he saw his time was not yet come; But whatsoever his Fortunes were, he should both think and speak Honour of the King.* Taking his leave, he would not think on *Flanders*, doubting it was but hollow Ground for him, since the Treaty of the Arch-Duke concluded the Year before; but took his Lady, and such Followers as would not leave him, and sail'd over into *Ireland* (f).

This Twelfth year of the King, a little before this time, Pope *Alexander* (who loved best those Princes that were furthest off, and with whom

he had least to do) taking very thankfully the King's late entrance into League, for the Defence of *Italy*, did remunerate him with an Hal-low'd Sword, and Cap of Maintenance sent by his Nuncio. Pope *Innocent* had done the like, with a consecrated Sword. For the King appointed the Mayor and his Brethren to meet the Pope's Orator at *London Bridge*, and all the Streets between the Bridge-foot and the Palace of *Paul's* (where the King then lay) were garnish'd with the Citizens, standing in their Liveries. And the Morrow after (being *All-Hallow's Day*) the King, attended with many of his Prelates, Nobles, and Principal Courtiers, went in Procession to *Paul's*, and the Cap and Sword were born before him. And after the Procession, the King himself remaining seated in the Quire, the Lord Archbishop upon the Greece of the Quire, made a long Oration, setting forth the Greatness and Eminency of that Honour, which the Pope (in these Ornaments and Ensigns of Benediction) had done the King; and how rarely, and upon what high Deserts they used to be bestow'd. And then recited the King's principal Acts and Merits, which had made him appear worthy in the Eyes of his Holiness of this great Honour.

All this while the Rebellion of *Cornwall* (whereof we have spoken) seem'd to have no relation to *Perkin*; save that perhaps *Perkin's* Proclamation had stricken upon the right Vein, in promising to lay down Exactions and Payments, and so had made them now and then have a Kind thought on *Perkin*. But now these Bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of Water. The King's Lenity (by that time the *Cornish* Rebels, who were taken and pardon'd, and (as it was said) many of them sold by them that had taken them, for Twelve-Pence and Two Shillings apiece, were come down into their Country) had rather imbolden'd them, than reclaim'd them. Infomuch, as they stuck not to say to their Neighbours and Country-men, *That the King did well to Pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few Subjects in England, if he hang'd all that were of their Mind:* And began whetting and inciting one another to renew the Commotion. Some of the subtlest of them, hearing of *Perkins* being in *Ireland*, found means to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When *Perkin* heard this News, he began to take heart again, and advis'd upon it with his Council which were principally three; *Herne* a Mercer, that fled for Debt; *Skelton* a Taylor, and *Astley* a Scrivener: for Secretary *Friem* was gone. These told him that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into *Kent*, and when he went into *Scotland*: The one being a Place so near *London*, and under the King's Nose; and the other, a Nation so distast'd with the People of *England*, that if they had lov'd him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that Company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in *Cornwall* at the first when the People began to take Arms there, he had been crown'd at *Westminster* before this time. For, these Kings (as he had now Experience) would sell poor Princes for Shoes: But he must rely wholly upon People; and therefore advis'd him to Sail over with all possible speed into *Cornwall*. Which, accordingly he did; ha-

(f) He arriv'd at *Cork* the 26th of July; where some out of Affection, others for Desire of Change flock'd to him; among whom, 'tis said, was *Maurice* Earl of *Desmond*. The Mayor and Citizens of *Waterford* notify'd his Arrival to the King, and as they had bravely defended themselves against *Simms's* Adherents, so they did the same now against *Perkins*; for which they were taken into the King's especial Favour. Sir J. W. Cap. XIII.



1497. ving in his Company four small Barks, with some Sixscore or Sevenfcore fighting Men. (g) He arriv'd in September at *Whitland-Bay*, and forthwith came to *Bodmin*, the Blacksmith's Town: where there assembled unto him to the number of Three Thousand Men of the rude People. There he set forth a New Proclamation, stroaking the People with fair Promises, and humouring them with *Invectives* against the King and his Government. And, as it fareth with Smoke, that never loseth it self till it be at the highest; he did now before his end raise his Stile, intituling himself no more *Richard Duke of York*, but *Richard the IVth, King of England*. His Council advised him by all means, to make himself Master of some good walled Town; as well to make his Men find the Sweetness of rich Spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost People, by like hopes of Booty; as to be a sure Retreat to his Forces, in case they should have any ill Day, or unlucky Chance in the Field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the City of *Exeter*, the principal Town for Strength and Wealth in those Parts.

When they were come before *Exeter*, they forbore to use any Force at the first; but made continual Shouts and Out-cries, to terrifie the Inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places Call and Talk to them from under the Walls, to joyn with them, and be of their Party; telling them, That the King would make them another *London*, if they would be the first Town that should Acknowledge him. But they had not the Wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, Agents or Chosen Men to tempt them, and to treat with them. The Citizens on their part shew'd themselves Stout and Loyal Subjects. Neither was there so much as any Tumult or Division amongst them: but all prepar'd themselves for a Valiant Defence, and making good the Town. For well they saw that the Rebels were of no such Number or Power, that they needed to fear them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their Numbers encreased, the King's Succours would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of Evils, to put themselves at the Mercy of those hungry and disorderly People. Wherefore letting all things in good Order within the Town, they nevertheless let down with Cords, from several parts of the Walls privily, several Messengers (that, if one came to Mischance, another might pass on) which should advertise the King of the State of the Town, and implore his Aid. *Perkin* also doubted that Succours would come ere long; and therefore resolved to use his utmost Force to assault the Town: And for that purpose, having mounted Scaling-Ladders in divers places upon the Walls, made at the same instant an Attempt to force one of the Gates: But having no Artillery nor Engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with Logs of Timber, nor by the use of Iron Bars and Iron Crows, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of the Gates on Fire: which he did. But the Citizens, well perceiving the Danger, before the Gate could be fully consum'd, block'd up the Gate, and some space about it on the inside with Faggots and other Fuel: which they likewise set on fire, and so repuls'd Fire with Fire: And, in the mean time, raised up Rampiers of Earth, and cast up deep Trenches, to serve instead of Wall and Gate. And

*Exeter besieged by Perkin.*

*The Loyalty of the Citizens.*

for the *Escalades*, they had so bad Success, as the Rebels were driven from the Walls, with the Loss of Two hundred Men.

The King when he heard of *Perkin's* Siege of *Exeter*, made Sport with it, and said to them that were about him, That *the King of Rake-bells was kin King Landed in the West, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do.*

And it appear'd plainly to those that were about the King, that he was indeed much joy'd with the News of *Perkin's* being in *English* Ground, where he could have no Retreat by Land; thinking now that he should be cured of those privy Stitches which he had long had about his Heart, and had sometimes broken his Sleeps in the midst of all his Felicity. And to set all Mens Hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those, who should now do him Service to make an end of these Troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the Eleventh Hour and had the whole Wages of the Day. Therefore now (like the end of a Play) a great Number came upon the Stage at once. He sent the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord *Brook*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with expedite Forces to speed to *Exeter*, to the Rescue of the Town, and to spread the Fame of his own following in Person with a Royal Army. The Earl of *Devonshire* and his Son, with the *Caroes*, and the *Fulfordes*, and other principal Persons of *Devonshire* (uncall'd from the Court, but hearing that the King's Heart was so much bent upon this Service) made hast with Troops, that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the City of *Exeter*, and prevent the King's Succours. The Duke of *Buckingham* likewise, with many Brave Gentlemen, put themselves in Arms, not staying either the King's or the Lord Chamberlain's coming on, but making a Body of Forces of themselves, the more to indear their Merit; signifying to the King their Readiness, and desiring to know his Pleasure. So that according to the Proverb, *In the coming down, every Saint did help.*

*Perkin* hearing this Thunder of Arms and Preparations against him from so many Parts, raised his Siege, and march'd to *Taunton*; beginning already to Squint one Eye upon the Crown, and another upon the Sanctuary: Tho' the *Cornishmen* were become, like Metal often fir'd and quench'd, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow; Swearing and Vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their Blood were spilt. He was at his rising from *Exeter* between Six and Seven thousand Strong, many having come unto him after he was set before *Exeter*, upon Fame of so great an Enterprize, and to partake of the Spoil; Tho' upon the raising of his Siege, some did slip away. When he was come near *Taunton*, he dissembled all Fear, and seemed all the Day to use Diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about Midnight, he fled with Threescore Horse to *Bewley* in the *New-Forrest*, where he and divers of his Company registred themselves Sanctuary-Men, leaving his *Cornish*-Men to the four Winds: But yet thereby easing them of their Vow, and using his wonted Compassion, *Not to be by when his Subjects blood should be spilt.* The King, as soon as he heard of *Perkin's* Flight, sent presently Five hundred Horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the Sea, or to that same little Island, call'd a *Sanctuary*. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore

1497.

*In Hampshire.*

(g) His Wife came also with him.

all



1497. all they could do, was to beset the Sanctuary, and to maintain a strong Watch about it, till the King's Pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the Rebels, they (being destituted of their Head) without Stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the King's Mercy. And the King, who commonly drew Blood (as Physicians do) rather to save Life than to spill it, and was never Cruel when he was Secure; now he saw the Danger was past, pardon'd them all in the end, except some few desperate Persons which he reserv'd to be Executed, the better to set off his Mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some Horse to St. Michael's

The Lady Mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Katherine Gordon was left by her Husband, whom in all Fortunes she entirely loved; adding the Vertues of a Wife to the Vertues of her Sex. The King sent in the greater Diligence, not knowing whether she might be with Child; whereby the Business would not have ended in Perkin's Person. When she was brought to the King, it was commonly said, that the King receiv'd her not only with Compassion, but with Affection; Pity giving more Impression to her excellent Beauty. Wherefore comforting her (to serve as well his Eye as his Fame) he sent her to his Queen to remain with her; giving her very Honourable Allowance for the Support of her Estate: which she enjoy'd both during the King's Life and many Years after. The Name of the *White-Rose* (which had been given to her Husband's False Title) was continued in common Speech to her true Beauty.

The King went forwards on his Journey, and made a joyful entrance into *Exeter*, where he gave the Citizens great Commendations and Thanks; and taking the Sword he wore, from his Side, he gave it to the Mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the Ring-leaders of the *Cornish-men*, in Sacrifice to the Citizens, whom they had put in fear, and Trouble. At *Exeter* the King consulted with his Council, whether he should offer Life to Perkin if he would quit the Sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The Council were divided in Opinion. Some advis'd the King to take him out of Sanctuary perforce, and to put him to Death, as in a Case of Necessity, which in it self dispenseth with consecrated Places and Things.

Divers Opinions of what was to be done with Perkin.

Wherein they doubted not also, but the King should find the Pope tractable to ratify his Deed, either by Declaration, or (at least) by Indulgence. Others were of Opinion (since all was now safe, and no further Hurt could be done) that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new Scandal and Envy. A third sort fell upon the Opinion that it was not possible for the King ever, either to satisfy the World well touching the Imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the Conspiracy, except by Promise of Life and Pardon, and other fair Means, he should get Perkin into his Hands. But they did all in their Preambles much bemoan the King's Case, with a kind of Indignation at his Fortune, That a Prince of his High Wisdom and Vertue, should have been so long, and so oft exercis'd and vex'd with Idols. But the King said, that it was the Vexation of God Almighty himself, to be vexed with Idols, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himself, he always despis'd them; but was griev'd that they had put his People to such Trouble and Misery. But (in Conclusion) he lean'd to the third Opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin. Who seeing himself Prisoner, and destitute of all Hopes, having try'd Princes and Peo-

ple, Great and Small, and found all either False, Faint, or Unfortunate, did gladly accept of the Condition. The King did also (while he was at *Exeter*) appoint the Lord Darcy and others, Commissioners, for the Fining of all such as were of any Value, and had any Hand or partaking in the Aid or Comfort of Perkin or the *Cornish-men*, either in the Field or in the Flight.

These Commissioners proceeded with such Strictness and Severity, as did much obscure the King's Mercy in sparing of Blood, with the bleeding of so much Treasure. Perkin was brought unto the King's Court, but not to the King's Presence; tho' the King (to satisfy his Curiosity) saw him sometimes out of a Window, or in Passage. He was in shew at Liberty, but guarded with all Care and Watch that was possible, and willed to follow the King to *London*. But from his first Appearance upon the Stage, in his new Person of a Sycophant or Juggler, instead of his former Person of a Prince, all Men may think how he was expos'd to the Derision, not only of the Courtiers, but also of the Common People, who flock'd about him as he went along; that one might know afar off where the Owl was by the Flight of Birds. Some Mocking, some Wondring, some Cursing, some prying and picking Matter out of his Countenance and Gesture to Talk of. So that the false Honour and Respects which he had so long enjoy'd, was plentifully repay'd in Scorn and Contempt. As soon as he was come to *London*, the King gave also the City the Solace of this May-Game. For he was convey'd leisurely on Horseback (but not in any Ignominious fashion) through *Chesepside* and *Cornwall* to the *Tower*; and from thence back again unto *Westminster*, with the Churm of a thousand Taunts and Reproaches. But to amend the Show, there follow'd a little distance of Perkin, an inward Councillor of his, one that had been Serjeant-Farrier to the King. This Fellow when Perkin took Sanctuary, chose rather to take an Holy-Habit than an Holy-Place, and clad himself like an Hermit, and in that Weed wander'd about the Country till he was discover'd and taken. But this Man was bound Hand and Foot upon the Horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the *Tower*, and within few Days after Executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently Examined; and after his Confession taken, an Extract was made of such Parts of them, as were thought fit to be divulg'd, which was Printed and dispers'd Abroad. Wherein the King did himself no Right. For as there was a laboured Tale of Particulars, of Perkin's Father, and Mother, and Grandfire, and Grandmother, and Uncles, and Cosens, by Names and Surnames, and from what places he Travell'd up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his Designs, or any Practices that had been held with him; nor the Dutches of *Burgundy* her self (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the Person that had put Life and Being into the whole Business) so much as nam'd or pointed at. So that Men missing of that they look'd for, look'd about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before. But the King chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle Coals. At that time also it did not appear by any new Examinations or Commitments, that any other Person of Quality was Discover'd or Appeach'd, tho' the King's Closeness made that a Doubt-Dormant.

About this time, a great Fire in the Night-time suddenly began at the King's Palace of *Shyne*, near unto the King's own Lodgings, where-

1498.

The Lord Darcy, Sir Aarnias Pauler and Dr. Sberburne.

Perkin Submits, and is brought to the King's Court.

The Palace at Richmond Built.



1498. by a great part of the Building was consumed, with much costly Household-stuff; which gave the King occasion of Building from the Ground that fine Pile of *Richmond*, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also there fell out a memorable Accident: There was one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Bristol*, a Man seen and expert in *Cosmography* and *Navigation*. This Man seeing the Success, and emulating perhaps the Enterprize of *Christopher Columbus* in that fortunate Discovery towards the Southwest, which had been by him made some Six Years before; conceited with himself, that Lands might likewise be discover'd towards the Northwest.

And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant Conjectures of it, than *Columbus* had of this at the first. For the two great Islands of the Old and New World, being (in the shape and making of them) broad towards the North, and pointed towards the South; it is likely, that the Discovery first began where the Lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a Discovery of some Lands, which they took to be Islands, and were indeed the Continent of *America* towards the Northwest. And it may be, that some Relation of this Nature coming afterwards to the Knowledge of *Columbus* and by him suppress'd, (desirous rather to make his Enterprize the Child of his Science and Fortune, than the Follower of a former Discovery) did give him better assurance, that all was not Sea, from the West of *Europe* and *Africa* unto *Asia*, than either *Seneca's* Prophecy, or *Plato's* Antiquities, or the Nature of the Tides, and Landwinds, and the like, which were the Conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have rely'd. Tho' I am not ignorant that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten Discovery (a little before) of a *Spanish* Pilot, who died in the House of *Columbus*. But this *Gabato* bearing the King in hand, that he would find out an Island endued with rich Commodities, procur'd him to Man and Victual a Ship at *Bristol*, for the Discovery of that Island; with whom ventur'd also three small Ships of *London*-Merchants, fraught with some gross and slight Wares, fit for Commerce with barbarous People. He sail'd (as he affirm'd at his Return, and made a Card thereof) very far Westwards, with a Quarter of the North, on the North-side of *Tierra de Labrador*, until he came to the Latitude of Sixty seven Degrees and an half, finding the Seas still open. It is certain also, that the King's Fortune had a tender of that great Empire of the *West-Indies*. Neither was it a Refusal on the King's part, but a Delay by Accident, that put by so great an Acquest. For *Christopher Columbus* refused by the King of *Portugal* (who would not embrace at once both East and West) employ'd his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus* unto King *Henry*, to Negotiate for his Discovery. And it so fortun'd, that he was taken by Pirates at Sea; by which accidental Impediment he was long ere he came to the King. So long, that before he had obtain'd a Capitulation with the King for his Brother; the Enterprize by him was Achiev'd, and so the *West-Indies* by Providence were then reserv'd for the Crown of *Castile*. Yet this sharpen'd the King so, that not only in this Voyage, but again in the 16th Year of his Reign, and likewise in the 18th thereof, he granted forth new Commissions, for the Discovery and Investing of unknown Lands.

*Christopher Columbus* and *Bartholomew Columbus*, invite the King to a Discovery of the *West-Indies*.

An Accident Trivial in itself, great in Effect.

In this Fourteenth Year also (by God's wonderful Providence, that boweth things unto his Will, and hangeth great Weights upon small Wyers) there fell out a trifling and untoward

Accident, that drew on great and happy Effects. 1498.

During the Truce with *Scotland*, there were certain *Scottish* Young Gentlemen that came into *Norham* Town, and there made merry with some of the *English* of the Town. And having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the Castle. Some of the Garrison of the Castle, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their Minds purg'd of the late ill Blood of Hostility, either suspected them, or quarrell'd them for Spies. Whereupon they fell at ill Words, and from Words to Blows; so that many were wounded of either Side, and the *Scottish-men* (being Strangers in the Town) had the worst. In so much as some of them were Slain, and the rest made haste Home. The Matter being complain'd on, and often debated before the Wardens of the Marches of both Sides, and no good Order taken, the King of *Scotland* took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a Herald to the King to make Protestation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did denounce War. The King (who had often try'd Fortune, and was inclin'd to Peace) made Answer, 'That what had been done, was utterly against his Will, and without his Privy. But if the Garrison-Souldiers had been in fault, he would see them punish'd, and the Truce in all Points to be preserv'd. But this Answer seem'd to the *Scottish* King but a Delay, to make the Complaint breath out with time; and therefore it did rather exasperate him, than satisfy him. Bishop *Fox*, understanding from the King, that the *Scottish* King was still Discontent and Impatient, being troubled that the Occasion of breaking of the Truce should grow from his Men, sent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the *Scottish* King to appease him. Whereupon King *James*, mollify'd by the Bishop's Submiss and Eloquent Letters, wrote back unto him, 'That tho' he were in part moved by his Letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him; as well about the compounding of the present Differences, as about other Matters, that might concern the good of both Kingdoms. The Bishop advising first with the King, took his Journey for *Scotland*. The meeting was at *Melrose*, an Abbey of the *Cistercians*, where the King then abode. The King first roundly utter'd unto the Bishop his Offence conceiv'd for the insolent Breach of Truce, by his Men of *Norham-Castle*. Whereunto Bishop *Fox* made such an humble and smooth Answer, as it was like Oyl into the Wound, whereby it began to heal. And this was done in the Presence of the King and his Council. After, the King spake with the Bishop apart, and open'd himself unto him, saying, 'That these temporary Truces and Peaces were soon made, and soon broken: But that he desir'd a straiter Amity with the King of *England*, discovering his Mind; That if the King would give him in Marriage the Lady *Margaret*, his Eldest Daughter, that indeed might be a Knot indissoluble. That he knew well what Place and Authority the Bishop deservedly had with his Master. Therefore, if he would take the Business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The Bishop answer'd soberly, 'That he thought himself rather happy, than worthy, to be an Instrument in such a Matter; but would do his best Endeavour. Wherefore the Bishop returning to the King, and giving Account what had passed, and finding the King more than well-disposed in it, gave the King Advice; First, to proceed

The Princess *Margaret* desir'd in Marriage by the *Scottish* King.

1499.



1499. proceed to a Conclusion of Peace, and then to go on with the Treaty of Marriage, by degrees. Hereupon a Peace was concluded, which was published a little before *Christmas*, in the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, to continue for both the Kings Lives, and the Over-liver of them, and a year after. In this Peace there was an Article contained, that no *English* Man should enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottish* Man into *England*, without Letters Commendatory from the Kings of either Nation. This at the first Sight might seem a Means to continue a Strangeness between the Nations; but it was done, to lock in the Borderers.

The Kings  
third Son  
Edmund  
is born  
and dyes.

This Year there was also born to the King a third Son, who was Christened by the Name of *Edmund*, and shortly after dyed. And much about the same time came News of the Death of *Charles* the *French* King; For whom there were celebrated Solemn and Princely Obsequies.

It was not long, but *Perkin* (who was made of Quick-silver, which is hard to hold or imprison) began to stir. For deceiving his Keepers, he took him to his Heels, and made speed to the Sea Coasts. But presently all Corners were laid for him, and such diligent Pursuit and Search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the House of *Bethleem*, called the Priory of *Sbyne*, (which had the privilege of Sanctuary) and put himself into the Hands of the Prior of that Monastery. The Prior was thought an Holy Man, and much revered in those Days. He came to the King, and besought the King for *Perkin's* Life only; leaving him otherwise to the King's Discretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever, to have the King to take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high Stomack, and could not hate any that he despised) bid, *Take him forth, and let the Knave in the Stocks*. And so promising the Prior his Life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three Days after, \* upon a Scaffold, set up in the Palace Court at *Westminster*, he was Fettered and set in the Stocks, for the whole Day. And the next Day after, the like was done by him at the Cross in *Cheap-side*, and in both Places he read his Confession, of which we made mention before; and was from *Cheap-side*, conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the King was (as was partly touch'd before) grown to be such a Partner with Fortune, as no Body could tell what Actions the one, and what the other owned. For it was believed generally, that *Perkin* was betrayed, and that this Escape was not without the King's Privy, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line; and that the King did this to pick a Quarrel with him to put him to Death, and to be rid of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the same Instruments who observed him in his Flight, might have kept him from getting into Sanctuary.

But it was ordained, that this Winding Ivy of a *Plantagenet*, should kill the true Tree it self. For *Perkin*, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the Favour and kindness of his Keepers, Servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *John Digby*, being four in Number; *Strangways*, *Blewet*, *Altwood*, and *Long-Roger*. These Varlets, with Mountains of Promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his Escape. But knowing well, that his own Fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no Man's Hopes (and by hopes

he must Work, for Rewards he had none) he had contrived with himself a vast and Tragical Plot; which was, to draw into his Company *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, then Prisoner in the Tower; whom the weary Life of a long Imprisonment, and the often and renewing Fears of being put to Death, had softened to take any impression of Counsel for his Liberty. This young Prince he thought these Servants would look upon, though not upon himself. And therefore after that by some Message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the Earl's Consent; it was agreed, that these four should murder their Master the Lieutenant, secretly in the Night, and make their best of such Money and portable Goods of his, as they should find ready at Hand, and get the Keys of the Tower, and presently let forth *Perkin* and the Earl. But this Conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the Opinion of the King's great Wisdom did surcharge him with a Sinister Fame, that *Perkin* was but his Bait, to entrap the Earl of *Warwick*. And in the very instant while this Conspiracy was in working (as if that also had been the King's industry) it was fatal, that there should break forth a Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a Cordwainer's Son, whose Name was \* *Ralph Wilford*; a young Man, taught and set on by an *Augustine* Friar, called *Pairiawck*. They both from the parts of *Suffolk*, came forwards into *Kent* where they did not only privily and underhand give out, that this *Wilford* was the true Earl of *Warwick*, but also the Friar finding some light Credence in the People, took the Boldness in the Pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the People to come in to his Aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young Fellow executed, \* and the Friar condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the King's Estate, from the Earl of *Warwick*, and thereby to colour the King's Severity that followed; together with the Madness of the Friar, so vainly and desperately to divulge a Treason, before it had gotten any manner of Strength; and the saving of the Friar's Life, which nevertheless was (indeed) but the Privilege of his Order; and the Pity in the common People (which if it run in a strong Stream, doth ever cast up Scandal and Envy) made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the King's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon *Perkin* (that had offended against Grace now the third Time) was at the last proceeded with, and by Commissioners of Oyer and Determiner, arraigned at *Westminster*, \* upon divers Treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on Land within this Kingdom (for so the Judges advised, for that he was a Forreigner) and condemned, and a few days after executed at *Tyburn*. Where he did again openly read his Confession, and take it upon his Death to be true. This was the end of this little Cockatrice of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest Plays of that kind, that hath been in Memory; and might perhaps have had another End, if he had not met with a King both Wise, Stout, and Fortunate.

As for *Perkin's* three Counsellors, they had registered themselves Sanctuary-Men when their Master did. And whether upon Pardon obtained, or continuance within the Privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

A Counterfeit  
Earl of  
Warwick.  
\* A Shoemaker's  
Son of  
London.

Hanged.  
\* On  
Tuesday.

\* On the  
16th of  
November.

*Perkin*  
*Warbeck*  
hang'd at  
*Tyburn*.



1499. There was executed with *Perkin* the Mayor of *Cork*, and his Son (*b*), who had been principal Abettors of his Treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other Persons, about the Tower-Conspiracy, whereof four were the Lieutenant's Men. But of those Eight but two \* The 21st were executed. And immediately after \* was of *Novemb.* arraigned before the Earl of *Oxford* (then for the time High Steward of *England*) the poor Prince the Earl of *Warwick*; not for the Attempt to escape simply (for that was not acted; And besides, the Imprisonment not being for Treason, the Escape by Law could not be Treason) But for Conspiring with *Perkin* to raise Sedition, and to destroy the King. And the Earl confessing the Inditement had Judgment, and was shortly after \* beheaded on Tower-hill.

\* On the 21st of *Novemb.* Earl of *Warwick* executed. The last of the Race of the *Plantagenets*.

The King hated for it.

Blood not unrevenged.

A great Plague.

|| In the beginning of *May*.

This was also the end not only of this Noble and Commiserable Person *Edward* the Earl of *Warwick* eldest Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, but likewise of the Line Male of the *Plantagenets*, which had flourished in great Royalty and Renown, from the time of the Famous King of *England* King *Henry* the Second. Howbeit it was a Race often dipped in their own Blood. It hath remained since only transplanted into other Names, as well of the Imperial Line, as of other Noble Houses. But it was neither Guilt of Crime, nor Reason of State, that could quench the Envy that was upon the King for this Execution. So that he thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it upon his new Allie *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. For these two King's understanding one another at half a Word, so it was that there were Letters shewed out of *Spain*, whereby in the Passages concerning the Treaty of the Marriage, *Ferdinando* had written to the King in plain Terms, that he saw no Assurance of his Succession, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived; and that he was loth to send his Daughter to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the King did in some part remove the Envy from himself; so he did not observe, that he did withall bring a kind of Malediction and Infausting upon the Marriage, as an ill Prognostick. Which in Event so far proved true, as both Prince *Arthur* enjoyed a very small Time after the Marriage, and the Lady *Katherine*, her self (a sad and a Religious Woman) long after, when King *Henry* the eighth his Resolution of a Divorce from her was first made known to her, used some Words; *That she had not offended: but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in Blood;* meaning that of the Earl of *Warwick*.

This fifteenth Year of the King there was a great Plague, both in *London* and in divers parts of the Kingdom. Wherefore the King after often Change of Places (whether to avoid the danger of the Sickness, or to give occasion of an Interview with the Arch-Duke, or both) sail'd over || with his Queen to *Calice*. Upon his coming thither, the Arch-Duke sent an Honourable Ambassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those Parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleased him) he would come and do him Reverence. But it was said withal; That the King might be pleased to appoint some Place, that were out of any Walled Town or Fortrefs, for that he had denied the same upon like Occasion to the *French* King. And though he said, he made a great Difference between the two Kings, yet he would be

loth to give a President, that might make it after to be expected at his Hands, by another whom he trusted less. The King accepted of the Courtesie, and admitted of his Excuse, and appointed the Place to be at *St. Peter's* Church without *Calice*. But withal he did visit the Arch-Duke with Ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord Saint *John*, and the Secretary; unto whom the Arch-Duke did the Honour, as (going to Mass at Saint *Omer's*) to set the Lord Saint *John* on his right Hand, and the Secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to Church. The Day appointed for the || Interview, the King went on || *with his* Horse-back some distance from Saint *Peter's* Church, to receive the Arch-Duke. And upon their approaching, the Arch-Duke made hast to light, and offered to hold the King's Stirrop at his alighting; which the King would not permit, but descending from Horseback, they embraced with great Affection, and withdrawing into the Church to a Place prepared, they had long Conference, not only upon the Confirmation of former Treaties, and the freeing of Commerce, but upon Cross Marriages, to be had between the Duke of *Tork* the King's second Son, and the Arch-Duke's Daughter; and again between *Charles* the Arch-Duke's Son and Heir, and *Mary* the King's second Daughter. But these Blossoms of unripe Marriages, were but Friendly wishes, and the Airs of loving Entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in Treaty, though not in Effect. But during the time that the two Princes conversed and communed together in the Suburbs of *Calice*, the Demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and Affectionate, especially on the part of the Arch-Duke. Who (besides that he was a Prince of an excellent good Nature) being conscious to himself, how dryly the King had been used by his Counsel in the matter of *Perkin*, did strive by all means to recover it in the King's Affection. And having also his Ears continually beaten with the Counsels of his Father and Father-in-Law, who (in respect of their jealous hatred against the *French* King) did always advise the Arch-Duke to anchor himself upon the Amity of King *Henry* of *England*; was glad upon this Occasion, to put in Ure and Practice their Precepts, calling the King Patron, and Father, and Protector, (These very Words the King repeats; when he certified of the loving Behaviour of the Archduke to the City) and what else he could devise, to express his Love and observance to the King. There came also to the King the Governour of *Picardy*, and the Bailiff of *Amiens*, sent from *Lewis* the *French* King to do him Honour, and to give him Knowledge of his Victory and winning of the Dutchy of *Milan*. It seemeth the King was well pleased with the Honours he received from those Parts, while he was at *Calice*. For he did himself certify all the News and Occurrences of them in every particular, from *Calice*, to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, which (no doubt) made no small Talk in the City. For the King, though he could not entertain the good Will of the Citizens, as *Edward* the fourth did; yet by Affability and other Princely Graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This Year also died *John Morton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of *England*, and Cardinal. He was a wise Man, and an Eloquent, but in his nature harsh, and haughty; much accepted by the

1500.

Enter-view between the King and Arch-duke.

|| *with his* Horse-back some distance from Saint *Peter's* Church, to receive the Arch-Duke.

The Kings Affability and kindness to the Citizens of *London*. Arch-Bishop *Morton* dyed in the Year 1500 See *Hol.* p. 788. Cardinal *Morton's* Death and Character.

(b) As for *Philip John Water's* Son he was afterwards Pardoned by the King's Clemency. The Citizens of *Cork* were also pardoned. *Sir J. Ware. Cap. XV.*

King,



1500. King, but envied by the Nobility, and hated of the People. Neither was his Name left out of *Perkin's* Proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the King's Caſting-Counters, becauſe he had the Image and Superſcription upon him of the Pope, in his Honour of Cardinal. He won the King with Secrecy and Diligence, but chiefly becauſe he was his old Servant in his leſs Fortunes: And alſo for that (in his Affections) he was not without an inveterate Malice againſt the Houſe of *York*, under whom he had been in Trouble. He was willing alſo to take Envy from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for Subterfuges, but would ſtand Envy, and appear in any thing that was to his Mind; which made Envy ſtill grow upon him more univerſal, but leſs daring. But in the Matter of Exactions, time did after ſhew, that the Biſhop in feeding the King's Humour, did rather temper it. He had been by *Richard the Third* committed (as in Cuſtody) to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom he did ſecretly incite to revolt from King *Richard*. But after the Duke was engaged, and thought the Biſhop ſhould have been his chief Pilot in the Tempeſt, the Biſhop was gotten into the Cock-boat, and fled over beyond Seas. But whatſoever elſe was in the Man, he deſerveth a moſt happy Memory, in that he was the Principal Mean of joyn- ing the two *Roses*. He died of great Years, but of ſtrong Health and Powers. †

† He was ſucceeded by *Henry Dean Biſhop of Salisbury*.

A Jubile at Rome.

The next Year, which was the Sixteenth Year of the King, and the Year of our Lord One thouſand five hundred, was the Year of Jubile at Rome. But Pope *Alexander*, to ſave the Hazard and Charges of Mens Journeys to Rome, thought good to make over thoſe Graces by Exchange, to ſuch as would pay a convenient Rate, ſeeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpoſe was ſent into *England* *Jasper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, the Pope's Commiſſioner, better choſen than were the Commiſſioners of Pope *Leo*, afterwards employed for *Germany*; for he carried the Buſineſs with great Wiſdom, and ſemblance of Holineſs. In ſo much as he levied great Sums of Money within this Land to the Pope's Uſe, with little or no Scandal. It was thought the King ſhared in the Money. But it appeareth by a Letter which Cardinal *Adrian*, the King's Penſioner, wrote to the King from Rome ſome few Years after, that this was not ſo. For this Cardinal, being to perſwade Pope *Julius* on the King's behalf, to expedite the Bull of Diſpenſation for the Marriage between Prince *Henry* and the Lady *Katherine*, finding the Pope difficile in granting thereof, doth uſe it as a principal Argument concerning the King's Merit towards that See, that he had touched none of thoſe Deniers, which had been levied by *Pons* in *England*. But that it might the better appear (for the Satisfaction of the common People) that this was Conſecrate Money, the ſame Nuntio brought unto the King a Brief from the Pope, wherein the King was Exhorted and Summoned to come in Perſon againſt the *Turk*. For that the Pope (out of the Care of an Universal Father) ſeeing almoſt under his Eyes the Succeſſes and Progrefſes of that great Enemy of the Faith, had had in the Conclave, and with the Aſſiſtance of the Ambaſſadors of forreign Princes, divers Con-

ſultations about an Holy War, and a General Expedition of Chriſtian Princes againſt the *Turk*. Wherein it was agree'd, and thought fit, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* ſhould make a War upon *Thracia*; The *French* and *Spaniards* upon *Grecia*; and that the Pope (willing to ſacrifice himſelf in ſo good a Cauſe) in Perſon and in Company of the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and ſuch other States as were great in maritime Power, would ſail with a puſſant Navy through the *Mediterrane* unto *Conſtantinople*. And that to this end, his Holineſs had ſent Nuncio's to all Chriſtian Princes; as well for a Ceſſation of all Quarrels and Differences amongſt themſelves, as for ſpeedy Preparations and Contributions of Forces and Treafure for this Sacred Enterprize.

To this the King, (who underſtood well the Court of Rome) made an Answer rather Solemn, than Serious. Signifying,

"That no Prince on Earth ſhould be more forward and obedient, both by his Perſon, and by all his poſſible Forces, and Fortunes, to enter into this ſacred War, than himſelf. But that the diſtance of Place was ſuch, as no Forces that he ſhould raiſe for the Seas, could be levied or prepared, but with double the Charge, and double the Time (at the leaſt) that they might be from the other Princes, that had their Territories nearer adjoining. Beſides, that neither the Manner of his Ships (having no Gallies) nor the Experience of his Pilots and Mariners could be ſo apt for thoſe Seas, as theirs. And therefore that his Holineſs might do well to move one of thoſe other Kings, who lay fitter for the Purpoſe, to accompany him by Sea. Whereby both all things would be ſooner put in Readineſs, and with leſs Charge, and the Emulation and Diviſion of Command, which might grow between thoſe Kings of *France* and *Spain*, if they ſhould both joyn in the War by Land upon *Grecia*, might be wiſely avoided. And that for his Part, he would not be wanting in Aids and Contribution. Yet notwithstanding, if both theſe Kings ſhould reſuſe, rather than his Holineſs ſhould goe alone, he would wait upon him, as ſoon as he could be ready. Always provided, that he might firſt ſee all Differences of the Chriſtian Princes amongſt themſelves, fully laid down and appeaſed (as for his own Part he was in none.) And that he might have ſome good Towns upon the Coaſt in *Italy* put into his Hands, for the Retreat and ſafeguard of his Men.

With this Answer *Jasper Pons* returned, nothing at all diſcontented. And yet this Declaration of the King (as ſuperficial as it was) gave him that Reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the Knights of the *Rhodes*, Protector of their Order; All things multiplying to Honour in a Prince, that had gotten ſuch high Eſtimation for his Wiſdome and Sufficiency.

The Knights of Rhodes elect King *Henry* Protector of their Order.

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There



1501. There were these two last Years some Proceedings against *Hereticks*, which was rare in this King's Reign, and rather by Penances, than by Fire. The King had (though he were no good Schoolman) the Honour to convert one of them by Dispute at *Canterbury*.

The King converts an *Heretic* by Dispute.

This Year also, though the King were no more haunted with Sprites, for that by the Sprinkling partly of Blood, and partly of Water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain Apparitions, that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one Region, which was the House of *York*. It came so to pass, that the Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *Elizabeth*, eldest Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, by *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, her second Husband, and Brother to *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, that was slain at *Stock-field*, being of an hasty and cholerick Disposition, had killed a Man in his Fury; whereupon the King gave him his Pardon. But either willing to leave a Cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his Grace, produced him openly to plead his Pardon. This wrought in the Earl, as in a haughty Stomack it useth to doe; for the Ignominy printed deeper than the Grace, Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into *Flanders*, unto his Aunt the Dutches of *Burgundy*. The King startled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to use fair and timely Remedies, wrought so with him by Messages, (The Lady *Margaret* also growing by often failing in her *Alcbymie*, weary of her Experiments, and partly being a little sweetned, for that the King had not touched her name in the Confession of *Perkin*) that he came over again upon good Terms, and was reconciled to the King.

† Prince *Arthur* married to the Princess *Katherine* of *Spain*.

¶ On the 1<sup>th</sup> of *November*.

In † the beginning of the next Year, being the seventeenth of the King, the Lady *Catherine*, fourth Daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, arrived in *England*, at *Plymouth*, the second of *October* and was married to Prince *Arthur* in *Pauls*, the fourteenth of *November* following. The Prince being then about fifteen Years of Age\*, and the Lady about eighteen. The Manner of her receiving, the Manner of her Entry, into *London* ‖, and the Celebrity of the Marriage were performed\* with great and true Magnificence, in regard of Cost, Shew, and Order. The chief Man that took the Care was Bishop *Fox*; who was not only a Grave Counsellor for War or Peace, but also a good Surveyor of Works, and a good Master of Ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the Active Part, belonging to the Service of Court, or State of a great King. This Marriage was almost seven Years in Treaty; which was in part caused by the Tender Years of the Marriage-couple, especially of the Prince. But the true Reason was, that these two Princes, being Princes of great Policy and profound Judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's Fortunes, how they would go; knowing well that in the mean time, the very Treatie it self gave abroad in the World a Reputation of a strait Conjunction, and Amity between them; which served on both Sides to many Purposes, that their several Affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the End, when the

Fortunes of both Princes did grow every Day 1501. more and more Prosperous and Assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better Conditions, they shut it up.

The Marriage Money the Princess brought (which was turned over to the King by Act of Renunciation) was Two hundred thousand Ducats. Whereof One hundred thousand were payable ten Days after the Solemnization, and the other Hundred thousand at two Payments Annual; but part of it to be in Jewels and Plate, and a due Course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The Joyn-ture or Advancement of the Lady, was the third Part of the Principality of *Wales*, and of the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the Earldom of *Chester*, to be after set forth in severalty. or Dowry. And in Case She came to be Queen of *England*, her Advancement was left Indefinite, but thus; That it should be as great, as ever any former Queen of *England* had.

In all the Devices and Conceits of the Triumphs of this Marriage, there was a great deal of Astronomy. The Lady being resembled to *Hesperus*, and the Prince to *Arcturus*, and the old King *Alphonfus* (that was the greatest Astronomer of King's, and was Ancestor to the Lady) was brought in to be the Fortune-teller of the Match. And whosoever had those Toys in Compiling, they were not altogether Pedantical. But you may be sure that King *Arthur*, the *Britton*, and the Descent of the Lady *Catherine* from the House of *Lancaster*, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seem) it is not good to fetch 2d April, A. D. 1502. Fortunes from the Stars. For this young Prince (that drew upon him at that time, not only the Hopes and Affections of his Country, but the Eyes and Expectation of Forreiners) after a few Months, in the beginning of *April*, deceased at *Ludlow* Castle, where he was sent to keep his Residence and Court, as Prince of *Wales*. Of this Prince in respect he dyed so young, and by Reason of his Father's manner of Education, that did cast no great Lustre upon his Children, there is little particular Memory. Only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his Years, and beyond the Custom of great Princes.

He dies at *Ludlow* Castle.

There was a Doubt ripped up in the Times following, when the Divorce of King *Henry* the Eighth from the Lady *Catherine* did so much Busie the World, whether *Arthur* was bedded with his Lady or no, whereby that Matter in Fact (of Carnal Knowledge) might be made part of the Case. And it is true, that the Lady herself denied it, or at least her Council stood upon it, and would not blanch that Advantage, although the Plentitude of the Pope's Power of Dispensing was the main Question. And this Doubt was kept long open, in Respect of the two Queen's that Succeeded, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, whose Legitimizations were Incompatible one with another, though their Succession was settled by Act of Parliament. And the Times that favoured Queen *Mary's* Legitimation would have it believed, that there was no Carnal Knowledge between *Arthur* and *Katherine*. Not that they

King *Henry's* Behaviour towards his Children.

† She arrived as *Stow* says on the 4th of *October* which is not the beginning of the Year, she was married the 14th of *November* *St. J. Ware*.

\* He was born according to the Lord *Bacon* p. 8. in *September* 1486 and so he must be 15 Years and 2 Months old. According to *Hollinshead* he was born in *September* 1488 and then he was but 13 Years and 2 Months. See *Hol. p. 759*.

would



1502. would seem to derogate from the Pope's absolute Power, to dispence even in that Case; but only in Point of Honour, and to make the Case more Favourable and Smooth. And the Times that favoured Queen Elizabeth's Legitimation (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in Memory, that it was half a Year's time between the Creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and Prince Arthur's Death; which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady Catherine were with Child by Prince Arthur, or no. Again, the Lady herself procured a Bull, for the better Corroboration of the Marriage, with a Clause of (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the first Bull. There was given in Evidence also, when the Cause of the Divorce was handled, a pleasant Passage, which was; That in a Morning Prince Arthur, upon his up-rising from Bed with her, called for Drink, which he was not accustomed to doe, and finding the Gentleman of his Chamber that brought him the Drink to smile at it, and to note it, he said merrily to him; That he had been in the midst of Spain, which was an hot Region, and his Journey had made him dry, and that if the other had been in so hot a Clime, he would have been drier than he. Besides, the Prince was upon the Point of Sixteen Years of Age when he died, and forward and able in Body.

The 18th of February following, Henry Duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint. For the Dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by Statute. The King also being fast handed, and loth to part with a Second Dowrie, but chiefly being Affectionate both by his Nature, and out of Politick Considerations to continue the Alliance with Spain, prevailed with the Prince (though not without some Reluctation, such as could be in those Years, for he was not twelve Years of Age) to be contracted with the Princess Katherine. The secret Providence of God ordaining that Marriage, to be the Occasion of great Events and Changes.

Prince Henry contracted to the Princess Katherine. The same Year were the Espousals of James King of Scotland, with the Lady Margaret, the King's eldest Daughter; which was done by Proxie, and published at Pauls Cross, the Five and twentieth of January, and *Te Deum* solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the Joy of the City thereupon shewed, by Ringing of Bells, and Bon-fires, and such other Incense of the People, was more than could be expected, in a Case of so great and fresh Enmity between the Nations; especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former Calamities of the War. And therefore might be truly attributed to a Secret Instinct and Inspiring (which many times runneth not only in the Hearts of Princes, but in the Pulse and Veins of People) touching the Happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This Marriage was in August following consummate at Edenborough. The King bringing his Daughter as far as Colli-Wisdon on the Way, and then consigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of Northumberland; who with a great Troop of Lords and Ladies of Honour, brought her into Scotland, to the King her Husband.

This Marriage had been in Treaty by the space of almost three Years, from the time that the King of Scotland did first open his

Mind to Bishop Fox. The Sum given in Marriage by the King, was Ten thousand Pounds. And the Jointure and Advancement assured by the King of Scotland, was Two thousand Pounds a Year, after King James his Death, and one thousand Pounds a Year in present, for the Lady's Allowance or Maintenance. This to be set forth in Lands, of the best and most certain Revenue. During the Treaty, it is reported, that the King remitted the Matter to his Council; And that some of the Table in the Freedom of Councillors (the King being present) did put the Case; that if God should take the King's two Sons without issue, that then the Kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might be Prejudice to the Monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replied; That if that should be, Scotland would be but an Accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the Greater would draw the less. And that it was a safer Union for England, than that of France. This passed as an Oracle, and silenced those that moved the Question.

The same Year was fatal, as well for Deaths, as Marriages, and that with equal Temper. For the Joys and Feasts of the two Marriages, were compensated with the mournings, and Funerals of Prince Arthur (of whom we have spoken) and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in Child-bed in the Tower, † and the Child lived not long after. There dyed also that Year Sir Reginold Bray, who was noted to have had with the King the greatest Freedom of any Councillor; but it was but a Freedom, the better to set off Flattery. Yet he bare more than his just Part of Envy, for the Exactions.

At this time the King's Estate was very prosperous, secured by the Amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all Domestick Troubles quenched, and all Noise of War (like a Thunder a far off) going upon Italy. Wherefore Nature, which many times is happily contained, and refrained by some Bands of Fortune, began to take Place in the King; carrying (as with a strong Tide) his Affections and Thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of Treasure. And as Kings do more easily find Instruments for their Will and Humour, than for their Service and Honour; He had gotten for his Purpose, or beyond his Purpose, two Instruments, Empson and Dudley, (whom the People esteemed as his Horse-leeches and Shearers) bold Men, and careless of Fame, and took Toll of their Master's Grift. Dudley was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put Hateful Business into good Language. But Empson, that was the Son of a Sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the Deed done, putting off all other Respects whatsoever. These two Persons being Lawyers in Science, and Privy Councillors in Authority (*as the Corruption of the best things is the worst*) turned Law and Justice into Worm-wood and Rapine. For first, their Manner was to cause divers Subjects to be Indicted of sundry Crimes, and so far forth to proceed in Form of Law; But when the Bills were found, then presently to commit them. And nevertheless not to produce them to any reasonable time to their Answer, but to suffer them to languish long in Prison, and by sundry artificial Devices and Terrours, to extort from them great Fines and Ransoms, which they termed Compositions and Mitigations.

Neither

1502.  
A Doubt  
long in  
debate be-  
tween two  
Parties.

1503.  
The Prin-  
cess Mar-  
garet's  
Jointure  
in Scot-  
land.

Queen E-  
lizabeth's  
Death.  
† On the  
11 of Fe-  
bruary.

Prince  
Henry con-  
tracted to  
the Prin-  
cess Ka-  
therine.  
The Prin-  
cess Mar-  
garet mar-  
ry'd to  
James the  
4th King  
of Scot-  
land.

Empson  
and Dud-  
ley the  
King's  
Horse-  
leeches.



1504. Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the half-Face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictment; but sent forth their Precepts to attach Men, and convent them before themselves and some others, at their private Houses, in a Court of Commission, and there used to shuffle up a Summary proceeding by Examination, without Trial of Jury; assuming to themselves there, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and Controversies Civil.

Then did they also use to enthrall and charge the Subjects Lands with Tenures in Capite, by finding false Offices, and thereby to Work upon them for Wardships, Liveries, Premier Seilines, and Alienations, (being the Fruits of those Tenures) refusing upon divers Pretexts and Delays, to admit Men to traverse those false Offices, according to the Law. Nay, the King's Wards after they had accomplished their full Age, could not be suffered to have Livery of their Lands, without paying excessive Fines, far exceeding all reasonable Rates. They did also vex Men with Informations of Intrusion upon scarce colourable Titles.

How Outlawries were punished.

When Men were Out-lawed in Personal Actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intollerable Sums; standing upon the strict Point of Law, which upon Out-lawries giveth Forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of Mens Lands and Rents, during the Space of full two Years, for a Pain in Case of Out-lawry. They would also ruffle with Jurors, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) Convent them. Imprison them, and Fine them,

These and many other Courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of Preying upon the People; both like tame Hawks for their Master, and like wild Hawks for themselves; in so much as they grew to great Riches and Substance. But their principal working was upon Penall Laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the Law were possible, or impossible, in Use or Obsolete: But raked over all old and new Statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of Terrour, than of Rigour; having ever a Rabble of Promoters, Questmongers, and leadings Jurors at their Command, so as they could have any thing found either for Fact or Valuation.

The King's Diligence to get Money.

There remaineth to this Day a Report, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his Principal Servant, both for War and Peace) nobly and sumptuously, at his Castle at Henningham. And at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants stood (in a seemly Manner) in their Livery Coats, with Cognifances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a Lane. The King called the Earl unto him and said; *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than the Speech. These handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial Servants.* The Earl smiled, and said; *It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my Retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace.* The King started a little, and said; *By my Faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good Chear, but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my sight. My*

*Attorney must speak with you.* And it is part of the Report, that the Earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand Marks. And to shew further the King's extreme Diligence; I do remember to have seen long since a Book of Account of Empson's, that had the King's Hand almost to every Lease, by way of Signing, and was in some Places postilled in the Margent with the Kings Hand likewise, where was this Remembrance.

1505. The Earl of Oxford find 15000 Marks for having Retainers.

"Item, received of such a one, five Marks, A remarkable Memorandum of King Henry.  
"for the Pardon to be procured; and if  
"the Pardon do not pass, the Money to  
"be repayed; except the Party be some  
"other ways satisfied.

And over against this Memorandum (of the King's own Hand)

### Otherwise satisfied

Which I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a Nearness, but yet with a kind of Justness. So these little Sands and Grains of Gold and Silver (as it seemeth) helped not a little to make up the great Heap and Bank.

But mean while (to keep the King awake) the Earl of Suffolk having been too gay at Prince Arthur's Marriage, and sunk himself deep in Debt, had yet once more a Mind to be a Knight-Errant, and to seek Adventures in Foreign Parts. And taking his Brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That (no doubt) which gave him Confidence, was the great Murmur of the People against the King's Government. And being a Man of a light and rash Spirit, he thought every Vapour would be a Tempest. Neither wanted he some Party within the Kingdom. For the Murmur of People awakes the Discontents of Nobles, and again, that calleth up commonly some Head of Sedition. The King resorting to his wonted and tried Arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, Captain of the Castle at Hammes (being at that time beyond Sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the King) to fly from his Charge, and to fain himself a Servant of the Earl's. This Knight, having insinuated himself into the Secrets of the Earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either Hope or Hold, advertised the King thereof in great Secrecy. But nevertheless maintained his own Credit and inward Trust with the Earl. Upon whose Advertisements, the King attached William Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, his Brother-in-Law, married to the Lady Katherine, Daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William De-la-Pole, Brother to the Earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tirrel, and Sir John Windham, and some other meaner Persons, and committed them to Custody. George Lord Abergavennie, and Sir Thomas Green, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less Suspicion, so in a freer Restraint, and were soon after delivered. The Earl of Devonshire, being interested in the Blood of York, that was rather Feared than Nocent; yet as one, that might be the Object of others Plots and Designs, remained Prisoner in the Tower, during the King's Life. William De-la-pole, was also long restrained

Earl of Suffolk flies into Flanders.

ed



1504. ed, though not so straitly. But for Sir *James Tirre!* (against whom the Blood of the Innocent Princes, *Edward the Fifth*, and his Brother, did still cry from under the Altar) and Sir *James Tirrell* *John Windham*, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; The two Knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the Credit of *Curson* (who belike had not yet done all his Feats of Activity) there was published at *Paul's Cross*, about the time of the said Executions, the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and Curse, against the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Curson*, and some others by Name, and likewise in general against all the Abettors of the said Earl. Wherein it must be confessed, that Heaven was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to Policy. But soon after, *Curson* (when he saw time) returned into *England*, and with all into wonted Favour with the King, but worse Fame with the People. Upon whose Return the Earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of Hopes (the *Lady Margaret* also by tract of Time, and bad Success, being now become Cool in those Attempts) after some wandering in *France*, and *Germany*, and certain little Projects, no better than Squibbs of an Exiled Man, being tired out, retired again into the Protection of the Arch-Duke *Philip* in *Flanders*, who by the Death of *Isabella*, was at that time King of *Castile*, in the Right of *Joan* his Wife.

This Year † (being the Nineteenth of his Reign) the King called his Parliament. Wherein a Man may easily guess, how absolute the King took himself to be with his Parliament, when *Dudley* that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. In this Parliament, there were not made any Statutes memorable, touching publick Government. But those that were, had still the Stamp of the King's Wisdom and Policy.

There was a Statute made for the disannulling of all Patents of Lease, or Grant, to such as came not upon lawful Summons, to serve the King in his Wars, against the Enemies or Rebels, or that should depart without the King's Licence; with an Exception of certain Persons of the Long-robe. Providing nevertheless, that they should have the King's Wages, from their House, till their Return home again. There had been the like made for Offices, and by this Statute it was extended to Lands. But a Man may easily see by many Statutes made in this King's time, that the King thought it safest, to assist Martial Law, by Law of Parliament.

Another Statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of Manufactures of Silk wrought by it self, or mixt with any other Thread. But it was not of Stuffs of whole piece (for that the Realm had of them no Manufacture in use at that time) but of knit-Silk, or Texture of Silk; as Ribbands, Laces, Caules, Points, and Girdles, &c. which the People of *England* could then well skill to make. This Law pointed at a true Principle: That where foreign Materials are but Superfluities, foreign Manufactures should be prohibited. For that will either banish the Superfluity or gain the Manufacture.

There was a Law also of Resumption of Patents of Gaols, and the Re-annexing of them to the Sherifwicks; Priviledged Officers being no less an Interruption of Justice, than priviledged Places.

There was likewise a Law to restrain the By-laws or Ordinances of Corporations, which many times were against the Prerogative of the King, the Common-law of the Realm, and the Liberty of the Subject, being Fraternities in E-

vil. It was therefore Provided, that they should not be put in Execution, without the Allowance of the Chancellor, Treasurer, and the two Chief-Justices, or three of them, or of the two Justices of Circuit where the Corporation was.

Another Law was (in effect) to bring in the Silver of the Realm to the Mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impayred Coins of Silver, not to be current in Payments; without giving any Remedy of Weight, but with an Exception only of a reasonable Wearing, which was nothing in respect of the Incertainty; and so (upon the Matter) to set the Mint on Work, and to give way to New Coins of Silver, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long Statute against Vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one the Dislike the Parliament had of Gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pestiferous, and of no open Example. The other, that in the Statutes of this King's time, (for this of the Nineteenth Years is not the only Statute of that kind) there are ever coupled, the Punishment of Vagabonds, and the Forbidding of Dice, and Cards, and unlawful Games unto Servants and mean People, and the putting down and suppressing of Ale houses, as Strings of one Root together, and as if the one were Unprofitable, without the other.

As for Riot and Retainers, there passed scarce any Parliament in this time without a Law against them, the King ever having an Eye to Might, and Multitude.

There was granted also that Parliament a Subsidy, both for the Temporality and the Clergy. And yet nevertheless, ere the Year expired, there went out Commissions for a general Benevolence, though there were no Wars; no Fears. The same Year the City gave Five thousand Marks, for Confirmation of their Liberties; a thing fitter for the Beginnings of Kings Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a small Matter, that the Mint gained upon the late Statute, by the Recoinage of Groats and Half-Groats, now Twelve-pences and Six-pences. As for *Empson* and *Dudley's* Mills, they did grind more than ever. So that it was a strange thing, to see what Golden Showrs poured down upon the King's Treasury at once. The last Payments of the Marriage-money from *Spain*; The Subsidy; The Benevolence; The Recoinage; The Redemption of the Cities Liberties; The Casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the King had then no Occasions at all of Wars or Troubles. He had now but one Son, and one Daughter unbetrothed. He was Wise; He was of an high Mind; He needed not to make Riches his Glory. He did excell in so many things else; save that certainly Avarice doth ever find in it self Matter of Ambition. Belike he thought to leave his Son such a Kingdom, and such a Mass of Treasure, as he might choose his Greatness where he would.

This Year † was also kept the Serjeants Feast, which was the second Call in this King's Days.

About \* this time *Isabella*, Queen of *Castile*, deceased; a right Noble Lady, and an Honour to her Sex, and Times, and the Corner-stone of the Greatness of *Spain*, that hath followed. This Accident the King took not for News at large, but thought it had a great Relation to his own Affairs; especially in two Points. The one, for Example; the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the Case of *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, after the Death of Queen *Isabella*, was † On the his own Case, after the Death of his own Queen: and the Case of *Joan* the Heir unto *Castile*, was the

1505.

Retainers  
Suppress  
by Act of  
Parliament.A General  
Benevolence.The London  
spurs  
chafe the  
Confirmation  
of their  
Liberty.† On the  
13th of  
November  
the Serjeants  
were.  
Rob. Brudenell,  
Will. Grevill,  
Tho. Marrow,  
George Edgore,  
John Moor,  
John Cutler,  
Tho. Eliot, Guy  
Palmer, Lewis  
Poiard, and  
Will. Fairfax.† On the  
26th of  
November.Foreign  
Manufactures  
prohibited.



1505. the Case of his own Son Prince *Henry*. For if both of the Kings had their Kingdoms, in the Right of their Wives, they descended to the Heirs, and did not accrew to the Husbands. And although his own Case had both Steel and Parchment, more than the other (that is to say, a Conquest in the Field, and an Act of Parliament) yet notwithstanding, that Natural Title of Descent in Blood, did (in the Imagination even of a Wife Man) breed a Doubt, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent, to inquire and observe what became of the King of *Arragon*, in holding and continuing the Kingdom of *Castile*. And whether he did hold it in his own Right, or as Administrator to his Daughter; And whether he were like to hold it in Fact, or to be put out by his Son-in-Law. Secondly, he did revolve in his Mind, that the State of *Christendom* might by this late Accident have a Turn. For whereas before Time himself, with the Conjunction of *Arragon* and *Castile* (which then was one) and the Amity of *Maximilian* and *Philip* his Son the Arch-Duke, was far too strong a Party for *France*; he began to fear, that now the *French* King (who had great Interest in the Affections of *Philip* the young King of *Castile*) and *Philip* himself, now King of *Castile*, (who was in ill Terms with his Father in Law about the present Government of *Castile*) And thirdly *Maximilian*, *Philip*'s Father (who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest Aim that could be taken, was that he would not be long, as he had been last before) would, all three being potent Princes, enter into some strait League and Confederation amongst themselves. Whereby though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor Amity of *Arragon*. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of Arbitrer of *Europe*, he should now goe less, and be over-topped by so great a Conjunction. He had also (as it seems) an Inclination to marry, and bethought himself of some fit Conditions abroad. And amongst other's, he had heard of the Beauty and Vertuous Behaviour of the young Queen of *Naples*, the Widow of *Ferdinando* the younger, being then of Matronal Years of Seven and twenty. By whose Marriage he thought that the Kingdom of *Naples* (having been a Goal for a time between the King of *Arragon*, and the *French* King, and being but newly settled) might in some part be deposited in his Hands, who was so able to keep the Stakes. Therefore he sent in Ambassage or Message three Confident Persons; *Francis Marfin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Stile*, upon two several Inquisitions rather than Negotiations. The one touching the Person and Condition of the young Queen of *Naples*. The other touching all particulars of Estate, that concerned the Fortunes and Intentions of *Ferdinando*. And because they may observe best who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable Pretexts; giving them Letters of Kindness and Complement from *Katherine* the Princess, to her Aunt, and Niece, the old and young Queen of *Naples*, and delivering to them also a Book of new Articles of Peace; which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto *Doctor de Puebla*, the Legier Ambassador of *Spain* here in *England*, to be sent; yet for that the King had been long without hearing from *Spain*, he thought good those Messengers, when they had been with the two Queens, should likewise pass on to the Court of *Ferdinando*, and take a Copy of the Book with them. The Instructions touching the Queen of *Naples* were so curious and exquisite, being as Articles whereby to direct a

Survey, or framing a Particular of her Person, 1505. for Complexion, Favour, Feature, Stature, Health, Age, Customs, Behaviour, Conditions, and Estate, as if the King had been young, a Man would have judged him to be Amorous; but being Ancient, it ought to be Interpreted, that sure he was very Chast, for that he meant to find all things in one Woman, and so to settle his Affections, without ranging. But in this Match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his Ambassadors, that this young Queen had had a goodly Joynture in the Realm of *Naples*, well answered during the time of her Uncle *Frederick*, yea, and during the time of *Lewis* the *French* King, in whose Division her Revenue fell; but since the time that the Kingdom was in *Ferdinando*'s Hands, all was assigned to the Army, and Garrisons there, and she received only a Pension or Exhibition out of his Coffers.

The other part of the Inquiry had a grave and diligent Return, informing the King at full of the present State of King *Ferdinando*. By this Report it appeared to the King, that *Ferdinando* did continue the Government of *Castile* as Administrator unto his Daughter *Joan*, by the Title of Queen *Isabella*'s Will, and partly by the Custom of the Kingdom, as he pretended. And that all Mandates and Grants were expedited in the name of *Joan* his Daughter, and himself as Administrator, without mention of *Philip*, her Husband. And that King *Ferdinando*, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of *Castile*, yet meant to hold the Kingdom, without accompt, and in absolute Command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King *Philip* would permit unto him the Government of *Castile* during his Life; which he had layed his Plot to work him unto, both by some Counsellors of his about him, which *Ferdinando* had at his Devotion, and chiefly by Promise, that in case *Philip* gave not Way unto it, he would marry some young Lady, whereby to put him by the Succession of *Arragon* and *Granada*, in case he should have a Son. And lastly, by representing unto him that the Government of the *Burgundians*, till *Philip* were by continuance in *Spain* made as natural of *Spain*, would not be endured by the *Spaniards*. But in all those things (though wisely laid down and considered) *Ferdinando* fail'd; but that *Pluto* was better to him, than *Pallas*.

In the same Report also, the Ambassadors being mean Men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous. For they declared plainly, that the People of *Spain*, both Nobles and Commons, were better affected unto the part of *Philip* (so he brought his Wife with him) than to *Ferdinando*; and expressed the Reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many Taxes, and Tallages, which was the King's own Case between him and his Son.

There was also in this Report a Declaration of an Overture of Marriage, which *Amason* the Secretary of *Ferdinando* had made unto the Ambassadors in great secret, between *Charles* Prince of *Castile* and *Mary* the King's second Daughter; assuring the King, that the Treaty of Marriage then on Foot, for the said Prince and the Daughter of *France*, would break; and that she the said Daughter of *France* should be married to *Angoleme*, that was the Heir Apparent of *France*.

There was a touch also of a speech of Marriage between *Ferdinando* and *Madam de Foix*, a Lady of the Blood of *France*, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as Learned in *France*, and silenced in *Spain*.

The



1505.

The King by the Return of this Ambassage, which gave great light unto his Affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between *Ferdinando* King of *Aragon*, and *Philip* his Son-in-law, King of *Castile*; resolving with himself, to do all that in him lay to keep them at one within themselves; But howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Person of a Common-Friend, to lose neither of their Friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the King of *Aragon*, but more laboured and officious with the King of *Castile*. But he was much taken with the Overture of Marriage with his Daughter *Mary*; both because it was the greatest Marriage of *Christendom*, and for that it took hold of both Allies.

But to corroborate his Alliance with *Philip*, the Winds gave him an Enterview. For *Philip* choosing the Winter-Season, the better to surprize the King of *Aragon*, set forth with a great Navy out of *Flanders* for *Spain* in the Month of *January*, the One and Twentieth Year of the King's Reign. But himself was surprized with a cruel *Tempest*, that scatter'd his Ships upon the several Coasts of *England*. And the Ship wherein the King and Queen were (with two other small Barks only) torn, and in great peril to escape the Fury of the Weather, thrust into *Weymouth*. King *Philip* himself, having not been used (as it seems) to Sea, all wearied and extream Sick, would needs land to refresh his Spirits, tho' it was against the Opinion of his Council, doubting it might breed Delay, his Occasions requiring Celerity.

The Rumour of the Arrival of a Puissant Navy upon the Coast, made the Country arm. And *Sir Thomas Trenchard* with Forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the Matter might be, came to *Weymouth*. Where understanding the Accident, he did in all Humbleness and Humanity invite the King and Queen to his House; and forthwith dispatched Posts to the Court. Soon after came *Sir John Caroe* likewise, with a great Troop of Men well arm'd; using the like Humbleness and Respect towards the King, when he knew the Case. King *Philip* doubting that they, being but Subjects, durst not let him pass away again, without the King's notice and leave, yielded to their Entreaties, to stay till they heard from the Court. The King as soon as he heard the News, commanded presently the Earl of *Arundel*, to go to Visit the King of *Castile*, and let him understand, That as he was very Sorry for his Mishap, so he was glad that he had escap'd the Danger of the Seas, and likewise of the Occasion himself had to do him Honour; and desiring him, to think himself as in his own Land; and that the King made all haist possible to come and imbrace him. The Earl came to him in great Magnificence, with a brave Troop of Three hundred Horse; and (for more State) came by Torch-Light. After he had done the King's Message, King *Philip* seeing how the World went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the King at *Windsor*, and his Queen follow'd by easy Journeys. The two Kings at their Meeting us'd all the Caresses, and loving Demonstrations that were possible. And the King of *Castile* said pleasantly to the King, *That he was now punished, for that he would not come with-in his walled Town of Calice, when they met last.* But the King answer'd, *That Walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise, but to be served.* After a Day or two's refreshing, the Kings entred into Speech of renewing the Treaty; The King saying, *'That tho' King Philip's Person were the*

'same, yet his Fortunes and State were raised.

In which Case a Renovation of Treaty was used amongst Princes. But while these things were in handling, the King choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of *Castile* into a Room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his Arm, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of Intertainment, said to him; *Sir, you have been saved upon my Coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours.* The King of *Castile* ask'd him, *What he meant by that Speech?* I mean it (saith the King) *by that same Harebrain wild Fellow, my Subject, the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your Country, and begins to play the Fool, when all others are weary of it.* The King of *Castile* answer'd, *I had thought (Sir) your Felicity had been above those Thoughts.* But if it trouble you, I will banish him. The King reply'd, *Those Hornets were best in their Nest, and worst when they did fly abroad, that his Desire was, to have him delivered to him.* The King of *Castile* herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, *That can I not do with my Honour, and lest with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a Prisoner.* The King presently said, *Then the Matter is at an end.* For I will take that Dishonour upon me, and so your Honour is saved. The King of *Castile*, who had the King in great Estimation, and besides remembred where he was, and knew not what Use he might have of the King's Amity, for that himself was new in his Estate of *Spain*, and unsettled, both with his Father in Law, and with his People, composing his Countenance, said, *Sir, you give Law to me; but so will I to you. You shall have him, but (upon your Honour) you shall not take his Life.* The King embracing him, said, *Agreed.* Saith the King of *Castile*, *Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion as he may partly come with his own good Will.* The King said, *It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would joyn with him, in sending to the Earl a Message to that purpose.* They both sent severally, and mean while they continued Feasting and Pastimes. The King being (on his part) willing to have the Earl sure before the King of *Castile* went; and the King of *Castile* being as willing to seem to be enforced. The King also with many wise and excellent Perswasions, did advise the King of *Castile* to be ruled by the Council of his Father in Law *Ferdinando*; a Prince so Prudent, so Experienced, so Fortunate. The King of *Castile* (who was in no very good terms with his said Father in Law) answer'd, *That if his Father in Law would suffer him to govern his Kingdoms, he should govern him.*

There were immediately Messengers sent from both Kings to recall the Earl of *Suffolk*: Who upon gentle Words used to him was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assur'd of his Life, and hoping of his Liberty. He was brought through *Flanders* to *Calice*, and thence landed at *Dover*, and with sufficient Guard delivered and received at the *Tower of London*. Mean while King *Henry* (to draw out the time) continued his Feastings and Entertainments, and after he had receiv'd the King of *Castile* into the Fraternity of the Garter, and for a Reciprocal had his Son the Prince admitted to the Order of the *Golden-Fleece*, he accompany'd King *Philip* and his Queen to the City of *London*; where they were entertain'd with the greatest Magnificence and Triumph, that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of *Suffolk* had been convey'd to the *Tower* (which was the serious part) the Jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheless during their being here, they in Substance concluded

Vol. I.

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that

1506.

Conference between K. Henry and Philip K. of Castile.

Earl of Suffolk returns.



1506. that Treaty, which the *Flemings* term *Intercursus malus*, and bears Date at *Windsor*; for that there be some things in it more to the Advantage of the *English*, than of them; especially, for that the Free-fishing of the *Dutch* upon the Coasts and Seas of *England*, granted in the Treaty of *Un-*  
*The Free-fishing of the Dutch refus'd to be Confirm'd.*  
*decimo*, was not by this Treaty confirmed. All Articles that confirm former Treaties being precisely and warily limited and confirm'd to matter of Commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observ'd, that the great Tempest which drove *Philip* into *England*, blew down the *Golden-Eagle* from the *Spire* of *Paul's*, and in the Fall it fell upon a Sign of the *Black-Eagle*, which was in *Paul's Church-yard*, in the Place where the School-House now standeth, and batter'd it, and brake it down. Which was a strange stooping of a Hawk upon a Fowl. This the People interpreted to be an Ominous Prognostick upon the *Imperial House*, which was (by Interpretation also) fulfill'd upon *Philip* the Emperor's Son, not only in the present Disaster of the Tempest, but in that that follow'd. For *Philip* arriving into *Spain*, and attaining the Possession of the Kingdom of *Castile* without Resistance, (inasmuch as *Ferdinando*, who had spoke so great before, was with difficulty admitted to the Speech of his Son in Law) sickned soon after, and Deceased. Yet after such time as there was an Observation by the wisest of that Court, That if he had liv'd, his Father would have gain'd upon him in that fort, as he would have govern'd his Councils and Designs, if not his Affections. By this all *Spain* return'd into the Power of *Ferdinando* in state as it was before; the rather, in regard of the Infirmary of *Joan* his Daughter, who loving her Husband (by whom she had many Children) dearly well, and no less belov'd of him (howsoever her Father, to make *Philip* ill beloved of the People of *Spain*, gave out that *Philip* us'd her not well) was unable in Strength of Mind to bear the Grief of his Decease, and fell distracted of her Wits. Of which Malady her Father was thought no ways to endeavour the Cure, the better to hold his Regal Power in *Castile*. So that as the Felicity of *Charles VIII.* was said to be a Dream; so the Adversity of *Ferdinando* was said likewise to be a Dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time the King was desirous to bring into the House of *Lancaster* Celestial Honour, and became Suitor to Pope *Julius*, to canonize King *Henry VI.* for a Saint; the rather in respect of that his famous Prediction of the King's own Assumption to the Crown. *Julius* referred the Matter (as the manner is) to certain Cardinals, (b) to take the Verification of his holy Acts and Miracles. But it died under the Reference. The general Opinion was that Pope *Julius* was too Dear, and that the King would not come to his Rates. But it is more probable, That that Pope (who was extremely jealous of the Dignity of the See of *Rome*, and of the Acts thereof) knowing that King *Henry VI.* was reputed in the World abroad but for a Simple Man, was afraid it would but diminish the Estimation of that kind of Honour, if there were not a distance kept betwixt Innocents and Saints.

The same Year likewise there proceeded a Treaty of Marriage between the King and the Lady *Margaret* Dutches Dowager of *Savoy*, only Daughter to *Maximilian*, and Sister to the King of *Castile*; a Lady Wise, and of great good

1507. Fame. This Matter had been in Speech between the two Kings at their Meeting, but was soon after resum'd; and therein was employ'd for his first Piece the King's then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate *Thomas Wolsey*. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample Conditions for the King, but with Promise *De Futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced unto it, for that he heard more and more of the Marriage to go on between his great Friend and Ally *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, and *Madam de Foix*, whereby that King began to piece with the *French* King, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a Thing it is, for the greatest and straitest Amities of Kings, at one time or other to have a little of the Wheel. Nay, there is a further Tradition (in *Spain*, tho' not with us) That the King of *Arragon*, after he knew that the Marriage between *Charles*, the young Prince of *Castile*, and *Mary* the King's second Daughter went roundly on (which tho' it was first moved by the King of *Arragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to Perfection by *Maximilian*, and the Friends on that Side) entred into a Jealousy, that the King did Aspire to the Government of *Castilia*, as Administrator during the Minority of his Son in Law; as if there should have been a Competition of Three for that Government; *Ferdinando*, Grandfather on the Mother's side; *Maximilian*, Grandfather on the Father's side; and King *Henry*, Father in Law to the young Prince. Certainly, it is not unlike, but the King's Government (carrying the young Prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcome to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other Two. For the Nobility of *Castilia*, that so lately put out the King of *Arragon*, in favour of King *Philip*, and had discover'd themselves so far, could not be but in a secret Distrust and Distaste of that King. And as for *Maximilian*, upon twenty respects he could not have been the Man. But this Purpose of the King's seemeth to me (considering the King's safe Courses, never found to be enterprising or adventurous) not greatly probable, except he should have had a Desire to breath warmer, because he had ill Lungs. This Marriage with *Margaret* was protracted from time to time, in respect of the Infirmary of the King, who now in the Two and twentieth of his Reign began to be troubled with the *Gout*. But the Defluxion taking also into his Breast, wasted his Lungs, so that thrice in a Year (in a kind of Return, and especially in the Spring,) he had great Fits and Labours of the *Typhick*. Nevertheless, he continued to intend Business with as great Diligence, as before in his Health. Yet so, as upon this warning, he did likewise now more seriously think of the World to come, and of making himself a Saint, as well as King *Henry* the Sixth, by Treasure better employ'd, than to be given to Pope *Julius*. For this Year he gave greater Alms than accustomed, and discharged all Prisoners about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts under Forty Shillings. He did also make haste with Religious Foundations; and in the Year following (which was the Three and twentieth) finish'd that of the *Savoy*. And hearing also of the bitter Cries of his People against the Oppressions of *Dudley* and *Empson*, and their Complices; partly by Devout Persons about him, and partly by Publick Sermons (the Preachers

(b) The Pope by his Bull committed the Examination of this Matter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester* and *Durham*; The Bull is in the *Collomais Library*. Sir J. W. An. Hen. VII. Cap. XX.  
 'Tis dated in June, 1504.



1508. doing their Duty therein) He was touch'd with great Remorse for the same. Nevertheless, *Empson* and *Dudley*, tho' they could not but hear of these Scruples in the King's Conscience; yet as if the King's Soul and his Money were in several Offices, that the One was not to intermeddle with the Other, went on with as great Rage as ever. For the same Three and twentieth Year was there a sharp Prosecution against Sir *William Capel* now

Sir *William Capel* Fin'd a second time. He was Mayor, An. 1504.

He was Mayor in the Year 1505.

Sir *Lawrence Ailmer* was Mayor the year 1507. \* *Hol.* writes, that they were imprison'd in the King's Bench till they had paid 1400 l. Fine, p. 796. *K. Henry* left behind him at his Death 180000 pounds Sterl.

the second time; and this was for Matters of Misgovernment in his Mayoralty. The great Matter being, that in some Payments he had taken Knowledge of False Moneys, and did not his Diligence to examine and beat it out who were the Offenders. For this and some other things laid to his Charge, he was condemn'd to pay Two thousand Pounds; and being a Man of Stomach, and harden'd by his former Troubles, refused to pay a Mite; and he-like used some untoward Speeches of the Proceedings, for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remain'd till the King's Death. *Knesworth* likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his Sheriffs, were for Abuses in their Offices, question'd, and imprison'd, and deliver'd upon One Thousand four Hundred Pounds paid. *Hawit*, an Alderman of London, was put in Trouble, and died with Thought and Anguish before his Business came to an End. Sir *Lawrence Ailmer*, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of One Thousand Pounds. \* And Sir *Lawrence*, for refusing to make Payment, was committed to Prison, where he stay'd till *Empson* himself was committed in his Place.

It is no Marvel (if the Faults were so light, and the Rates so heavy) that the King's Treasure of Store that he left at his Death, most of it in secret Places under his own Key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to have done) unto the Sum of near Eighteen hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling; a huge mass of Money, even for these times.

The last Act of State that concluded this King's Temporal Felicity, was the Conclusion of a Glorious Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of Castile, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender Years. Which Treaty was perfected by Bishop *Fox*, and other his Commissioners at Calice, the Year before the King's Death. In which Alliance, it seemeth he himself took so high Contentment, as in a Letter which he wrote thereupon to the City of London (commanding all possible Demonstrations of Joy to be made for the same) he expresseth himself, as if he thought he had built a Wall of Bricks about his Kingdom. When he had for his Sons in Law, a King of Scotland, and a Prince of Castile and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, being at the top of all worldly Bliss, (in regard of the high Marriages of his Children, his great Renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible Riches, and the perpetual Constancy of his prosperous Successes) but an opportune Death, to withdraw him from any Future blow of Fortune. Which certainly (in regard of the great Hatred of his People, and the Title of his Son, being then come to Eighteen Years of Age, and being a bold Prince, and liberal, and that gained upon the People by his very Aspect and Presence) had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To Crown also the last Year of his Reign as well as his first, he did an Act of Piety, Rare and worthy to be taken into Imitation. For he granted forth a General Pardon, as expecting a second Coronation in a better Kingdom. He did also declare in his Will, that his Mind was, that Restitution should be made of those Sums, which had been unjustly taken by his Officers.

And thus this *Solomon of England* (for *Solomon* also was too heavy upon his People in Exactions) having lived Two and fifty Years, and thereof reigned Three and twenty Years, and Eight Months, being in perfect Memory, and in a most blessed Mind, in a great Calm of a Consuming Sickness pass'd to a better World, the Two and twentieth of April, 1508. † at his Palace of Richmond, which himself had Built.

" This King (to speak of him in Terms equal A Deserving) was one of the best sort of Wonders; a Wonder for Wisemen. He had Parts (both in his Vertues, and his Fortune) not so fit for a Common-place, as for Observation. Certainly he was Religious, both in his Affection and Observance. But as he could see clear (for those times) through Superstition, so he would be blinded (now and then) by Human Policy. He advanced Church-men; he was tender in the Privilege of Sanctuaries, tho' they wrought him much Mischief. He built and endowed many Religious Foundations, besides his Memorable Hospital of the Savoy. And yet was he a great Alms-giver in secret; which shewed, that his Works in Publick were Dedicated rather to God's Glory, than his own. He profess'd always to love and seek Peace; and it was his usual Preface in his Treaties; *That when Christ came into the World, Peace was sung; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeath'd.* And this Vertue could not proceed out of Fear, or Softness; for he was Valiant and Active and therefore (no doubt) it was truly Christian and Moral. Yet he knew the way to Peace, was not to seem to be desirous to avoid Wars. Therefore would he make Offers, and Fames of Wars, till he had mended the Conditions of Peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a Lover of Peace, should be so happy in War. For his Arms (either in Foreign or Civil Wars) were never Infortunate; neither did he know what a Disaster meant. The War of his Coming in, and the Rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Audley were ended by Victory. The Wars of France and Scotland, by Peaces fought at his Hands. That of Brittain, by Accident of the Duke's Death. The Insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by flight of the Rebels before they came to Blows. So that his Fortune of Arms was still Inviolable. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the Commotions of his Subjects, he ever went in Person. Sometimes reserving himself to back and second his Lieutenants, but ever in Action; and yet that was not merely Forwardness, but partly Distrust of others.

" He did much maintain and countenance his Laws. Which (nevertheless) was no Impediment to him to work his Will. For it was so handled, that neither Prerogative, nor

1509

K. Henry's Death.

A Defection of K. Henry VII. His Wisdom.

His Piety.

He was a Lover of Peace.

His Arms Victorious.

He maintain'd and favoured the Laws.

† Reckoning from the Day of his Victory of Bosworth, when Sir *William Stanley* crown'd him in the Field, which was the 22d of August 1485. to the 22d of April 1508. is but 22 Years and 8 Months; whereas he reign'd 23 Years and 8 Months, and dy'd the 22d of April 1509.



1509. " Profit went to Diminution. And yet as he  
 " would sometimes strain up his Laws to his  
 " Prerogative, so would he also let down his  
 " Prerogative to his Parliament. For Mint and  
 " Wars, and Martial Discipline, (things of Ab-  
 " solute Power) he would nevertheless bring to  
 " Parliament. Justice was well administred in  
 " his time, save where the King was Party:  
 " Save also, that the Council-Table intermeddled  
 " too much with *Menum* and *Tuum*. For it was  
 " a very Court of Justice during his time, espe-  
 " cially in the Beginning. But in that part both  
 " of Justice and Policy, which is the Durable  
 " part, and cut (as it were) in Brasse or Marble  
 " (which is the making of good Laws) he did  
 " excel. And with his Justice, he was also a  
 " Merciful Prince. As in whose time there were  
 " but three of the Nobility that suffer'd; the  
 " Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Chamberlain*, and  
 " the Lord *Audley*. Though the first two were  
 " instead of Numbers, in the Dislike and Oblo-  
 " quy of the People. But there were never so  
 " great Rebellions expiated with so little Blood,  
 " drawn by the hand of Justice, as the two Re-  
 " bellions of *Black-Heath* and *Exeter*. As for  
 " the Severity used upon those which were taken  
 " in *Kent*, it was but upon a Scum of People.  
 " His Pardons went ever both before and after  
 " his Sword. But then he had withal a strange  
 " kind of interchanging of large and unexpected  
 " Pardons, with severe Executions. Which  
 " (his Wisdom consider'd) could not be imput-  
 " ed to any Inconstancy, or Inequality; but  
 " either to some Reason which we do not now  
 " know, or to a Principle he had set unto him-  
 " self, *That he would vary, and try both ways in*  
 " *turn*. But the less Blood he drew, the more  
 " he took of Treasure. And (as some constru'd  
 " it) he was the more sparing in the one, that  
 " he might be the more pressing in the other;  
 " for both would have been intollerable. Of  
 " Nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate  
 " Treasure, and was a little Poor in admiring  
 " Riches. The People (into whom there is in-  
 " fused, for the Preservation of Monarchies, a  
 " natural Desire to discharge their Princes, tho'  
 " it be with the unjust Charge of their Coun-  
 " cellors and Ministers) did impute this unto  
 " Cardinal *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*. Who  
 " (as it after appear'd) as Counsellors of ancient  
 " Authority with him, did so second his Hu-  
 " mours, as nevertheless they did temper them.  
 " Whereas *Empson* and *Dudley* that follow'd, be-  
 " ing Persons that had no Reputation with him  
 " (otherwise than by the servile following of his  
 " Bent) did not give way only (as the first did)  
 " but shape him way to those Extremities, for  
 " which himself was touch'd with Remorse at  
 " his Death, and which his Successor renounc'd,  
 " and sought to purge. This Excess of his, had  
 " at that time many Glosses and Interpretations.  
 " Some thought the continual Rebellions where-  
 " with he had been vexed, had made him grow  
 " to hate his People. Some thought it was done  
 " to pull down their Stomachs, and to keep them  
 " low. Some, for that he would leave his Son  
 " a Golden-Fleece. Some suspected he had some  
 " high Design upon Foreign Parts. But those  
 " perhaps shall come nearest the Truth, that  
 " fetch not their Reasons so far off; but rather  
 " impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Mind  
 " fixed upon no other Ambition or Pursuit.  
 " Whereunto I should add, that having every  
 " day Occasion to take notice of the Necessities  
 " and Shifts for Money of other great Princes  
 " abroad, it did the better (by Comparifon) set  
 " off to him the Felicity of full Coffers. As to

1509. " his expending of Treasure, he never spar'd  
 " Charge which his Affairs required; and in his  
 " Buildings was Magnificent, but his Rewards  
 " were very limited. So that his Liberality  
 " was rather upon his own State and Memory,  
 " than upon the Deserts of others.  
 " He was of an high Mind, and lov'd his  
 " own Will, and his own Way; as one that re-  
 " vered himself, and would Reign indeed. Had  
 " he been a Private Man, he would have been  
 " termed Proud. But in a wise Prince, it was  
 " but keeping of Distance, which indeed he did  
 " towards all; not admitting any near or full  
 " Approach, neither to his Power or to his Se-  
 " crets. For he was govern'd by none. His Queen  
 " (notwithstanding she had presented him with  
 " divers Children, and with a Crown also, tho'  
 " he would not acknowledge it) could do no-  
 " thing with him. His Mother he revered  
 " much, heard little. For any Person agreeable  
 " to him for Society (such as was *Hastings* to K.  
 " *Edward IV.* or *Charles Brandon* after to K. *Hen-*  
 " *ry VIII.*) he had none: Except we should ac-  
 " count for such Persons, *Fox*, and *Bray*, and  
 " *Empson*; because they were so much with him:  
 " But it was but as the Instrument is much with  
 " the Workman. He had nothing in him of  
 " Vain-glory, but yet kept State and Majesty  
 " to the height; Being sensible, That Majesty  
 " maketh the People bow, but Vain-glory bow-  
 " eth to them.  
 " To his Confederates abroad he was Con-  
 " stant and Just, but not Open. But rather such  
 " was his Inquiry, and such his Closeness, as  
 " they stood in the Light towards him, and he  
 " stood in the Dark to them. Yet without  
 " Strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual  
 " Communication of Affairs. As for little En-  
 " vies, or Emulations upon Foreign Princes (which  
 " are frequent with many Kings) he had never  
 " any; but went substantially to his own Bu-  
 " siness. Certain it is, that though his Reputa-  
 " tion was great at Home, yet it was greater  
 " Abroad. For Foreigners that could not see  
 " the Passages of Affairs, but made their Judg-  
 " ments upon the Issues of them, noted that he  
 " was ever in Strife, and ever a Loft. It grew  
 " also from the Airs which the Princes and  
 " States abroad receiv'd from their Ambassadors  
 " and Agents here; which were Attending the  
 " Court in great Number. Whom he did not  
 " only content with Courtesy, Reward, and  
 " Privateness; but (upon such Conferences as  
 " pass'd with them) put them in Admiration,  
 " to find his Universal Insight into the Affairs  
 " of the World. Which tho' he did suck chiefly  
 " from themselves; yet that which he had ga-  
 " thered from them all, seem'd Admirable to  
 " every one. So that they did write ever to  
 " their Superiors in high terms, concerning his  
 " Wisdom and Art of Rule, nay, when they  
 " were return'd, they did commonly maintain  
 " Intelligence with him. Such a Dexterity he  
 " had to impropiate to himself all Foreign In-  
 " struments.  
 " He was careful and liberal to obtain good  
 " Intelligence from all Parts abroad. Wherein  
 " he did not only use his Interest in the Lie-  
 " gers here, and his Pensioners which he had  
 " both in the Court of *Rome*, and other the  
 " Courts of Christendom; but the Industry and  
 " Vigilancy of his own Ambassadors in Foreign  
 " Parts. For which purpose, his Instructions  
 " were ever Extream, Curious, and Articulate;  
 " and in them more Articles touching Inquisi-  
 " tion, than touching Negotiation. Requiring  
 " likewise from his Ambassadors an Answer, in  
 " particular

How he  
 used his  
 Preroga-  
 tive.

Partial in  
 admini-  
 string  
 Justice  
 where  
 himself  
 was con-  
 cern'd.  
 The coun-  
 cil Table  
 a Court of  
 Justice in  
 his Time.  
 He was  
 Merciful.

His Ava-  
 rice.

1509. Magnifi-  
 cent in his  
 Building.  
 Sparing  
 in his Re-  
 wards.  
 He was of  
 a high  
 Mind, and  
 lov'd to  
 Reign in-  
 deed.

He was  
 govern'd  
 by none.  
 His Queen  
 had no  
 Power o-  
 ver him,  
 nor his  
 Mother.  
 He had  
 no Favou-  
 rites, but  
 Three Mi-  
 nisters.

He was  
 not Vain-  
 glorious  
 but Maje-  
 stic.

Just to his  
 Treaties.  
 Myste-  
 rious.

His Fame.

The Re-  
 spect paid  
 him by  
 Ambassa-  
 dors, and  
 his Usage  
 to them.

He had  
 good In-  
 telligence.



1509. "particular distinct Articles, respectively to his Questions.

"As for his secret Spialls, which he did employ both at Home and Abroad, by them to discover what Practices and Conspiracies were against him, surely his Case required it: He had such Moles perpetually working and casting to Undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended, For if Spialls be lawful against lawful Enemies, much more against Conspirators and Traytors. But indeed to give them Credence by Oaths or Curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy Vestments for a Disguise. Yet surely there was this further Good in his employing of these Flies and Familiars; That as the Use of them was Cause that many Conspiracies were revealed, so the Fame and Suspicion of them kept (no doubt) many Conspiracies from being attempted.

"Towards his Queen he was nothing Uxorious, nor scarce Indulgent; but Companionable and Respective, and without Jealousy.

His Affection to his Wife and Children. "Towards his Children † he was full of Paternal Affection, Careful of their Education, aspiring to their High Advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due Honour and Respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular Lustre upon them.

His Industry in Affairs of State. "To his Council he did refer much, and oft in Person; knowing it to be the Way to assist his Power, and inform his Judgment. In which respect also he was fairly patient of Liberty, both of Advice, and of Vote, till himself were declar'd. He kept a strait hand on his Nobility, and chose rather to advance

He advanced Clergymen and Lawyers. "Clergymen and Lawyers, which were more Obsequious to him, but had less Interest in the People; which made for his Absoluteness, but not for his Safety. In so much as (I am

Which was one of the Causes of his Troublesome reign. "persuaded) it was one of the Causes of his troublesome Reign: for that his Nobles, tho' they were Loyal and Obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every Man go his own Way. He was not afraid of an Able

His Chief Officers Civil and Military. "Man, as *Lewis XI.* was. But contrariwise, he was serv'd by the Ablest Men that were to be found; without which his Affairs could not have prosper'd as they did. For War,

"*Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Daubeneys, Brooke, Poynings.* For other Affairs, *Morton, Fox, Bray,* the Prior of *Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hulse, Frowick,* and others. Neither did he care how *Cunning* they were, that he did employ; for he thought himself to have the Master-Reach: And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that tho' he were a Dark Prince, and infinitely Suspicious, and his Times full of Secret Conspiracies and Troubles; yet in Twenty four

No Counsellor or Servant but the Ld Chamberlain displaced in this Reign. In what terms he was with his Subjects as to love, Fear and Reverence. "Years Reign, he never put down, or displaced Counsellor, or near Servant, save only *Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain. As for the Disposition of his Subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; That of the Three Affections, which naturally tie the Hearts of the Subjects to their Sovereigns; Love, Fear, and Reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholding to ther two.

"He was a Prince Sad, Serious and full of Thoughts and secret Observations, and full of Notes and Memorials of his own Hand, especially touching Persons. As whom to Employ, whom to Reward, whom to Enquire of, whom to Beware of, what were the Dependencies, what were the Factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a Journal of his Thoughts.

"There is to this day a merry Tale; That his Monkey (set on as it was thought by one of his Chamber) tore his Principal Note-Book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth.

"Whereat the Court (which liked not those Pen-sive Accompts) was almost tickled with Sport.

"He was indeed full of Apprehensions and Suspicions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them, and master them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his

"Thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at some times weigh them aright

"in their Proportions. Certainly, that Rumour which did him so much Mischief (*That the Duke of York should be saved, and alive*) was (at the

"first) of his own nourishing; because he would have more Reason not to Reign in the right

"of his Wife. He was affable, and both well and Fair-spoken; and would use strange

"Sweetness and Blandishments of Words, where he desired to effect or persuade any

"thing that he took to Heart. He was rather Studious than Learned; reading most Books

"that were of any worth, in the French Tongue. Yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in

"that Cardinal *Hadrian*, and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write

"to him in Latin.

"For his Pleasures, there is no News of them.

"And yet by his Instructions to *Marlin* and *Stile* touching the Queen of *Naples*, it seemeth he could Interrogate well touching Beauty. He

"did by Pleasures, as great Princes do by Banquets, come and look a little upon them, and

"turn away. For never Prince was more wholly given to his Affairs, nor in them more

"of himself. In so much, as in Triumphs of Justs, and Tournays, and Balls, and Masks

"(which they then called Disguises) he was rather a Princely and Gentle Spectator, than

"seemed much to be delighted.

"No doubt, in him as in all Men (and most of all in Kings) his Fortune wrought upon

"his Nature, and his Nature upon his Fortune. He attained to the Crown, not only from a

"private Fortune, which might indow him with Moderation; but also from the Fortune of an

"Exiled Man, which had quickened in him all Seeds of Observation and Industry. And his

"Times being rather Prosperous, than Calm, had raised his Confidence by Success, but almost

"marred his Nature by Troubles. His Wisdom, by often evading from Perils, was

"turned rather into a Dexterity to deliver himself from Dangers, when they press'd him, than

"into a Providence to prevent and remove them a far off. And even in Nature, the Sight of his

"Mind was like some Sights of Eyes; rather strong at Hand, than to carry a far off. For his Wit

"increased upon the Occasion; and so much the

"more,

† He had by his Queen, *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, four Sons and four Daughters, *Arthur* who died five Months after his Marriage to the Princess *Katherine* of *Spain*. *Henry* who married his Brother's Widdow, and Succeeded his Father, by the Name of *Henry* the Eighth, *Edmund* and another Son, who died young; *Margaret* Queen of the *Scots*, and *Mary*, who married the French King *Lewis* the 12th, and afterwards *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. The other two Daughters died in their Childhood.



1509. "more if the Occasion were sharpened by Danger. Again, whether it were the Shortness of his Foresight, or the Strength of his Will, or the Dazling of his Suspicions, or what it was; certain it is, that the perpetual Troubles of his Fortunes (there being no more Matter out of which they grew) could not have been without some great Defects, and main Errors in his Nature, Customs, and Proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help, with a thousand little Industries and Watches. But those do best appear in the Story it self. Yet take him with all his Defects, if a Man should compare him with the Kings his Concurrents, in France and Spain, he shall find him more Politick than *Lewis* the Twelfth of France, and more entire and Sincere than *Ferdinando* of Spain. But if you shall change *Lewis* the Twelfth, for *Lewis* the Eleventh, who lived a little before; then the Consort is more perfect. For that *Lewis* the Eleventh, *Ferdinando*, and *Henry*, may be esteemed for the *Tres Magi* of Kings of those Ages. To conclude, If this King did no greater Matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded, he compassed.

A Comparison of him with other Princes.

His Person.

"He was a Comely Personage, a little above just Stature, well and straight Limmed, but slender. His Countenance was Reverend, and a little like a Church-Man: And as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it Winning

or Pleasing, but as the Face of one well disposed. But it was to the Disadvantage of the Painter; for it was best when he spake.

"His Worth may bear a Tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem Divine. When the Lady *Margaret* his Mother had diverse great Sutors for Marriage, she dreamed one Night, *That one in the likeness of a Bishop, in Pontifical Habit, did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond (the Kings Father) for her Husband.* Neither had she ever any Child but the King, though she had three Husbonds. One day when King *Henry* the Sixth (whose Innocency gave him Holiness) was washing his Hands at a great Feast, and cast his Eye upon King *Henry*, then a young Youth, he said; *This is the Lad, that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for.* But that that was truly Divine in him, was, that he had the Fortune of a True Christian, as well as of a Great King, in living Exercised, and dying Repentant. So as he had an happy Warfare in both Conflicts, both of Sin, and the Cross.

"He was born at *Pembroke* Castle and lyeth buried at *Westminster*, in one of the Stateliest and Daintiest Monuments of *Europe*, both for the Chappel, and for the Sepulcher. So that he dwelleth more richly Dead, in the Monument of his Tomb, than he did alive in *Richmond*, or any of his Palaces. I could wish he did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.

1509.

Prognosticks of his having the Crown.



*The Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of HENRY VII.*

**I**N his second Year, *John Percival*, the Lord Mayor's Carver, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of *London* in this manner: Sir *Henry Collet* the Lord Mayor, took a Cup of Wine, and Drank to *John Percival*, who waited then at his Table standing bare; the Lord Mayor drinking to him and Stiling him Sheriff of *London* for the ensuing Year, so far made use of his Privilege of Election that way, as to cause *Percival* to put on his Hat, and sit down at the Table; accordingly the Carver sat down, took on him the Office of Sheriff, and was afterwards Lord Mayor himself, and Knighted.

In his seventh Year, *Robert Fabian* was Alderman and Sheriff of *London*. He wrote a History of *England* and *France*, from the Creation of the World to the third Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th.

In his ninth Year, on the 28th of *April*, *Joan Boughton* a Widow was Burnt in *Smithfield* for Heresie and professing *Wickliff's* Opinions. In this Year Wheat was sold in *London* for four Shillings a Quarter, and *Bordeaux* Wine or Claret, for thirty Shillings a Hogshead.

In the tenth Year of his Reign, the Body of one *Alice Hackney*, which had been bury'd 175 Years, ever since the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* the 2d, was accidentally dug up in the Church of *St. Mary Hill, London*: The Skin of the Corps was whole, and the Joynts of the Arms pliable.

In his fifteenth Year, a Pestilence rag'd in *England*, which swept away no less than 30000 Men, Women and Children in one Year in the City of *London*.

In the seventeenth Year of his Reign, Sir *John Shaw*, then Lord Mayor, first caus'd his Brethren the Aldermen to ride to the Water side when he went to the Exchequer-Bar by Water to be Sworn. He was also the first that had the Mayor's Feast in *Guild Hall*, which was before done at *Grocer's* or *Merchant Taylor's Hall*. Also this Year *Sebastian Cabot* brought three *Indians* into *England*. They were Cloath'd in Beasts Skins, and eat raw Flesh. Two of them were seen two Years after dress'd like English Men, and not to be distinguish'd from them.

In the Year following, on the 18th Day of *January*, the first Stone of the Chappel known by the Name of *Henry the Seventh's Chappel*, was laid within the Monastery of *Westminster* by *John Islip* the Abbot, Sir *Reginald Bray* Knight of the Garter, Dr. *Barnes* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Edward Stanhope*, and others, assisting at the Ceremonies. The Charges of this Building amounted to no more than fourteen Thousand Pound, if we may believe our Author.

In the 22d Year of his Reign, the Sweating Sicknefs which happen'd in his first Year return'd; but the Cure being known, it was not so mortal as the First was.

*Besides the famous Captains mention'd by the Noble Author of this Reign, in his discoursing of King Henry VII. he had other Officers of great Valour and Conduct, as*

*George Earl of Shrewsbury, George Lord Strange, Edward Lord Woodville, Sir Rice ap Thomas, the Lord Morley, and Sir John Cheyne.* Those that we name hereafter were Men of Courage and Experience; but being Enemies to the House of *Lancaster*, and taking hold of all Opportunities to disturb King *Henry's* Government, they Perished all of them as Traytors.

*John de la Pool Earl of Lincoln, James Touchet, Lord Audley, the Lord Lovel, Sir Humphry Stafford, Sir Thomas Broughton, Sir John Egremont, and Sir Simon Monfort.*

*The Writers in King Henry VII. time, were*

*George Ripley* a Carmelite Fryer of *Boston*.

He wrote several Mathematical Treatises; and was after his Death reckon'd a Conjuror by the Populace.

Dr. *John Ergham* a black Fryer born in *York*, Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*: He was fond of Prophecies.

*John Percival* a Carthusian Monk.

*Thomas Maitorie* a Welshman. He wrote of King *Arthur* and the Knights of the Round Table.

*Thomas Scroop* of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*: He affected to Preach in Sack-cloath and bare-Foot. He was sometimes a Benedictine, sometimes a Dominican, and sometimes a Carmelite Fryer. He was at last made a Bishop in *Ireland*, and liv'd to be near a Hundred Years Old. The latter part of his Life he spent like an Anchorite.

*John Tonneis* an Augustine Fryer, wrote a Grammar, which was Printed by *Richard*



*Richard Pinson* one of the first Printers in England.

*Geffery*, Sirnamed the *Grammarians*.

*John Alcock* Bishop of *Ely*, Founder of *Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge*. It was formerly a Nunnery, but the Abbess and the Nuns were turned out for their dissolute Lives.

*Stephen Haws*, Esquire, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.

*William* of *Bintree* in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite Fryer of *Burnham*, and a great Divine.

*William Gallion* of *Lyn*, Provincial of the Augustine Fryers.

*William Celling* of *Feversham*, a Monk of *Canterbury*.

Cardinal *Thomas Bouchier* of the Noble Family of the *Bouchiers*, Earls of *Essex*: He was first Bishop of *Ely*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He was advanced to the Purple by Pope *Paul II*.

*Philip Bromierd*, a Dominican Fryer a Divine.

Dr. *John Miles*, L. L. D. of *Brazen Colledge* in *Oxford*; which Colledge was Found-

ed in this Reign by *William Smith* Bishop of *London*.

*Richard Shireburn* Bishop of *Chichester*, famed for his Learning and Eloquence.

*Robert Viduus* Vicar of *Thaxstead* in *Essex*, Canon of *Wells*: An excellent Poet says *Hol*.

Dr. *Kenighal*.

Cardinal *Morton*, of whom mention is frequently made in this History.

*Henry Midwel*, his Chaplain.

*Edmund Dudley*, Esquire, a Lawyer, once Speaker of the House of Commons. He was a main Instrument of King *Henry's* Exactions. He wrote a Book Intituled *Arbor Rei Publicæ*.

*John Buckinham*, an excellent Schoolman.

Dr. *William Blackneie*, a Carmelite Fryer, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

*Robert Fabian*, Alderman, whom we have elsewhere mentioned, an Historian.

*Bernardus Andreas*, who called himself Poet Laureat, and Historiographer Royal. He wrote the Life of King *Henry VII*.



*The End of the First VOLUME.*



# A N

# I N D E X

To the FIRST VOLUME of the Compleat

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